00037281

00037281

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

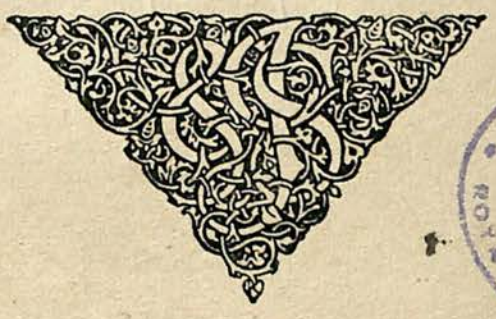
on 27 November, 2018

HISTORY OF GERMANY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

TREITSCHKE'S HISTORY OF GERMANY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

TRANSLATED BY EDEN & CEDAR PAUL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON



LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

VOLUME SIX

37281
ac
VV:d 29

LONDON
JARROLD & SONS, WARWICK LANE
G. ALLEN & UNWIN, LTD., MUSEUM ST.
1919

943.07
Tre/His
37281

INTRODUCTION

ROVING somewhat discursively over the period 1830 to 1845, the present volume of Treitschke's History deals principally with German home policy, particularly in its political aspects. Here and there the historian turns aside in order to explain and justify Prussia's action on certain critical foreign questions which came to the front, like those of the Carlist rising in Spain and the Eastern question, but the interest of the narrative is in the main circumscribed by domestic affairs, and this interest increases as the concluding chapters are reached, forecasting as they do the political convulsions which occurred late in the forties.

Still steeped in reaction, Prussia continued to assert herself as the active partner of the even more reactionary empires whose policies were dictated from Vienna and St. Petersburg. More and more the antagonism between Eastern and Western Europe, both in aims and ideas, became emphasised under the sinister influence of Metternich. Treitschke contends that the antagonism was really artificial and imaginary, and that the belief in its existence was a superstition, due to confusion of thought. Lord Palmerston spoke more truly when he said of the three Eastern Powers in 1836: "The three Powers fancy their interests lie in a direction opposite to that in which we and France conceive ours to be placed. The separation is not one of words but of things; not the effect of caprice or of will, but produced by the force of circumstances. The three and the two think differently, and therefore they act differently, whether it be as to Belgium or Portugal or Spain."

The Eastern Powers still stood for the principles of the Holy Alliance, the object of which was to protect the political status of continental Europe against disturbance from any quarter. Hence in the Spanish constitutional dispute of 1834, while Great Britain and France took the side of Queen Christina and her daughter the Infanta Isabella, on the ground that it was the right of every State to choose who should reign over it, Prussia

espoused the cause of the "legitimist" claimant Don Carlos. Treitschke roundly condemns Palmerston's dictum, as enunciated at the time, that "every State is empowered in case of need to change its supreme head," as dangerous heresy, little imagining that the day would come when the German tribes would embrace it with a fervour which even Palmerston can never have shared. Warmly, however, though the King of Prussia, Frederick William III, upheld the Carlist party on principle, he was not prepared to make any great or open sacrifice for it, from a suspicion that he might, after all, be supporting a hopeless cause. He refused to guarantee a loan towards the Carlist war chest, and when he agreed to make a payment to Don Carlos he insisted that it must be regarded as a personal act and be kept secret. Perhaps no one was better pleased than the King when later the money was refunded. That Frederick William III was out of sympathy with his subjects on this question is shown by the fact that a public subscription opened in Berlin under high patronage on behalf of the Carlist cause realised only £165.

The quality of the legitimism of the monarchs of the Holy Alliance was shown in the Cracow affair. By the Treaty of Vienna the city with its environs was constituted a free and neutral republic. Although parties to the arrangement, the Eastern Powers destroyed Cracow's independence in 1831, preparatory to its incorporation in Austria, which took place in 1846. The worst that Treitschke has to say of this act of violence is that it afforded a new proof that "the eternal progress of human affairs" cannot be stayed "by the letter of treaties"! In other words, Cracow was a small State, and small States have no right to exist.

Much attention is devoted in the present volume to the affairs of Prussia. Thus the Polish question occupies a prominent place in its pages, and in view of the events of the last five years, and of the efforts of the present Allied Powers to place Poland on her feet again, this part of the narrative possesses special interest. Two distinct and antagonistic phases of Prussian rule are here passed in review—*i*t, the policy of repression typified by Chief President Flottwell and General Grolman in the later years of Frederick William III, and then the reversion to the earlier policy of suavity which followed soon after Frederick William IV came to the throne in 1840 Convinced that leniency and concession led to no

lasting result, and that Germanism could only be imposed upon the Poles by strong measures, Flottwell and Grolman won Frederick William III for a policy of rigorous coercion. Now began the ill-fated "colonisation" of the province of Posen by Germans. A fund of a million thalers (£150,000) was assigned for the purpose of acquiring Polish estates, and upon these estates trustworthy peasants and labourers of German nationality and Protestant faith were settled. Had Grolman had his way the Polish landowners would have been expropriated wholesale by summary process, but to so extreme a measure neither the king nor the state of Prussian finance was favourable.

In fairness it should be said that simultaneously a good deal was done for the amelioration of the economic and social life of the province. It was the evil rather than the good done to them that impressed the Poles, however, and the colonisation policy embittered national sentiment a hundredfold. After a trial of some years the policy was abandoned; in December, 1840, Grolman, and early in 1841 Flottwell, fell, in token that the Poles had won in the encounter. Nearly half a century passed before the policy was revived, and then a still harder man was in power—Prince Bismarck.

In striking contrast to the political stagnation which still characterised Germany during these years was her steady economic progress. The last volume of the History dealt with the origin and growth of the customs union, and the present volume follows further the fortunes of this combination of States which, owing its success largely to Prussian initiative, made so powerfully for national unity, the idea of which it kept alive even when all other portents seemed to have failed. The inauguration of railways likewise contributed powerfully to bring the sundered tribes together, while at the same time stimulating internal progress in a marked degree. More than any other man, the Tübingen economist, Friedrich List, aroused public opinion to the importance of the new means of transport. He visited all parts of the country as an emissary of railway enterprise, and some of the earliest lines were projected by him. It is List's great merit that he rose superior to local considerations and planned railway systems on a large national scale. He did not live to see the realisation of all his schemes, but sooner or later all came to maturity in one form or another. Like so many propagators of new ideas, however, the advantage

and profit of his work went to others; selfish railway engineers and promoters, ready enough to benefit by his knowledge and advice, cold-shouldered him when he had served their interests, and List in the end found himself not a richer but a poorer man as a result of many years of railway advocacy and the planning of lines which brought rich gain to astute capitalists.

For in Germany railway enterprise for a long time depended upon private initiative, the State Governments for the most part fearing the risks involved. The most important exception was Bavaria, whose ruler, Louis I, early recognised the importance of the iron way, and did much to stimulate interest and enterprise in railway construction in his kingdom. It was in Bavaria that the first railway was built—a short line from Nuremberg to Fürth, opened in December, 1835. Saxony also creditably distinguished herself at an early date in railway enterprise, the firstfruits being the Leipzig-Dresden line, partly opened in April, 1837, and completed two years later. In Prussia many serious obstacles were put in the way of railway promoters by obtuse Ministers and bumptious Jacks-in-office, high and low, and it was only after the Crown Prince had been won over to the idea and the obstructive Ministers had been cashiered that progress became possible. Prussia also took care to pass a special Railway Law, containing many good features and some bad ones, before she gave railway *entrepreneurs* a free field, with the result that it was 1838 before the first railway was opened in that State. Now began Prussia's leap forward as an industrial country. English pioneers had hitherto led the way, as many still continued to do, but from that time forward German industrialists became increasingly independent of outside assistance, and relied upon their own counsels and resources.

In Treitschke's narrative the repression of Liberal opinion and movements takes, from first to last, a prominent place. Much of the present volume is occupied with the untiring endeavours of the German Governments—Austria and Prussia setting the example—to combat progressive thought and hold back the democratic wave which was surely if slowly advancing from West to East. The account here given of the proceedings of the diets of the minor States—the Hesses, Würtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria—is little more than a record of the ill-considered measures which were adopted by short-sighted rulers and ambitious Ministers in pursuance of this foolhardy policy.

The audacious *coup d'état* of Ernest Augustus of Hanover (who succeeded to the Guelph throne after the separation of Hanover from England on the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837), leading to the public protest and consequent expulsion of the famous seven professors of Göttingen, appears at first to shock Treitschke, for he speaks of the proceeding as criminal and inexcusable; yet his virtuous tirade against despotism is seen to be spurious directly his motives are examined. Here as always he had a theory to substantiate, a prejudice to humour, a pet aversion to gratify. It was the misfortune of Hanover to be ruled by an English prince: hence the blame for the intrigue against her constitution was Albion's. "The nation felt," he says, "as if an English robber had suddenly broken into its garden!" The suggestion that the Duke of Cumberland had learned abroad his contempt for constitutions is worthy of Treitschke's ingenuity, but it does not account for the similar intrigues in other German States; or explain away the fact that Frederick William III of Prussia played falsely with his people on the constitutional question for a generation, and his son and successor, Frederick William IV, for as many years as he dared. Treitschke, himself a professor, awards a few words of praise to the "Göttinger Sieben," and admits that they had right on their side, but he nevertheless talks of the "doctrinaire over-valuation of constitutional forms." A straightforward defence of the King's illegality would have been more creditable than this pitiful equivocation and hedging. In the Hanover episode the Federal Diet once more distinguished itself by disregard of constitutional rights and open espousal of absolutism. Petitioned to assert the law, it procrastinated and prevaricated, and ultimately did nothing. "Even men of moderate views," writes Treitschke, "now began to feel that right was not secure under the Germanic Federation."

In their attitude towards democratic movements the German princes throughout the whole of this period followed the policy of sitting upon the safety-valve, although the folly and danger of that course were apparent to the best of their advisers. No contemporary ruler was blinder to the signs of the times than Frederick William IV of Prussia, who came to the throne in 1840, and none blinder with less excuse. It is a merit in Treitschke that he has the courage to lay bare the weakness of this fantastic monarch's character, and that he does it with a candour and unreserve uncommon in his valuations of royalty.

He is, indeed, so impatient to unburden his conscience that he tells the reader all about Frederick William IV's faults and insufficiencies before he has said anything about his reign. Little is omitted from the damning indictment; there is a frank admission of his weak belief in the divine right of kings, or at least kings of Prussia, his contempt for democratic aspirations, his ill-balanced and extravagant imagination, his wonderful capacity for self-deception, his fatal gift of oratory, and with it his propensity for theatricality. To Ranke, Frederick William IV was a "master"; with rare candour but absolute truth Treitschke calls him a "brilliant dilettante." Seldom has a man so ill-fitted to bear regal responsibility sat upon a modern throne.

Such a ruler might have been sent to pave the way for revolution. And yet he had fair warning, and when the disaster came he could not plead exoneration. As early as 1840 it became clear how events were shaping themselves and where they would lead. "Believe me upon my royal word," he wrote to Lord Lieutenant Schön in December of that year, "that in my day no prince, no peasant and no peasant body, no Diet and no Jewish school shall appropriate anything which has hitherto *rightly or wrongly* appertained to the Crown unless I myself have in the first instance given it away." In other words, there was to be no concession to democracy in any form whatever. "I will not derive the rights of my crown either from a human diet or from a scrap of parchment," he wrote to the same statesman in 1843: "I will not alter the constitution of my country—I will not because I may not." When the Silesian diets advocated the convocation of a national assembly he refused to receive an address of homage from the Breslau corporation, and though he relented later, he told the town councillors that "no power on earth shall wring from me a constitution." It is true that by 1845 he had recognised that something had to be done, yet even now he fondly imagined that a united diet, composed of delegates of the provincial diets, and empowered only to discuss, without taking decisions upon, such subjects as he might be pleased to assign to it, would satisfy his impatient people. It was in this spirit that he declared, "It is my definite resolve that there shall be no national representation, no *charte*, no periodical fever, that is to say, periodical Reichstags, no Reichstag elections." "How terrible,"

Treitschke reflects, "were the humiliations which the unsuspecting man was to experience before a Prussian parliament was actually to assemble in Brandenburg!"

And yet all this time, as Treitschke has to admit, "the coming revolution was already heralded, authority was losing its prestige, and regicide was no longer a word of terror." Harbingers and emissaries of the imminent convulsion—politicians, poets, essayists—were at work here, there, and everywhere; the whole country was in ferment; yet the portents were unheeded. It was in vain that attempts were made to manacle public opinion in the old way. "The censor proved unable in the end to suppress what was in the very air. The old coercive methods had proved impracticable." In short, no Sovereign out of sympathy with his subjects had ever a fuller and clearer warning of the wrath to come.

It was in vain. Placed before the alternatives of circumventing revolution by timely concessions to the imperious demands of a new age, and passively awaiting the storm, Frederick William IV calmly chose the latter course. The greater part of this volume is a drastic judgment upon the shortsightedness of this effeminate monarch and many another German ruler whom the convulsions which came several years later found unprepared and helpless. It is true that in the end they fared better than their deserts. Was that, however, to the praise of their subjects or otherwise? It is a searching question. Who dare say that Germany would have fallen into the present calamity if the revolution which broke over the country in 1848 had resulted in a drastic political reckoning—in a settlement bringing princes and people once for all into a right constitutional relationship?

WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOL. VI BOOK FOUR (*continued*).

THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH LIBERALISM,
1830-1840.

CHAPTER PAGE

VIII. YEARS OF QUIET

§1. The Quadruple Alliance and the Eastern Powers - - 3
§2. Prussian Affairs. Rhineland. Posen - - 56
§3 The Customs Union and the Railways - - 91
§4 Demagogues and Refugees - - - 128
§5. The Diets of the Central States - - - 151

IX. THE GUELPH COUP D'ÉTAT

§1. Repeal of the State Fundamental Law. The Seven Professors of Göttingen - - 184
§2. Self-annihilation of the Bundestag - - 215

X. THE COLOGNE EPISCOPAL DISPUTE

§1. Archbishop Droste-Vischering - - - 234
§2. The Ultramontane Party - - - 260
§3. Death of Frederick William III - - - 285

VOL. VI. BOOK FIVE.

KING FREDERICK WILLIAM THE FOURTH,
1840-1848.

CHAPTER PAGE

I. HAPPY DAYS OF EXPECTATION

§1. The King and his Entourage - - - 293
§2. Rejoicings. Festival of Allegiance in Königsberg and Berlin - - - - 326

Contents

CHAPTER		PAGE
II.	DANGER OF WAR	
§1.	The London Convention of the Four Powers	366
§2.	The Rhine Frontier Threatened. Germany's Military Preparations	389
§3.	Peaceful Solution. The Straits Convention	424
§4.	The Bishopric of Jerusalem. Prussia and England	438
III.	DISILLUSIONMENT AND CONFUSION	
§1.	Provincial Diets of 1841. Posen	460
§2.	Reconstitution of the Ministry. Schön and Rochow	480
§3.	The Festival of Cologne Cathedral. The United Committees	498
§4.	The Struggle with the Press	525
§5.	New Life in Berlin	554
§6.	The Eichhorn Ministry	574
§7.	Provincial Diets of 1843. Constitutional Projects of the King. Arnim's Resignation	611

APPENDIXES TO VOL. VI.

XXVII.	Murder of the Student Lessing	633
XXVIII.	Mood of the Würtemberg Opposition	636
XXIX.	Autograph Letters of King Ernest Augustus	640
XXX.	Extract from the Private Memoranda of King Frederick William III	641
XXXI.	Treitschke's Preface to the Fifth Volume of the German Edition	642
XXXII.	European Policy of Czar Nicholas	643
INDEX		654

VOL. VI.

BOOK IV. (*Continued*).

THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH LIBERALISM.

1830–1840.

CHAPTER VIII.

YEARS OF QUIET.

§ 1. THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE AND THE EASTERN POWERS.

OWING to the association of the literary dispute with the political, owing to the domination of literature and philosophy by the tendencies of the epoch, the opinion prevailed among German liberals that the entire meaning of modern history was comprised in the struggle of freedom against slavery, in the struggle of light against darkness. This view seemed to be confirmed by the course of European politics, by the increasing tension between the west of Europe and the east. But the strength of our civilization is found in the continuous transformation of its manifold ideas, interests, and relationships of power. It has ever been a sign of distorted and fugitive conditions when, as in the epoch of the wars of religion, a single crude contrast has determined party grouping in the multiform society of states. Now the contrast between eastern and western Europe, which at this time almost all parties regarded as an historical necessity, did not in truth exist. It was for the most part imaginary, the belief in its reality being consequent upon acceptance of the theoretical formulas of constitutionalism and absolutism—for the holders of these doctrines utterly failed to recognize the living energy of the century, the impulse towards the formation of national states. Yet these doctrines swayed and befooled the world. Nothing is more certain than the depressing truth that the public opinion of whole epochs may be under the control of error. Owing to the prevalence of doctrinairism, Palmerston's mercantile abilities made it possible for him to utilize the disorders in the Iberian peninsula (disorders that were of trifling importance to Europe) as a welcome means for maintaining throughout the continent a continuous uneasiness, and for cunningly widening the rift between east and west.

In Portugal after the daughter land of Brazil had torn herself away from the motherland, Maria da Gloria, daughter of the Brazilian emperor Pedro, a girl under age, occupied the throne. But her uncle Dom Miguel, who acted as regent and to whom she had been betrothed, seized the crown in 1828, and there ensued a clericalist reign of terror whose horrors exceeded even those of the Spanish reaction. The despot, a rough, fanatical, almost bestial savage, imagined that it was his mission to follow the example of the archangel Michael and to destroy the Satan's spawn of liberalism. Utterly ignoring the constitution, he had thousands of his opponents executed, imprisoned, hunted down. A ruler who broke a constitution was always right in the eyes of the Hofburg, and therefore, though unquestionably a usurper, he enjoyed the secret favour of Metternich. After the July revolution he faced the two liberal powers of the west with all the enmity of a reactionary party chief. This was embarrassing to Lord Palmerston, the liberal patron of revolutions, for it now devolved upon him to espouse the legitimist cause of the young queen. For four generations, since the signing of the Methuen treaty, Portugal had been subservient to British commercial rule, and it was impossible for Palmerston to tolerate that this old hunting ground of Glasgow and Manchester manufacturers should now be closed to English trade by a hostile usurper. The weak regime of a girl in her teens was likely to be far more advantageous to English interests, and in the existing posture of affairs the restoration of the young queen to power was at the same time the cause of freedom and the cause of constitutionalist government.

Amid loud acclamations from liberals on both sides of the Channel, the English minister declared himself a supporter of the constitutionalist government of the youthful queen. It is true that King William IV, in a secret memorial, admitted with his wonted if narrow straightforwardness, that the great majority of the Portuguese had no desire for a constitution, but he nevertheless considered "the rule of Dom Miguel to be the greater evil and to be comparatively adverse to England's interests." So recently had the western powers solemnly paraded the principle of non-intervention that it was impossible for them to venture now upon open intervention in favour of legitimist right; but liberal public opinion was greatly inflamed against the Portuguese usurper, and it was therefore not difficult

to attain the desired end by devious paths. When Dom Pedro returned to Europe in the year 1832 to regain the crown for his daughter, France immediately placed at his disposal the Portuguese warship which had shortly before been seized in the Tagus during a dispute with Dom Miguel, and numerous French volunteers rallied to his banner. In England, recruits were publicly secured for him, although the law forbade enlistment for foreign service. The greater part of his naval forces was manned by English officers and bluejackets. Napier was in command of the fleet by which, off Cape St. Vincent, in the waters of former British naval renown, the ships of Dom Miguel were destroyed. A semi-official pamphlet, whose boastful style betrayed the pen of Palmerston, announced: "British valour was, as usual, associated with Portuguese liberty, and St. Vincent has once again witnessed deeds of naval heroism." At the same time an ardent assurance was issued to all the courts to the effect that in the Portuguese affair England was conscientiously maintaining strict neutrality. Civil war in Portugal continued for two years. The troops of the young queen, commanded by French officers and reinforced by volunteers from both the western powers, pressed more and more hardly upon Dom Miguel's army.

Meanwhile had occurred the death of King Ferdinand of Spain (1833), who, as the heritage of a shameful life, bequeathed to his people a civil war. Three years before his death, his fourth wife Christina, the bright, clever, easy-going Neapolitan, had induced him to repeal the salic law which throughout the eighteenth century the Spanish Bourbons had with trifling limitations unreservedly accepted. Henceforward women of the royal house were to enjoy the right of succession to the throne, an ancient national right to which in former days Isabella the Catholic, and subsequently the Hapsburgs, had owed their tenure of the throne. After the death of Ferdinand, his little daughter Isabella was to wear the crown, under the tutelage of her mother Christina. It could readily be foreseen that Ferdinand's brother Don Carlos, the rightful heir, would not tamely submit to such a coup d'état. In deep concern Count Bernstorff, as soon as he received tidings of this new "pragmatic sanction" of the Spanish crown, declared: "The only further thing needed for the simplification of the European situation is a new war of Spanish succession."

Don Carlos was Dom Miguel's brother-in-law, a bigot like the

Portuguese, a prey to the gloomiest superstitions, timid and narrow, the recognized leader of the "apostolic" party. Queen Christina, on the other hand, was by force of circumstances driven into the arms of the foes of priestly rule. In Portugal Maria, the legitimist, in Spain Isabella, the illegitimist, was the representative of liberalism. But what concern had England's leading statesman for historic right? Palmerston shrewdly foresaw that the queen regent Christina would soon be compelled to appeal for aid to her uncle Louis Philippe. In that event the illegitimist Bourbon courts of Madrid and Paris would perhaps renew the family compact which in earlier days, to England's grave disadvantage, had long existed between their legitimist predecessors. By one means only could the danger be averted. England must press in between the two courts, and (to the edification of all liberal minds) must play the magnanimous protector of the illegitimist Isabella. This, too, would open up hopes of the indefinite continuance of civil war in Spain, and might make it possible for the British patron to extort valuable commercial treaties from the harassed queen regent. Moreover, the French ally, still regarded by England with tacit suspicion, would have her forces paralysed by this war on the other side of the Pyrenees. The eastern powers, too, would have their minds so full of this affair that they would hardly notice how England meanwhile was extending her commercial dominion over half the world. Finally, all these brilliant gains could be secured without a dangerous war, merely by giving a mediate support to the queen, and by unceasing self-praise, which would convince the befooled liberal world how magnanimous was Britannia, universal protectress of liberty.

Promptly making up his mind, Palmerston marched straight for his goal. On April 22, 1834, in conjunction with Talleyrand and Christina's envoy Miraflores, he created his masterpiece the quadruple alliance. The governments of the two young queens undertook to expel Dom Miguel and Don Carlos from the peninsula. England promised the support of her fleet; and even France, though throughout the negotiations she remained modestly in the background, agreed that in case of need, after joint deliberation, she would intervene by force of arms. The principle of non-intervention could not have been more impudently repudiated, nor could the interventionist policy of the old quadruple alliance have been more strikingly

outbid. The decisions of the congress of Laibach had at least been based upon indisputable treaty rights accruing to the house of Austria in Italy. But now, without a shadow of legal warrant, it was resolved to undertake the armed support of a legitimist and an illegitimist queen; this was done solely to suit the momentary convenience of the western powers; and the utterly illegal intervention flaunted the name of liberty. Palmerston promptly announced that this new quadruple alliance was to constitute a powerful counterpoise against the holy alliance of the east. He spoke of it as peculiarly his own work, and said jestingly to his intimates, "I should like to see Metternich's face when he hears of it!" The semi-official *Journal des Débats* wrote: "The quadruple alliance is the answer of the liberal west to the congress of Münchengrätz and to the Vienna ministerial conferences. The Pyrenees no longer exist, for identity of political forms and the association between the destinies of their respective dynasties bind the Spanish and the French in a close union. No long time will elapse before Belgium and Switzerland will join the league of the four free nations, and their accession will be followed by that of constitutionalist South Germany, of Piedmont, of Naples, and of Greece." Such windy boasts found credence, above all among the arrogant Spaniards, who were in any case convinced that the world had remained unchanged since the days of Philip II, and who were now gratified to march in the forefront of civilization. Down to this very day the inscription "de las cuatro naciones" upon the signs of Spanish shops and inns continues to remind us of that epoch of western European megalomania. The liberal press of Germany joined in the triumphal chorus of the western powers, and it was assumed as a matter of course by all cultured persons that the free Portuguese stood far higher than the enslaved Prussian. It is true that Prince William the younger of Prussia must in this respect be numbered among persons without culture, for he said bitingly that "the quadruped" had for a time rendered European politics positively "monstrous."

Fortune favoured the allies. A few days after the alliance had been signed, Dom Miguel was compelled to capitulate at Elvora. At this time Don Carlos was present in his camp. In return for a pension, Dom Miguel renounced his claims to the throne. He went to Italy, and subsequently to Bavaria, continuing there without remission to engage in secret intrigues

with the ultramontanes of the German states. Thus was Portugal's fate decided, and thus was English commercial supremacy reestablished upon the Tagus. Even Metternich shrugged his shoulders when, at this late stage, Ancillon came out with the clericalists' proposal that Dom Miguel should demand Donna Maria's hand in fulfilment of the old pledge, and should by a happy marriage effect the reconciliation of the two parties in Portugal.[1] Palmerston was master of the situation, and was competent to provide for the young queen's conjugal happiness. Directly she attained the marriageable age she was wedded to the duke of Leuchtenberg, suspect to the court of the Tuileries as a Napoleonid, and for this very reason a persona grata to France's English friends. The young duke died a few months after the wedding, and this event opened the way for a new and adroit move on the political chessboard on the part of the house of Coburg. Owing to the conversion of the Coburg-Koharys, King Leopold of Belgium was in the fortunate position of being able to offer suitable Coburg consorts to Catholic queens as well as to Protestant. With the support of Palmerston he recommended his nephew Ferdinand, and shortly afterwards (1836) the lucky young Coburger was conveyed to Lisbon in a British man-of-war to secure a second royal crown for a house ever ready to win fortune by marriage. The unhappy country had now to learn all the miseries of Latin parliamentary government, to experience a monotonous cycle of place-hunting, corruption and conspiracy, party struggles and the overthrow of ministries, the violation and the granting of constitutions. Nevertheless, conditions were somewhat more tolerable than under the executioner's axe of Dom Miguel, and England at least could honestly rejoice in the new constitutionalist splendours. The Portuguese were again able and willing to ship the indispensable port wine, and in return for this boon the development of Portuguese manufacturing industry was successfully checked by the overwhelming strength of British competition.

Through the capitulation of Elvora, Don Carlos, too, had fallen into the hands of the allies, and if the pledges of the quadruple alliance were to be taken in earnest, it would be necessary either to induce him to renounce his claims or else to render him harmless by some other means. Thus the civil

[1] Ancillon, Instruction to Brockhausen, October 5; Brockhausen's Report, October 11, 1834.

war in Spain, which had only just begun to flame up, could have been stifled, and Christina, the queen regent, could have been freed from her only dangerous enemy. But in this event it was all too probable that the related courts of Madrid and Paris would enter into friendly associations, an outcome by no means accordant with English interest. Don Carlos, therefore, without being asked for any pledge, was brought to London upon a British warship, and his hosts were even so complacent as to convey for him a private letter to his loyal adherents in the Basque provinces. In London, the tories, Carlists almost to a man, gave King Charles V a warm welcome and secret assistance. Palmerston left him unconditionally free, the blameless peer contending, "We cannot treat him as a prisoner." A few days later, as everyone had foreseen, Don Carlos vanished. He crossed France unhindered, for in France the respective supporters of Charles X and Charles V had long been playing one another's game, and there were Carlist agents in every passport office and at every posting station.

On July 9th he suddenly appeared among his faithful followers in Navarre, the only region where he had any notable support, having in his letter from Elvora announced his speedy coming. The whole affair was a farce, and only the dovelike innocence of the German Liberals made it possible for them to believe that Palmerston had wished to prevent the return of the pretender and had not really desired the continuance of civil war in Spain. Though utterly incompetent as a military leader, Don Carlos was man enough and soldier enough to share all the hardships and distresses of his followers, and this sufficed the simple souls of the Pyrenees. The presence of the legitimist Catholic king was enough to inspire the Carlist armies with ardent enthusiasm.

What a misfortune that the most hardworking, handsomest, and most amiable inhabitants of the peninsula, the only ones who would entertain strangers humanely and with European hospitality, what a misfortune that these fine Basques should be forced into the struggle on behalf of priestly rule. Proud of their blue blood, the Basques had from remote days regarded French and Castilians with equal contempt. Under the protection of their immemorial fueros they led a life apart, a life untroubled by Spanish officials and Spanish taxes, but now the separate rights of the four Basque provinces were at

one stroke to be swept away by the new constitution promulgated by the queen regent in April, 1834. The Basques rose like one man on behalf of their fueros, and on behalf of the rightful king who had confirmed these, and for seven terrible years this half million of freemen resisted the united forces of Spain and her secret allies. For a time the Aragonese and the Catalans participated in the struggle, for they could not endure that the Castilians should so frequently display contempt for the coronilla of Aragon. But the valiant land of the Basques remained the acropolis of Carlism, and Zumalacarreguy, the only man whose personality towered above this commonplace crowd, was a Basque. Once more our century, proud of its civilization, had to witness a war which in point of devilish cruelty rivalled the "agony" of the Hellenes, and once again was displayed the utter savagery of the land of the auto-da-fé and of the bull fight. Thousands of liberal refugees who had in former days been driven abroad by King Ferdinand, having now returned to their homeland, fought under the banner of the Cristinos, and (with Mina to the fore) cooled their ancient hatreds in the blood of the Carlists. The monasteries turned their inexhaustible treasures into cash for the benefit of the Catholic king, and in the Amsterdam diamond market the exchange value of precious stones fell owing to excess of supply. On both sides were displayed boundless savagery and all the arts of Latin mendacity. If one were to believe the war bulletins of the Cristinos, during four years more Carlists were killed than were there inhabitants in the Basque provinces.

Since in these quiet times there were no notable events to draw attention elsewhere, the suppressed partisan hatred of the neighbour nations became concentrated upon this deplorable struggle, despite its remoteness from the life of central Europe. Fabulous tales from the Pyrenees were greedily swallowed, and it was a point of honour with every liberal to espouse the cause of the Cristinos. When at length, after shameful reverses, the fortunate Espartero led the queen's troops to victory, the liberals of Europe showered upon this questionable hero such extravagant praise as in earlier days they had showered upon Bolivar and Riego. In Germany, above all, the current of cosmopolitan enthusiasm ran strongly. Many liberal schoolmasters in Electoral Saxony tormented their unfortunate pupils, who knew nothing of Dennewitz and the Katzbach, with the

unpronounceable names of the various battlefields whereon the incomparable duke of Victoria was supposed to have led his troops to victory.

But Don Carlos, too, had warm admirers, at the courts, among the nobility, wherever the widely ramified party of legitimists had found adherents. Moritz von Haber, son of the influential Jewish banker in Carlsruhe, acted as commercial traveller on behalf of the Spanish chief. From every country volunteers flocked to his standard, and many of these were ultimately to win fame elsewhere. From France came Bazaine; from Austria the bold Prince Schwarzenberg, self-styled "the lansquenet"; from Germany von Rahden, writer on military topics. August von Göben, a spirited youth, could no longer endure the tedium of the peaceful garrison at Neu-Ruppin. Love of adventure, royalist enthusiasm, and passionate hatred for England, drove him into the Carlist army, where misfortune dogged his footsteps no less obstinately than did fortune attend him in later days. Amid nameless fights and unnumbered distresses, he already displayed the heroic stature of the future commander. Especially conspicuous among the volunteers was Prince Felix Lichnowsky, handsome, high-spirited, and unruly. So notorious were his doings among the Berlinese ladies and among the jewellers and pawnbrokers of the capital that it became impossible for him to remain in the army. Prince William vainly endeavoured to secure for him a place in the diplomatic service. The prince recognized this madcap's spirit and courage, and candidly assured the king: "Whilst we must not leave youthful levity unreproved, it is a mistake, on account of such levity, to allow a young man to fall into complete ruin, and we ought to give him a chance of turning his life to better account." [1] Ancillon and Rochow, men of strictly moral views, would not hear of lenity. Lichnowsky was compelled to send in his papers, and betook himself to Don Carlos, who soon promoted him to the rank of general. The enthusiastic German royalist was speedily sobered by the aspect of this unintelligent king, a man petrified in arrogance and insistent upon lip-service. Before long Lichnowsky began to feel how estranged was the Spanish nature from our liberal outlook on the world. Among the Cristinos, Germans were few. Most notable was Höfken, a Prussian officer in the engineers. Such was his experience of

[1] Prince William to King Frederick William, February 18, 1837.

Spanish honesty that it was not long before he shook the dust of the country from his feet.

The fortune of war inclined now to one side, now to the other; on one occasion the Carlist forces knocked at the gates of Madrid; and it was inevitable that during the tedious struggle extremists should come to the front in both camps Don Carlos speedily became a mere tool in the hands of fanatical priests, and he nominated Our Lady of Sorrows as field marshal to his army. In Madrid, the liberals were overpowered by the radical exaltados, and at length Mendizabal, a Jewish banker and stock exchange expert (spoken of by Ancillon as a dexterous "jongleur"), grasped the tiller and effected the abolition of the monasteries (1836). Marvellous was the justice of fate. By the bold hand of a Jewish gamester was dealt the overwhelming blow at that Spanish church which had once sinned so deeply and so irrevocably in decreeing the cruel expulsion of the hardworking Moors and Jews! Now were the monasteries plundered throughout the orthodox land, that land in which on all the pillars of the pilgrimage churches there hung in thick festoons waxen ears, noses, breasts, votive offerings of pagan idolatry—a land utterly lacking the first essentials for liberal, thoughtful, and evangelical Christianity, one wherein a man was forced to choose between dull-witted subjection and criminal blasphemy. The strongest prop of the old ecclesiastical dominion had been broken. Amid the medley of conspiracies, coup d'états, and military plots, the new constitution perished. The sacred charter of the year 1812 came once more into operation, but was replaced before long by a third fundamental law.

Whilst these horrors, the necessary consequence of the tragic history of three centuries, were afflicting the land of Spain, Palmerston was lightheartedly trampling international law underfoot. He did not venture to ship an English army to Spain, for he had no desire to irritate the eastern powers, nor did he wish to bring this welcome civil war to a premature close. But British ships blockaded the bay of Biscay, gave occasional support to the troops of the queen regent in her struggle with the Basque forces, and from time to time handed over a crowd of defenceless Carlist prisoners to be butchered by the Cristinos. The prohibition of foreign enlistment was suspended and there was constituted a so-called Spanish legion, intended to furnish the Cristinos with just such help as had

earlier been secretly supplied by Canning to the South American republics in the form of English volunteers. The officers' corps of this Spanish legion consisted of distinguished adventurers and isolated liberal enthusiasts, whilst the rank and file was recruited from among the scum of the population in London, Glasgow, and Manchester. In parliament, however, the members of the legion were described by Palmerston as high-minded men, impelled, not by the prospect of gain, but by honourable enthusiasm for the constitutionalist cause. Clad in the red tunics of the royal army, drilled by English sergeants, provided with English colours, and equipped with tower muskets, these soldiers sailed for the Basque provinces, and there, after many vicissitudes, most of them met their fate at the hands of the enraged Carlists. While this was in progress, the minister for foreign affairs was giving positive asseverations that the British army was playing absolutely no part in the Spanish war. Wellington, greatly moved, declared in the upper house that England's honour must be kept unstained. The admonition came too late, for already had that honour been stained. England's shame was proclaimed far and wide by the graves of the British soldiers on the rocky declivities of the Mota, and in the sea-washed fortress of San Sebastian.

But on this occasion shame was a paying business. By masked participation in the war, by the supply of weapons, and by secret support, Palmerston bound the queen regent to the English, and on several occasions she signed commercial treaties advantageous to England though injurious to the budding industries of Catalonia. The minister for foreign affairs gave his special favour to the exaltados, and Mendizabal above all was his devoted servant—for the more violent the oppositions in Spain, the longer would be the duration of this profitable civil war. His language in parliament became increasingly arrogant, until at last his tone was purely demagogic. He openly declared that, were it only for commercial reasons, England must favour Queen Isabella. He spoke of Don Carlos as "a mere pretender, claimant of a throne on which he had never sat." The London stock exchange, which was doing a thriving business in the queen regent's depreciated treasury bills, regarded the liberal peer with cordial approval. To the uninitiated section of the lower house he endeavoured to represent the dynastic quarrels of the two Bourbon families (both equally contemptible) as a great war of principle. On

April 19, 1837, he declared that every state was empowered, in case of need, to change its supreme head. "This was the principle on which our own government was founded in 1688. This was the principle on which the present government of France was founded by the revolution of 1830. The government of Isabella rests on the same principle." Thus frivolously did he proclaim the right of revolution, contesting the fundamental right of monarchy, the inviolability of state authority vested in a self-contained right. Although the liberals, most of whom unwittingly cherished a semi-republican theory of the state, loudly applauded these doctrines, Count Maltzan and the other diplomatists of the old and firmly established monarchies of the east had unquestionably good grounds for condemning "the incredible and detestable" speech of the British peer.[1]

The court of the Tuileries, however, was made reflective by England's provocative demeanour. Unlike the invulnerable island realm, a continental power was not in a position to permit itself every liberty, and it was inevitable that France should feel that relationships of power in the society of states are not determined by empty catchwords. Louis Philippe was acquainted with the Spaniards and with their arrogant hatred of foreigners; he knew that only through extraordinary luck had intervention proved successful in 1823, and that in the end nevertheless France had suffered because she had intervened. Was he to take part in these incalculable confusions, to run the risk of finding himself between two fires; was he to make common cause with the Spanish exaltados, men of like political views with the Parisian republicans who were enemies of his house? How much wiser would it be for him to make approaches to the eastern powers and thus to safeguard the future of his dynasty. Reluctantly and with cautious reserves had he approved the quadruple alliance, and he did no more to carry out the terms of that alliance than seemed imperiously demanded by liberal public opinion. Immediately after the treaty had been signed he admitted to the Austrian envoy Apponyi that adhesion had been quite adverse to his personal wishes, and that never would he allow French soldiers to set foot upon Spanish soil.[2] He provided for the queen regent the Algerian foreign legion (which was speedily destroyed by the Basques); and he closed the Pyrenees frontier

[1] Maltzan's Reports, April, 1837.
[2] Brockhausen's Report, May 20, 1834.

to the Carlists. But he would go no further. Feeling at length firmly seated in the saddle, he conducted foreign policy according to his own ideas and over the heads of his ministers. Fine words could not harmonize the Mediterranean interests of the two western powers; alike in Spain and in the east the natural oppositions soon became crudely conspicuous; the boasted entente cordiale was visibly cooling.

The veteran Talleyrand, moreover, who was intimately acquainted with the London courts, declared to Louis Philippe that the British alliance had served its purpose, and that the only thing France had now to expect from England was the gift of revolution.[1] When Thiers made a blusterous speech, demanding that France should encompass herself everywhere with constitutionalist states, the king was hardly less indignant with the bellicose minister than was Ancillon, who angrily exclaimed, "This man has again unfurled the standard of the propaganda."[2] Louis Philippe did not rest until he had secured Thiers' dismissal, and he subsequently made his son assure the Viennese court that even if it should prove necessary to have twenty changes of ministry, the king would not allow himself to be thrust into the Spanish adventure. The greater the arrogance displayed by the radicals in Madrid, the stronger was Louis Philippe's distrust of the Cristinos and their English patron. Metternich now regarded him as fully converted, and addressed confidential enquiries to the Tuileries as to whether the time had not yet arrived for public recognition of the salic law and Don Carlos.[3] The envoys of the petty states who in important political affairs never get hold of more than half the story, now declared with important official mien: "It is well known that Louis Philippe supports Don Carlos."[4] It was impossible for the French usurper to venture such a change of front, but he made serious endeavours to win the confidence of the two German great powers. He began a secret correspondence with Metternich, assuring him, in terms that were at times somewhat undignified, that the French court was animated by the best intentions, and was rewarded by the Austrian with sapient exhortations. "I will have nothing to do with M. Thiers," said Louis Philippe to Hügel, the

[1] Maltzan's Report, June 3, 1835.
[2] Ancillon, Instruction to Brockhausen, December 18, 1834.
[3] Maltzan's Report, May 31, 1836.
[4] Thus reports Münchhausen, Hanoverian envoy in Berlin, September 28, 1837.

Austrian chargé d'affaires. "I will hear nothing of these American ideas which are poisoning Europe. If Prussia and Austria would but furnish me with more vigorous support, I could do more for the cause of order." Diplomatists soon recognized how great an influence this "commérage politique" of the two old gentlemen was exercising upon the bourgeois king's sentiments; and Ancillon expressed his gratification that Louis Philippe had found in Metternich "so notable a political preacher." It was, declared Ancillon, "a beneficial phenomenon in the history of diplomacy." [1]

The assurances of the Orleanist ruler were received with much satisfaction in Vienna and Berlin and served to increase the ill-will aroused by Palmerston's repeated inflammatory speeches. "Whereas in France," opined Ancillon, "attempts are made to strengthen the authority of the state, England unashamedly aims at revolution." On one occasion in 1835, when Palmerston, in a moment of temporary embarrassment, attempted through the mediation of King Leopold of Belgium to approach the German powers and to inflame their suspicions against Russia, his advances were rejected most contumeliously. "When Palmerston comes to knock at my door," said Metternich scornfully, "he must be in extremis." [2] Upon a tory cabinet alone would the German powers bestow their confidence, and but once only, in the autumn of 1834, did the tory party attain to power for a few months, without being able to change the course of English policy. Palmerston continued to wield supreme influence and was borne forward on the waves of popular favour now that in his speeches he had extolled the league of free nations.

Thus zealously supported by England and half-heartedly supported by France, in the year 1839 the Cristinos secured their first decisive successes. For a considerable time the energies of the Carlists had been weakened by the most pitiful dissensions, and now, owing to the treachery of one of his generals, Don Carlos was forced to seek refuge in France, installing his punctilious court at Bourges, the chief centre for the discontented legitimist nobility. For another year, the savage Cabrera, whose mother had been shot by the Cristinos, endeavoured to continue the war; but the Basques were

[1] Maltzan's Reports, September, 1837; Werther's Report, October 18, 1837; Ancillon to Maltzan, February 10, 1838.

[2] Ancillon, to Maltzan, August 17; Maltzan's Report, June 12, 1835.

exhausted by the unequal struggle, and far and wide through the mountains was heard the cry: "Paz y fueros." The queen regent at length determined to confirm the peculiar rights of the Basque provinces, and thereupon the rule of Queen Isabella was recognized throughout the land. But the legal basis of the Cristino regime was extremely unstable. The new monarchy, illegitimist from the foundation, could never count upon inspiring sentiments of traditional loyalty. Old Spain had been destroyed, but no new Spain had been established. Carlism had not been killed; it was merely slumbering. No signs were to be seen of the promised benefits of constitutionalist life. The army was torn by faction and the administration was utterly corrupt. Place-hunting was rife in the cortes, and at court the envoys of England and of France strove with one another for supremacy. Of old the Spaniards had spent their lifeblood on behalf of the ideal of a Catholic world empire; now they again presented the detestable spectacle of a nation concerned solely with political strife. All the strength of this lavishly endowed people was absorbed in the arid struggles of faction; there was no energy left for art, for research, for the promotion of economic development, for creative culture. Not until several decades had elapsed were the weak beginnings of a healthier national life to become manifest.

It was inevitable that whatever came into contact with this disastrous war should become affected with the curse of mendacity. The policy of the eastern powers was not free from this stigma; nevertheless, these powers continued to act more honourably, and continued to display more dignified calm than did the powers of the west. It was natural that the former should incline towards the Carlist cause, not merely because Don Carlos was the rightful king, but also because they had to consider the possibilities of a world war, and in that event could count only upon the alliance of a Carlist Spain. In Berlin the crown prince was especially frank in his espousal of the side of Don Carlos, and Colonel Radowitz, the prince's confidant, published a pamphlet defending the legitimist succession to the Spanish throne. Apart from these considerations, since Palmerston eulogized the Spanish war as a struggle of the revolution against the rights of princes, it was impossible for the three powers to hesitate in their choice of a side. They recalled their envoys from Madrid—to the

great disadvantage of the poor weavers in the Riesengebirge, who were thus deprived of the important Spanish market. They forbade the king of the Belgians to permit recruiting on behalf of the Cristinos. They could not venture upon the formal recognition of Charles V, for as continental powers it was impossible for them to undertake intervention without the assistance of France. The court of Berlin had no hopes of Louis Philippe's complete conversion. The difficulties of his position were fully understood, for, as Ancillon declared, the French king "must support the national vanity in its belief that France exercises a kind of peaceful dictatorship." [1] All the more, therefore, did the eastern powers look anxiously for the triumph of Carlist arms, for Don Carlos' agents, who were at work in all the German courts, had given the impression that the legitimist king could count upon the support of the enormous majority of the Spanish nation. After every victory of the Basques, secret consultations were held as to whether the time had not now arrived for the recognition of King Charles, but in the end the conclusion was always the same, that it was necessary to await his entry into Madrid. Nothing therefore happened beyond a sterile interchange of despatches. When on one occasion the English government undertook to prove to the Berlin court that Queen Isabella was the rightful ruler of Spain, a convincing refutation was issued in the form of an elaborate memorandum from the Berlin foreign office.[2] Amid these verbal skirmishes, Ancillon felt thoroughly at home. In didactic notes to the Tuileries he unceasingly preached his wisdom.[3]

Of the three allied monarchs, Nicholas was the coolest towards Don Carlos. The czar continued to cherish hatred for the "street king" and the "blouse king" as he loved to designate the rulers in Paris and in Brussels. He continued to hope for a world war which would sweep away all the creations of the July revolution. In comparison with these great designs the Spanish affair seemed to him hardly worth consideration. "For Don Carlos I have iron only, but no gold," he said loftily.[4] But as a true son of the house of Holstein Gottorp, he harboured secret designs under the mask

[1] Ancillon to Brockhausen, July 14, 1834.
[2] Memorandum on Spain, drawn up by Baron von Miltitz, March 19, 1839.
[3] Ancillon to Brockhausen, April 23, 1835.
[4] These utterances of the czar were well known at courts; Maltzan refers to them in his report of January 14, 1837.

of this legitimist phrasemongering. The protectorate over the sultan which Russia had secured by the treaties of Adrianople and Hunkiar Iskelessi was already proving a broken reed; English diplomacy was regaining influence on the Bosphorus, and the czar had no wish to cause needless irritation to the most dangerous enemy of his eastern designs. He was unwilling, therefore, to have anything to do with the Spanish affair; and Metternich was unable to understand why Nicholas displayed so much consideration, displayed positive tenderness for the British cabinet, "the worst of all bad governments." [1]

In such circumstances it was impossible for Don Carlos to secure notable financial support from the three monarchs. The liberals, it is true, had a fixed idea that the Carlist campaign was carried on chiefly with the aid of funds supplied by the eastern powers; and the Austrians in particular told wonderful tales of the enormous sums which flowed annually across the Pyrenees. No opinion could have been more erroneous. Even King Frederick William, whose sentiments were strongly Carlist, and who was much displeased at his son-in-law's lukewarmness, definitely refused to act as guarantor for a Carlist loan when a proposal to this effect was made to him by Blacas, the veteran French legitimist. It was impossible, he said, for Prussia to take sides openly in this way.[2] Only after repeated requests did he agree to a cash payment, which was to be regarded as a gratuity or as a proof of personal friendship. Upon his orders the Oversea Trading Company was in profound secrecy "for a special purpose" to make an advance bearing no interest amounting in all to 473,624 thalers, 8 silbergroschen. The money was sent as a gift to Don Carlos, in part through the instrumentality of Metternich, and was subsequently refunded by the state treasury.[3] The amount was considerable for a state whose regular expenditure was at this time 51,000,000 thalers per annum, but it was ludicrously small as a contribution to the maintenance of a war lasting seven years, a war which had wasted the accumulated treasures of the Spanish monasteries. Subsequently the Hofburg, and also (after prolonged resistance) Czar Nicholas, likewise made contributions; but each supplied

[1] Maltzan's Report, December 26, 1835.

[2] Lottum, in the king's name, to Ancillon, April 23, 1834.

[3] Cabinet Order to Rother, November 25, 1836; to Lottum, August 11, 1838; Rother to Lottum, March 5, 1838.

only about the same sum as the king of Prussia, so that the total expenditure of the three courts may have amounted to about four million francs. This was all. Such was the condition of Prussian finances that larger payments were no longer possible, and it was recognized that small payments were undesirable, for painful experience had shown that these invariably disappeared into the pockets of Carlist grandees. After the Carlist defeat a further collection was made in Berlin society on behalf of the vestiges of the beaten army. Prince Charles, Wittgenstein, Rochow, and Werther, cooperated, but the total yield was only 1,100 thalers.[1] Among all the monarchs of Europe, the only one to contribute considerable sums was King Charles Albert of Sardinia, who proved himself the most zealous of legitimists, and who was moreover closely connected with Don Carlos by dynastic interest. The eastern powers did no more than the minimum that the situation seemed to demand. But even this trifling help sufficed to show their sentiments, and therefore, when Carlism had been shattered, there was loud rejoicing in the liberal world. The feeling was that the league of the four free nations had defeated the holy alliance.

Thus did the clear contrast by which since the July revolution Prussian policy had been distinguished from Russian make itself manifest in all questions. The personal friendship between the two courts remained unchanged. In August, 1834, Prince William visited St. Petersburg, in order to attend the inauguration of the Alexander column. Shortly afterwards the czar, accompanied by his heir, paid a return visit to Berlin, and here Nicholas, strolling through the streets on foot in simple morning dress, charmed the shopkeepers by his affability and his extensive purchases. Overwhelming his father-in-law with the customary cajoleries, he persuaded Frederick William into a remarkable and theatrical enterprise, intended to demonstrate to the quadruple alliance how inviolable was the friendship betwixt Prussia and Russia. In September, 1835, Russian forces and a few thousand Prussian soldiers occupied a joint camp near Kalisz. A Russian corps came by sea to Danzig in order to march through West Prussia to the Polish frontier town. At the entrance to their beautiful Ratskeller

[1] Berlin Reports of Münchhausen, Hanoverian envoy September 23, 1837; of Berger, October 30, 1839.

beside the Artushof the Danzigers had painted the life-size picture of an eight foot Muscovite drum-major, intended to make visible to European eyes the vastness of the czar's realm. There were grand doings in Kalisz. Czar and czaritsa received Frederick William with childlike veneration, Nicholas repeatedly kissing the king's hands and sleeves. Circassians and Cossacks displayed their barbaric arts of horsemanship; a Russian grenadier regiment had even been trained to show off the Prussian parade step in somewhat halting fashion; magnificent banquets and fireworks gave welcome relief to the military exercises. In order that his father-in-law might feel entirely at home, the czar had retained the services of the best actors in Berlin. At the close, when the castle of Kalisz was stormed, the czaritsa, clad in white draperies as an angel of peace, appeared upon the balcony to bid the cessation of strife.

Subsequently, in honour of the Castra Calissiensia Russo-Borussica, a medal was struck, bearing the images of the two monarchs, and also those of two knights holding the standards of the respective nations. Yet all this display served to show more clearly than ever that the fraternisation of the two realms was based solely upon dynastic sentiments and political calculation, and that it nowise corresponded with the inclinations of the peoples. Among all the Prussians, two only were thoroughly satisfied. The first of these was Colonel von Rauch, military attaché in St. Petersburg, acknowledged favourite of the czar, henceforward for many years leader of the Russophils. The other well-contented man was Louis Schneider, the actor, an ardent admirer of the czar. How delighted was Schneider when Nicholas gave him a permit to view the camp made out in the name of "Leontin Abrahamovitch Schneider, royal Prussian non-commissioned officer," and the actor was careful to send to the *Staatszeitung* a servile report of Muscovite splendours. The other Prussians, however, felt very strongly that this senseless military display was a political error, and even the king tacitly shared their opinion. So intimate a friendship as was here flaunted can exist between two independent states only during a war jointly waged; in time of peace it is impossible. Since in the world's eyes Prussia was the weaker party, the report became disseminated that the czar was in command at Berlin. The liberal press did not hesitate to exploit this weakness. At the same time that press uttered pathetic complaints concerning the foolish extravagance

of the northern despots; it was known, they said, that even Prince Wittgenstein had declared that reviews of this character belonged to the days of Augustus the Strong and were out of place in modern times. The newspapers were unaware that the extraordinary expenditure had been defrayed by the king from his privy purse.

The Prussian officers were made extremely uncomfortable by the czar's continued asseverations of friendship, by his ceaseless repetition of the phrase, "You cannot imagine how happy I feel among you." They knew all too well how brutal at times were the severities of this amiable person, and they were glad to remember how frankly a short while before Wrangel, their general, had protected the brave general, Carl Nostitz, and his Cossacks, against the anger of the czar. "The men ought not to be blamed," the Prussian had said, "for one has no right to expect half-broken horses of the steppes to carry out a parade gallop of this character." Nor were their hearts drawn towards these Russian comrades, some of whom were utterly uncultured, whilst others displayed the veneer of the French salons. It did not take them long to discover how defective was equipment, how poor was victualling, how inhuman was discipline, in many of the Russian regiments; and although during the long peace they had themselves become accustomed to the practice of many comparatively futile parade-ground arts, they could not but be astonished to note how the czar personally conducted the movements of every section of the troops engaged in mimic warfare, leaving for his generals nothing but the mechanical transmission of the orders issued to them. Still less was it possible for comradely relationships to arise between the rank and file of the two armies, although the Prussian guards on arrival were embraced by the Russians and were kissed in accordance with the repulsive Slav custom. The Prussians were young men drawn from all classes of the nation; the Russians were soldiers grown old in the service, derived for the most part from those dubious strata of society described by the authorities as "indispensable." Further difficulties naturally arose from differences of language, customs, and conceptions of honour. When on their return from Kalisz the Prussians recrossed the frontier, they had become fully impressed with a feeling of superiority. The officers could hardly conceal their repugnance, and many of them asked bitterly why this town

above all should have been chosen as the one in which they had had to play the part of guests, this town which had formerly been Prussian, and where on the Cadet's House and other public buildings the partially erased sign manuals of two Prussian kings could still be read.

This festival of fraternization did not lead to any change in the political attitude of the two powers. Whereas afterwards, as before, Nicholas treated the bourgeois king with studied rudeness, Frederick William became ever more strongly convinced that new conditions in France must be taken soberly into account. Since the Münchengrätz negotiations, the lesser German courts had no longer doubted that Prussia was determined to wage no war but a German war, and never to engage in a struggle fought only to maintain legitimist principles. It was, indeed, impossible that the usurper should be genuinely respected in Berlin, and in confidential despatches the Prussian diplomats continued to speak of him as "Louis Philippe," and hardly ever termed him "king." But his hand was at the tiller, and during the continuance of his rule order and peace seemed assured. Platen was nearly expressing the general opinion of the moderate parties when he sang:

> On him hangs much. So sacrosanct
> Was never royal head before.

The bourgeois king's conservative sentiments were almost all that could be desired. In Berlin and in Vienna it was well known how deliberately he favoured the incessant ministerial changes of parliamentarism in order to outweary all the politicians and to convince the French that he himself was indispensable.[1] After Fieschi had made an attempt upon the life of Louis Philippe with an infernal machine, the king openly acknowledged his advocacy of the "policy of resistance," and in the laws of September he had vigorous restrictions imposed upon the "party of movement." No French government since the days of Napoleon had taken such severe measures against the promoters of disorder, for not merely was Fieschi's deed alarming in its savagery (then unexampled, though greatly exceeded since), but it proved further that the radicals were not aiming at the monarch in person, but were engaged in a life and death struggle against monarchy. How unstable,

[1] Maltzan's Report, March 21, 1837.

how blasé, how unfitted to withstand new revolutions, did Parisian society show itself when faced by such a crime! The scandal-loving dwellers in the great city assembled in crowds, paying two francs a head to gape at an ugly prostitute who put herself on show as mistress of Fieschi the bandit.

Such sinister incidents continually increased the anxieties of Louis Philippe, strongly inclining him to listen to the counsels of Metternich, who was able to furnish, in addition to the customary unctuous exhortations, an occasional well-directed word. The Austrian once asked him whether he did not see that a new class dominion had come into existence in France, and that if the middle class held sway it had ceased to be the middle class.[1] For Europe the bourgeois king could wish nothing better than the reestablishment of the old quintuple alliance of Aix-la-Chapelle which had protected his dynasty on both sides. In this respect his desires harmonized with Frederick William's love of peace.[2] But how was it possible to think of a league of the five powers while the czar continued to rail against the July monarchy and while Palmerston continued to utter inflammatory speeches? Russia and England were the disturbers of the peace. What made the king of Prussia especially angry was that the London court was secretly endeavouring to withdraw Austria to the side of the western powers. He demanded and secured the repudiation of these attempts "so that an end may be put once for all to the bragging of the English ministry."[3] He now gave England up as hopeless, but he desired to live in honest friendship with France as long as a well-ordered government should prevail in that country.

In the great family of European princes the members of the Orleans house were still regarded with contempt, and only with the Coburg ruler in Brussels were they on terms of friendly intercourse. Louis Philippe had made a number of futile advances to different courts to secure a consort for his successor. On every occasion the threats of Russia had proved too much for him, so that he subsequently complained: "The czar wished to condemn my family to positive castration."[4] It was plain to Frederick William that this state of affairs

[1] Maltzan's Report, May 21, 1837.
[2] Maltzan's Report, March 26, 1836.
[3] The king's marginal note to Maltzan's Report of May 1, 1836.
[4] Maltzan's Reports, September, 1837.

must not be allowed to continue. Now that the house of Orleans had been recognized, its members must be admitted to the social status properly attaching to the French throne. He therefore declared his willingness to receive the young French prince in his own palace. In 1835, Metternich, to whom the proposed visit was most unwelcome, had managed to prevent it by various expedients, but in May, 1836, the duke of Orleans and his brother the duke of Nemours set out on their visit to the two great German courts. The crown prince of Prussia wrote in despair, "The hardship is so intolerable that I should like to weep." His father insisted, however, that the courtesies should be duly observed, and received his guests with paternal kindness. Berliners exulted, for the newspapers were filled with accounts of the glories of free France. Even Ancillon, although the king had excluded him from knowledge of the preliminary negotiations, put a good face upon the matter, and assured the Viennese court that the two young men had disarmed many prejudices.[1]

The heir to the French throne showed himself in fact to be an amiable, cultured, and reasonable man. In aspect and manners he was pleasing, although in his shifty eyes could be read the falseness of the Orleans family. Though still the hope of the war party, he had long since discarded the boastful tone of the national guardsman, and conducted himself in a courtly and princelike manner. Having to walk warily in Berlin he was glad to accept the guidance of Alexander Humboldt. When taking leave of the king he appeared profoundly touched. "My father," he exclaimed, "commanded me not to return without kissing the beneficent hand of him who for twenty years has preserved the peace of the world." Far less cordial was the reception in Vienna. The archdukes were extremely reserved, and a portion of the high nobility had left the town. The festivals were characterized by unmistakable stiffness, embarrassment, and ill humour, and Princess Metternich displayed her legitimist sentiments with customary arrogance.[2] Disregarding these indications, the duke of Orleans ventured to ask for the hand of the archduchess Theresa, daughter of the archduke Charles and was met with a courteous refusal. The elderly warrior, who had never been personally hostile to France, would have been

[1] Ancillon to Maltzan, May 26, 1836.
[2] Maltzan's Report, June 25, 1836.

willing enough. But all the other members of the court were opposed to the idea, not solely from legitimist pride. In France, Austrian marriages had long been regarded as ill-omened, and Metternich had good reason for his opinion that such a family alliance was more likely to shatter than to strengthen the July monarchy.

Louis Philippe was infuriated by this rebuff. Fears began to be entertained in Berlin that he would turn his back on the German powers and revert to the channels of revolutionary propaganda. Frederick William therefore, again acting without previous knowledge on the part of Ancillon, determined to find a consort for the heir to the French throne belonging to one of the less powerful but distinguished old princely houses, and as soon as Bresson, the French envoy, spoke to him of the charming Princess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the king promptly undertook to use his good offices in the matter. Metternich offered no objection, saying scornfully that from the political point of view the bride was perfectly innocuous (*anodine*).[1] Princess Helena's brother, son-in-law of Frederick William, had just ascended the throne of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Grand Duke Paul Frederick was fond of display, a man of artistic tastes, and bon viveur. The pride of the Mecklenburg house, which already numbered five queens among its daughters, struggled long against the suggestion. Frederick William instructed Count Lottum to explain to his son-in-law that the king had no wish to constrain the grand duke's personal feelings, but that the marriage was desirable on political grounds. Hitherto diplomacy had been "successful in its endeavours" to attach Louis Philippe to the conservative powers, but if the wooing were rejected the French king would be wroth, his sensitive heir would be yet more embittered, and this was precisely what the German and Polish revolutionaries wanted.[2] Hereupon Minister Kamptz was despatched to Schwerin as legal adviser. A sudden transformation was now witnessed in this strict royalist, who had recently added to his coat of arms the new device," Regi et principio conservativo." The king's command and the desire as a Mecklenburger to win new glories for the hereditary house now dominated his mind completely. In a privately circulated writing he enunciated legal principles which, besides being untenable in themselves,

[1] Maltzan's Reports, February, 1837.
[2] Lottum, Memorial concerning the Mecklenburg marriage, January 28, 1837.

sounded in his mouth absolutely preposterous, for he endeavoured, to prove the quasi-legitimacy of the Orleans ruler on the ground that Louis Philippe had possessed a legitimist right to the succession, although it had to be admitted that he had not been in the direct line.

The venerable Strelitzer, Minister August von Oertzen,[1] now entered an objection. Suffering from a mortal illness, he was passing his last days in Berlin, and felt unable to die in peace without warning his sovereign ruler. "Even in private life," he declared in his patriarchal manner, "one does not decide to enjoy so-called windfalls if the lawfulness of their acquisition should seem at all dubious." In an impassioned memorial he refuted Kamptz's contentions, and this reply, too, was circulated among the courts. "Hitherto," he wrote, "legitimacy and revolution have merely existed side by side in an attitude of mutual toleration, ostensibly keeping the peace each with the other; but henceforward they are to mingle and to wed." It was regarded as certain that the king's brother-in-law had had a hand in this affair, and in diplomatic circles he was regarded as the real author of the memorial. Duke Charles made no attempt to conceal his indignation at the proposed marriage. "His rage exceeds all bounds," said Wittgenstein, himself unconditionally subservient to the king's commands. Kamptz's rejoinder took the form of caustic *Observations* in which he appealed to the example of the Vasas, the Guelphs, William III, and Napoleon, treating the author of the memorial with the utmost contumely.[2] The dispute between the highest dignitaries of the monarchy waxed fierce. Duke Charles was made keenly aware of the king's displeasure. As so often before, he begged permission to resign from the council of state; a breach seemed unavoidable; and after all that had happened it was almost fortunate for the duke that at this juncture he fell ill and died shortly afterwards (September, 1837). The crown prince likewise assailed his father with complaints. Nor did Czar Nicholas fail to use all his influence, sending his favourite, Colonel Rauch, to Berlin, and beseeching the princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, his niece, to refrain from carrying out her expressed intention. Ancillon was instructed to indicate in plain terms that this was an inadmissible interference in German affairs.[3]

[1] See vol. IV, p. 400.

[2] "Notes," a Mecklenburg Memorial, with "Observations" by Kamptz (lithographed, Spring, 1837).

[3] Münchhausen's Reports, February 21, April 11 and 12, 1837.

Amid the uproar the king preserved his equanimity and insisted that the peace of Europe demanded the sacrifice—although he would not have sacrificed a Prussian princess to the Orleans family. In May, 1837, the affianced princess, on her way to Paris, was hospitably entertained at Potsdam, and gained a lifelong friend in Alexander Humboldt. The nuptials were celebrated in June, and this occasion was chosen for the opening at Versailles of the museum "à toutes les gloires de la France," a collection containing boastful battle-pieces whose character harmonized ill with the pacifist nature of the bourgeois monarchy. Louis Philippe was in the seventh heaven of delight, and created Bresson pair de France. At length, thanks to the king of Prussia, his house had been formally accepted into the European estate of princes. Nor did he hesitate to prove his gratitude by deeds. In the year 1838 the French were recalled from Ancona and the Austrians from Ferrara. For the nonce all danger of war seemed averted.

Similar moderation was displayed by Frederick William in the Swiss disputes wherein the principality of Neuchâtel was embroiled. After seven democratic cantons had constituted a sonderbund for the protection of their new constitutions, the Neuchâtelois royalists combined with five other conservative cantons to form the Sarnerbund for the maintenance of the old federal law. The quarrel became so acrimonious that during the summer of 1833 the legislative body of Neuchâtel determined to address to the king a formal proposal to secede from the Confederation. This decision represented the views of most persons of culture. Among the masses, however, the Swiss radical party of the so-called patriots already numbered many supporters, and a counter-petition which was promptly circulated readily secured several thousand signatures. The petitioners were curtly informed by the king that the popular voice could in his eyes find expression solely through the mouths of the lawful deputies. The envoys despatched by the legislative body, led by Baron Chambrier, an ardent royalist, met with a most friendly reception in Berlin. Ancillon declared himself greatly touched by "the truly childlike confidence" they manifested in the king. But Frederick William was disinclined to accede without further parley to their passionately worded proposals, for it was impossible that this petty Jura territory, hemmed in by France and Switzerland, could

hope to maintain itself as a European power. The Prussian government did not fail to recognize that the position of the little principality would become extremely embarrassing should radicalism make greater headway in Switzerland and should a firmer form of federal unity become established. But the government was likewise aware that at once by geographical situation and by the forces of tradition Neuchâtel was closely associated with Switzerland. It was natural to ask whether the territory should not be restored to its former position in the Confederation. Should Neuchâtel again become an associated district of Switzerland, without vote in the national assembly, but supplying money and troops to the Confederates and receiving in return military protection, there was good hope that the disastrous friction between royalists and republicans would come to an end.

The idea was statesmanlike. The suggested means was, perhaps, the only one by which the unnatural duplex position of the princely canton might be safeguarded for a further period; but it conflicted with the new Swiss federal constitution which had been guaranteed by all the great powers. Ancillon therefore asked the four powers whether Prussia could count upon their support should Switzerland agree to the opening of negotiations upon the suggested lines.[1] Russia promptly replied that the czar would certainly approve whatever the king decided to do in the matter of Neuchâtel.[2] Metternich raised objections. He considered the moment ill-chosen, and, faithful to his short-sighted conservative policy, desired that as little change as possible should be made in the treaties of 1815.[3] In these circumstances no support could be expected from the western powers. Meanwhile the Swiss dissensions had undergone mitigation. The Sarnerbund subordinated itself to the national assembly, and the radicals temporarily postponed the carrying out of their plans for federal reform. Peace seemed reestablished. The king abandoned his design and endeavoured to appease his loyal subjects. A year later, however, the Neuchâtel council of state again demanded, fruitlessly once more, a change in the relationships between Neuchâtel and Switzerland.[4] Thus the

[1] Ancillon, Instructions to Brockhausen and Schöler, October 22, 1833.
[2] Schöler's Report, November 6, 1833.
[3] Brockhausen's Report, October 28, 1833
[4] Ancillon to Brockhausen, September 25, 1834.

affair dragged on. The radical majority in the national assembly was absolutely unable to work harmoniously with the royalist patricians of Neuchâtel. Again and again the Prussian envoy was forced to mediate and to conciliate.[1]

In the alliance of the eastern powers a change had meanwhile been initiated by the death of Emperor Francis on March 2, 1835. Little enough, indeed, had the old man done of late years. Equally mistrustful of himself and of everyone else, it had been his custom to put aside all proposals for innovation with the nonchalant remark, "We must sleep upon that." But he had continued to attend to current affairs with his customary diligence, which resembled that of a subordinate official. Through him alone were held together the medley of central authorities of this amorphous state, and although in foreign policy Prince Metternich, and in home affairs Count Kolowrat, had a fairly free hand, nothing of importance was ever decided without his express orders, and these invariably amounted to a simple command that everything was to remain as before. What was to happen now, when even this mechanically regulative and inhibitive energy of monarchical will had ceased to operate? Ferdinand, the new emperor, was a kindhearted man, pious, benevolent, straightforward, and even well-informed upon some of those sciences which appeal rather to the love of activity than to the impulse for truth. But he was a poor epileptic invalid, a man who could hardly be considered responsible, as unfitted for willing as for thinking. Even at this court, which was used to monarchs of small account, there had been serious discussion as to whether such an unfortunate should be allowed to reign. But his brother, Archduke Francis Charles, though not an invalid, was a man of very modest capacities, and Francis Joseph, the son of Francis Charles, was still only a little child. Without the consent of the Hungarian diet it was impossible to arrange either for abdication or for formal regency, and who would venture to submit such thorny questions to insubordinate estates? During these very years the nationalist movement of the Magyar nobles was in its

[1] In 1877 there was published at Neuchâtel a work entitled Mémoires politiques, written by the Neuchâtelois "patriot" Louis Grandpierre. The book is more notable for partisan hatred than for trustworthiness, and it throws but little light upon the affairs discussed in the text.

inception. The Magyars aimed at securing dominance over the German-Slav-Wallachian majority of the population of Hungary, and hoped at the same time to secure for the crown of St. Stephen complete independence of the imperial crown. They had already managed to effect that in official intercourse the Magyar tongue alone should henceforward be used in place of the traditional and neutral Latin. When Archduke Joseph, the palatinus, fell sick, he secretly induced the majority of the deputies in Pressburg to decide that in case of need they would proceed without delay to elect as palatine Count Szechenyi leader of the aristocratic opposition.[1]

Such being the posture of affairs, it seemed inadvisable to disturb in any way the incontestable order of succession. The afflicted successor to the throne had in the first instance been crowned by the Hungarians as King Ferdinand V,[2] and four years later ascended the imperial throne. He was an object for compassion, this man with a weakly figure, a hydrocephalic head, and a nervous smile, as he made his way to and fro in court society, spinning round like a teetotum in his endeavour to avoid turning his back on anyone. From time to time the empress or some high court dignitary would lead the emperor to a stranger who might be present, to whom Ferdinand would mutter a few unintelligible words. When the poor man was forced to hold the customary audiences it was not long before even the common people in Vienna took to saying: "Good Nandl is no better than an idiot!" Fortunately the new emperor signed nothing, unless it was put before him by his properly authorized supreme advisers. He had been brought to understand that this was a rule that must be observed, and he honestly observed it, with one exception, which was promptly repented.

Such a change of rulers recalled the conditions of the Byzantine empire. Metternich, however, loftily assured the Prussian court that everything was going on without change, and that Austria's splendid calm was a lesson for all nations afflicted with the malady of progress.[3] Never should revolutionary passion which (employing a seventh metaphor) he now spoke of as "moral cholera," devastate this peaceful realm. Ancillon echoed him as usual, and in servile zeal actually went on to make a historical comparison whose

[1] Maltzan's Report, February 8, 1836.
[2] See vol. V, p. 57.
[3] Brockhausen's Report, March 4 and 9, 1835.

boldness would have been less comprehensible by poor Ferdinand than by anybody. The Austrian ship of state, said Ancillon, "bears Cæsar and his fortunes."[1] Secretly the king was profoundly concerned, and at once sent Prince William (the younger) to the new emperor, intending there to demonstrate to the world how firm was the alliance of the eastern powers. The prince's reception in Vienna was of the warmest, alike among the people and at court, and William was under no illusions as to the grounds for this cordiality. "It would be impossible," he wrote straightforwardly, "to give plainer and more convincing expression to the view that even if such a man be emperor, relationships towards him are to remain unchanged." During the brief days of his sojourn in Vienna, his soldierly vision enabled him to discern the dangers threatening the rudderless state, and his apprehensions were fully confirmed by the reports from the embassy. After the death of Baron von Maltzahn, the Prussian embassy was for nearly two years in provisional charge of Baron von Brockhausen. But in May, 1835, the office was permanently assumed by the new envoy, Count Maltzan, an able man who had gained thorough acquaintance of German affairs in Hanover, Darmstadt, and some of the other lesser courts. Both these diplomats must be numbered among the conservative friends of Austria. But they were keen observers, and never forgot the honour of their state. They were unanimous in their reports that hopeless confusion prevailed at the Hofburg.

Although Emperor Francis had fully appreciated his son's condition, he had never been able to make up his mind to give a binding prescription for the forms of the future government. The Viennese were as delighted at the prospect of his testament than children at that of a Christmas tree. Loudly expressed was their disappointment when they learned at last that they must content themselves with the fatherly words: "I bequeath my love to my subjects." Those familiar with the wealth of the imperial heart were unlikely to put a high value on the bequest. Yet more painful was the surprise of the statesmen, since for them there was nothing in the testament beyond a few items of political doctrine couched in the vaguest terms, the place of honour being naturally given to the well-tried principle, "govern and make no changes."

[1] Ancillon to Brockhausen, March 16, 1835.

As far as matters of detail were concerned, the only recommendation to the successor to the throne was that he should be guided by Metternich's advice and by that of his uncle Louis. Among the numerous brothers of Emperor Francis, Archduke Louis was the youngest and by far the most incompetent, and for these reasons he had alike intellectually and sentimentally ever been the deceased ruler's favourite. Busied about trifles, utterly without judgment in larger matters, he had grown more and more like the late emperor, and though he was but fifty years old, he produced the impression of wizened old age. In the absence of definite instructions Metternich resolutely and skilfully endeavoured to secure supreme power for himself. He had long felt that the decayed administration could not continue in its present condition, and having now before his eyes the sinister spectacle of the strengthening Prussian customs union he recognized that reform was indispensable. Unfortunately he was without expert knowledge. Doubtless such innovations as he designed could not fail to secure the approval of Ancillon;[1] but, on the whole, his proposals, just like his suggestions for reform in the year 1829, did not pass beyond the stage of generalities.[2] A few improvements were effected in army administration. His favourite, Count Clam-Martinitz, of Berlin fame, was appointed adjutant-general and chief of the military section of the council of state, so that the notorious bureaucratic imperial war council was deprived of some of its power. Clam, an efficient officer of strongly aristocratic leanings, was able to secure the enforcement of new regulations drawn up by Radetzky, but at the same time he introduced into the army an arrogant spirit such as had never before been known in peaceable old Austria. In Milan, Field Marshal Radetzky could do pretty much as he pleased, and attention was soon concentrated upon the manœuvres in which he now regularly engaged in the neighbourhood of Verona. The troops under his command in this region were the best in the Austrian army.

A vigorous twofold resistance now manifested itself against the autocracy of Metternich. Count Kolowrat was unwilling to allow a political dilettante to rob him of the power which he had hitherto possessed in matters of home administration. Being an opponent of Metternich he was regarded as a liberal.

[1] Ancillon to Maltzan, January 5, 1837.
[2] See vol. IV, p. 604.

In actual fact he was a bureaucrat of the common type, a master of the arts of the secret police, by no means hostile to moderate reforms, and (like all officials of the old Austrian school) definitely adverse to the clericalists; but he was petty, avaricious, unenthusiastic, and was superior to his rival in point of technical knowledge alone, not in respect of statesmanlike insight. Of far greater importance was the tacit hostility of the imperial family. Now that the emperor had gone, the archdukes were no longer inclined to remain in the background whilst this Rhinelander and his unamiable and arrogant wife occupied the centre of the stage; moreover, to the ladies of the court Metternich was suspect as worldling. The empress dowager Carolina Augusta and her sister Sophia the wife of Archduke Francis Charles were firm allies. During the old emperor's last years they had induced him to be more complaisant towards the Jesuits, and the entire clericalist party in Germany looked hopefully in their direction.

Now began the quiet but momentous activities of the five Bavarian sisters. The two Austrian ladies maintained cordial sisterly relationships with the crown princess of Prussia, with Queen Maria, and with Princess Joanna of Saxony. All five were distinguished by extensive culture and a lively understanding of serious ideas; each could after her own manner make herself extremely amiable. Princess Joanna, a happy and affectionate mother, rarely meddled in political affairs. The crown princess of Prussia, having now gone over to the Evangelical church, could no longer openly support the clericalists. All the sisters shared the ultra-conservative "Bourbon" sentiments which had ever been secretly cherished at the court of Max Joseph. Archduchess Sophia excelled her sisters in ambition and vigour, and Maltzan referred to her on one occasion as the man of the imperial family.[1] She displayed an active and independent spirit. Yoked to such a man as Francis Charles it was inevitable that her independence should become accentuated, and she considered it her mission to dominate the orphaned throne. Despite the scrupulous maintenance of courtly formalities, it was easy to discern that she had a profound antipathy to Princess Metternich.

There thus originated in the Hofburg a dangerous though masked party struggle, and when the two allied monarchs

[1] Maltzan's Reports, January, 1838.

went to Teplitz in September, 1835, immediately after the Kalisz manœuvres, in order to pay their respects to the new emperor, they were both greatly disheartened. They participated in the inauguration of the Russian monument on the neighbouring battlefield of Kulm, and Frederick William was much moved on this occasion, for he was the sole survivor of the three monarchs of those great days. But it was impossible for the meeting to bear notable fruit. Its most encouraging feature was that the czar could hardly venture to give expression to the warlike designs he continued to harbour,[1] for the aspect of Ferdinand was too pitiable and the embarrassments of the Austrian court were too obvious. Nothing was effected beyond an exchange of excellent principles. Ancillon, by whom such academic exercises were highly esteemed, subsequently issued a triumphant circular to the embassies, saying: "Our position unites in itself material energies of a truly formidable character in association with the moral force that springs from unity; it is powerful and awe-inspiring precisely because of its repose; it permits us to observe and to wait upon events."[2] Nesselrode, however, declared that in the Russian view this repose was enforced, and was consequently a sign of weakness.

At Teplitz, therefore, the peace policy of the Berlin court gained a new victory. Not even Louis Philippe could regard this harmless meeting with alarm; but with a veiled display of wounded sensibilities he said that he would have been glad to participate, and that with yet greater pleasure would he have attended a congress of all five powers.[3] At this time the czar was far more concerned about the future of Austria than about his own European policy. In animated conversations with Metternich and Clam he declared without reserve that in default of firm guidance Austria would inevitably have to face a sudden Italian revolution. His arrière pensée here was to restrict Metternich's influence, for despite the exchange of endearments in Münchengrätz he did not wholly trust the Austrian chancellor.[4] Since these interviews remained without effect, he hastened to Vienna, ostensibly to give the empress dowager assurances of support. His unexpected arrival aroused

[1] Maltzan's Report, October 27, 1835.

[2] Ancillon, Circular Despatch to the embassies, October 9, 1835.

[3] Maltzan's Report, November 2, 1835.

[4] The tenour of these conversations was well known to the king. Maltzan refers to them in his report of December 18, 1835.

the sensation which never failed to tickle his vanity, but he was unable to move the court ladies to any far-reaching resolve, and after a brief stay he took his leave in manifest dudgeon.

For an entire year the Austrian imperial government remained in a disordered and chaotic state. Metternich and Kolowrat were competing with one another for supreme power, and the shrewd chancellor was not slow to recognize that if he was to gain the victory over his rival he must enter into an alliance with the pious ladies. It was all the easier for him to come to this resolution since quite recently, upon the instigation of Melanie his wife, he had drawn much nearer to the clericalists. Moreover, the growth of the customs union had aroused irritable suspicions of Prussia's ambition; to Maltzan he would speak frankly enough concerning European questions in general, but would say little about Germany.[1] The prestige of the old imperial state would, he hoped, be reestablished if Austria were to resume her place as protector of German Catholicism. For this reason, disregarding Kolowrat's opposition, he gladly acceded to a desire that had been long and strongly entertained by the two Bavarian sisters, and declared himself ready to redeem a secret pledge which eight years earlier Emperor Francis had given to the general of the Jesuit order. To Maltzan he said appeasingly: "After all, we have long had Jesuits among us as prudent Redemptorists."[2] In March, 1836, the Jesuits were readmitted. Hitherto under their true name they had had access only to Galicia, where they had gravely disturbed religious peace by detestable quarrels with the various Protestant congregations.[3] They were not slow to avail themselves of the privilege, and established houses in Tyrol, Styria, Lombardy, and Vienna. No state examination was imposed upon their teachers; their seminarists lived in accordance with the ratio studiorum of the order. Thus triumphantly did the Society of Jesus make its entry into Austria at the very time when in Prussia the momentous struggle between state and church had just begun. The fiercer the conflict in North Germany, the more confirmed was Metternich in his new clericalist sentiments, to the delight

[1] Maltzan's Report, December 26, 1835.

[2] Maltzan's Report, February 8, 1836.

[3] His imperial majesty's Decree of March 19, 1836. Maltzan's Report, April 6, 1836.

of his wife, who in religious matters was in full agreement with her powerful enemy the archduchess Sophia. To the Viennese, and above all to the frivolous members of the high nobility, this unaccustomed prevalence of priestly influence seemed odious. The witty Prince Dietrichstein indited a French poem satirizing the jesuitophil chancellor. Playing upon the idea that Metternich was at once wife-ridden and priest-ridden, he wrote: "Qui sous la pantoufle se plaît, voudrait nous voir tous sous la mule." [A man who is content to be henpecked would like to see us all under the pope's toe.]

Kolowrat was likewise defeated in the deliberations concerning military affairs. He desired to entrust the supreme command to the elderly Archduke Charles, and he wished to reduce the strength of the army, for the military preparations of recent years had given rise to an annual deficit of at least thirty million florins. But Metternich would not allow his confidant Clam to be deposed; and in view of the danger of war he insisted that the strength of the army must be maintained. In these matters he was supported by Archduke Louis. Next, when Kolowrat endeavoured to mitigate the severities of the rigid prohibitive system, beginning with a reduction of the sugar dues, and issued an ordinance to this effect, the ordinance was cancelled by Archduke Louis. Kolowrat took leave of absence. He was half inclined to resign, but did not venture upon so extreme a step. In financial concerns Metternich could not dispense with the expert aid of his opponent, and in the end therefore, after prolonged and deplorable disputes, a compromise was effected. In December, 1836, the old council of state was reorganized as the supreme authority of the realm. Its members (in addition to the emperor and his brother, who were nonentities) were Archduke Louis, Metternich, and Kolowrat. Henceforward, as the Viennese mockingly phrased it, these constituted "the ruling triumvirate." Metternich's adherents exulted, whilst the chancellor proudly opined "The czar will now doubtless overcome his prejudices; this system of government is the only possible one for Austria."[1] His joy was to be short-lived. In the matter of vetoes and inaction Archduke Louis proved as obstinate as his deceased brother; and whereas Metternich had hoped to play off the archduke against

[1] Bockelberg's Report, September 26; Maltzan's Reports, October 15 and 24, November 13 and 25, December 10 and 18, 1836.

Kolowrat, the two elderly and experienced statesmen soon found themselves compelled to make common cause against the archduke. Vain, however, was it for them to join forces. All their proposals for reform, modest though they might be, were shattered against the good-humoured stubbornness of Louis.

The upshot was that, as in the days of Francis, there was no government of home affairs, although the ferment in Italy, Hungary, and Bohemia became ever more threatening. It seemed as if Emperor Francis had continued to live for another thirteen years. But the three-headed gerontocracy, as the new regime was styled at the courts, lacked the prestige which had never failed the old emperor. Even in the capital, previously so uncritical, censure now found loud and scornful expression; despite all prohibitions, the *Walks of a Viennese Poet* and German liberal newspapers were in everyone's hands. In order to dazzle the populace by courtly splendours the unhappy Ferdinand, after his coronation, was taken first to Prague and subsequently to Milan. Here, in 1838, the Italian princes paid him homage, and some of the Lombard nobles manifested their servility. But the younger Italians of the educated classes held aloof, refusing to be conciliated even by the amnesty which was extended to political offenders. In a powerful satire, Giusti lashed the petty despots who, ignoring their own people, bowed the knee before the stranger:

> Like to a madman striking out amain
> Against the kindly friend who'd give him aid,
> Within the Nessus vesture closely wrapped,
> He smiles, in proud disdain.

The futility of the Austrian political system produced an immeasurable increase in the arrogance of the czar. He regarded himself as the leading personality in the league of the eastern powers, and not infrequently, to the horror of the diplomats, he would give vent in ill-considered words to his contempt for the imperial Hofburg.[1] There was a small Russian party at the court of Vienna, led by Prince Alfred Windischgrätz a strict and haughty soldier of ultra-conservative views. In 1831 he had secretly been commissioned to lead a brigade into disturbed Saxony should necessity arise; he enjoyed the peculiar favour of the czar. Nevertheless, Russia exercised no influence upon the internal affairs of the neighbour

[1] Maltzan's Reports, October 4, 1837, and subsequent dates.

realm. Conducted by the elderly triumvirate, the machine continued to work in its old unreflective manner; with Turkish stolidity Archduke Louis continued to veto every proposal for reform, and a stronger regime such as Nicholas advocated would itself have been an innovation.

As of old, Metternich endeavoured to act as mentor to the three monarchs. Having visited the king of Prussia at Teplitz in 1837, in the following year his machinations were successful in inducing the two northern rulers to meet him once again in the same spa. Poor Emperor Ferdinand was kept at a distance because on the previous occasion he had played so pitiful a part. Ostensibly he was represented by his brother Francis Charles.[1] As at all these meetings the semblance of harmony was sedulously preserved, and in taking leave Metternich said courteously to the czar: "Were Russian policy laid in one scale of the balance, Austrian policy in the other, the pointer would incline neither to the right nor to the left."[2] In reality the old opposition persisted. The pacific policy of the two German powers was as offensive as ever to the czar. "My religious education," such were the words he used to Werther, the Prussian minister, "has inspired me with an intense horror of all who with impious hand touch the sacred rights of lawful sovereigns. Russia is so great and so wealthy that she has no need to concern herself about the rest of the world. Were it possible, I would engirdle my realm with a wall. The recognition of Louis Philippe was a blunder, and nothing will ever induce me to term him 'my brother.' At some future date, perhaps not until the duke of Orleans has succeeded to the throne, the three conservative powers may find it necessary to wage war upon illegitimist France. For the nonce we have two things to do: to repress the revolution; and to prevent the new order from consolidating itself in France!" From these declarations of policy, the czar recurred to the customary assurances of affection, saying, "I do not merely love the king as though I were his son, but I revere him as though I were his subject and he my sovereign!" The king was not deceived by these gross flatteries, and in plain terms expressed his regret that his son-in-law's sentiments should be so irreconcilable.[3]

[1] Maltzan's Reports, May, 1838.

[2] Maltzan's Report, September 5, 1838.

[3] Werther's Report to the king, May 31, 1838, with marginal notes by the king; Werther to Maltzan, June 6, 1838.

Solely in the eastern question and in the Polish troubles could Nicholas rely upon unconditional support from his allies. Although Metternich was at times somewhat concerned at Russia's newly acquired power over the mouth of the Danube,[1] he was not slow to console himself and others with the frivolous hopes he had entertained since the signing of the treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi. He contended that the eastern question no longer existed and that the Porte could not fail to recover its energies under the beneficent protectorate of the czar. His internuntius in Stamboul never failed to collaborate closely with the Russian envoy, leaving it to the diplomatists of the western powers to marshal the forces of petty intrigue against the Russian protectorate, which since the last war had been extended over the whole of Persia and the near east.

Still more firmly did the eastern powers hold together against the Poles, acting here like one man. The attempts that had been made in the year 1831, after the suppression of the Polish rebellion, to reestablish order in Cracow, had proved labour lost.[2] The petty republic continued obstinately to infringe neutrality, to shelter Polish refugees, and to disturb its neighbours. How could an end be put to this disastrous state of affairs as long as the semi-independence of the little Polish state continued? In Münchengrätz, therefore, the three protecting powers had expressed the opinion that the construction of this focus of perennial unrest had been a grave mistake on the part of the Vienna congress. At the initial meeting in Teplitz (1835) they unanimously agreed that the republic should first be quieted by force of arms, and that it should be destroyed as soon as a favourable opportunity should arise. Such was the solitary tangible result of the sterile Teplitz conversations.

After all the intrigues of the Paris propaganda it was impossible that the three partitioning powers should regard the Poles in any other light than as irreconcilable enemies. Upon the return journey from Teplitz, Nicholas made a threatening speech to the representatives of the town of Warsaw. He refused, so he masterfully assured them, to accept their humble addresses, for he had no wish to encourage them in deceit. Obedience and subjection, these were all he demanded, under pain of destruction. Whilst the press of the western

[1] Maltzan's Report, July, 1837. [2] See Vol. V, p. 106.

powers was still thrilling with indignation on account of the czar's utterances, there was signed in Berlin on October 14, 1835, a secret treaty agreed upon in Teplitz, a treaty which bluntly declared that the existence of the Cracow republic was equally injurious to the Cracowers themselves and to the safety of neighbouring lands. The protecting powers therefore pledged themselves to consider how to secure that the incorporation of Cracow within the Austrian state could be effected by the free desire of the republic, and how the opposition of the other powers could be overcome. This agreement was justified on cogent grounds of necessity, but how grievous was the self-condemnation of rigid legitimist policy when the very three powers upon whose banner was inscribed an assertion that the Vienna treaties were inviolable had been forced to make up their minds to such a coup de main. Neither the change of dynasty in France nor the secession of the southern Netherlands had so grossly infringed the principles of legitimist life as the total annihilation that was now planned for a European state which had not (as Metternich contended [1]) been created solely by the three protecting powers, but which owed its existence to article 6 of the Vienna congress act and to the common consent of all the powers of Europe. It was impossible to give a plainer demonstration of the bankruptcy of that political wisdom which imagined that by the letter of treaties a halt could be called to the eternal progress of human affairs.

In the spring of 1836 the troops of the eastern powers occupied Cracow. The refugees disappeared, the systems of government and popular representation were modified, and under the strict supervision of commissaries of the three protective powers the town was tranquillized, so that after three months the last of the Russian soldiers could be withdrawn. In the press and in the parliaments of the western powers the traditional wails about Poland found prompt utterance. But both the English cabinet and the French felt that very little objection could be raised to the occupation, for neutral Cracow had been expressly bound by treaties to afford no asylum to refugees and criminals, and had scandalously violated her pledge in both these respects. Louis Philippe therefore sent private assurances to Vienna that he hoped the tiresome business would be quietly buried. Palmerston, from fear of the

[1] Metternich to Count Alfred Potocki, July 8, 1836.

house of commons, thought it necessary to do something more active. Through the instrumentality of Lord William Russell he attempted to transmit a formal protest to the Berlin court, and when Ancillon simply refused to receive it,[1] the British foreign secretary sent the three eastern powers a despatch magnificently decked with reproaches and protests (April 15th). At the same time he announced his intention of appointing an English consul in Cracow, whose business there could only be to instigate disorder. Whilst harvesting the applause of the liberal world for the line he had taken, he wrote confidentially to Metternich saying that England had been compelled to act as she did, but it might be hoped that the affair would have no evil consequences. To the Bavarian envoy he actually said: "I should myself do in Cracow exactly what the partitioning powers are doing!"[2] The consequence was that the eastern powers rejected Palmerston's intervention as contemptuously as they had rejected England's protest against the six articles, against the occupation of Frankfort, and against the treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi. The British peer, ever willing to yield ground before a resolute foe, calmly accepted the rebuff.[3] Nevertheless these experiences made the three protecting powers bethink themselves. If the mere transient occupation of Cracow had produced such a commotion, what would happen in the event of the proposed annexation? It was decided to await better days, and the Berlin treaty remained an inviolable secret until, to the general surprise, it was suddenly carried into effect eleven years later.

Metternich, despite his urgent desire to please the czar, was by the futility of the Austrian state system forced into a position which was but half satisfying to the Muscovite autocrat. King Frederick William likewise was by no means inclined to submit to foreign guidance. The modest aim of the king's policy was to safeguard the newly acquired unity of the nation by maintaining the peace of the world and by developing the treaties of the customs union; but however unambitious, his policy was Prussian. Ancillon died in the spring of 1837, and Metternich, lamenting his faithful admirer, exclaimed: "I feel as if I had lost the covering troops

[1] Ancillon to Maltzan, May 1, 1836.
[2] Maltzan's Report, April 28; Dönhoff's Report, Munich, May 26th, 1836.
[3] Maltzan's Report, May 10, 1836.

from my right flank."[1] Ancillon was succeeded by Werther, who six years earlier, inspired by a proper sense of self-respect, had refused the ministerial post.[2] It soon became apparent that the new minister, though a keen diplomatic observer, was unfitted for command. He was not competent to inspire Prussia's great policy with new ideas, but he preserved the independence of that policy far more scrupulously than his predecessor, for in Paris he had become sufficiently acquainted with the diplomatic intrigues of the two imperial courts. Notwithstanding the strict observance of the forms of friendship, relationships with the Hofburg remained chilly. Metternich could not overcome his spleen on account of Prussia's commercial policy, but could do nothing to attack that policy, for Archduke Louis could not be induced to agree to any reform of the Austrian customs system. Throughout Austria it was already pointed out with equanimity that since the foundation of the customs union Prussia had acquired supremacy in Germany.[3] When Rotteck visited Vienna in the year 1838, Metternich affably asked him to what he attributed the increasing influence of Prussia. The honest liberal replied, "It is due to that country's system of administration, a system which is continuously progressing." "What can we do to counteract this?" "The only thing you can do is to follow the Prussian example!" At the end of the long interview the two had been able to agree in one respect only, in their profound concern at the increasing power of Prussia and at the tribulations of the Catholic Church.[4]

The Russian cabinet was no better able than the Hofburg to control Prussian policy. Personally the czar was overwhelmed with manifestations of respect alike by the Prussian court and the Prussian people. When he revisited Berlin in 1838, the servile corporation granted him the freedom of the city, whereupon Grand Duke Michael venemously remarked, "If my brother should relinquish his crown, nothing need hinder him from becoming a chimney-sweep in Berlin." Nicholas displayed his gratitude in the form of lavish expenditure, and had a Russian palace built in Unter den Linden to show the whole world how thoroughly at home he felt on

[1] Metternich to Trauttmansdorff, May 5, 1837.
[2] See vol. V, p. 232.
[3] Maltzan's Report, June 29, 1837.
[4] Maltzan's Report, August 30, 1838

the Spree. But matters got no further than this exchange of personal courtesies. Owing to the natural community of interests between the courts, in the Polish question Prussia went hand in hand with Russia. Similarly, it was a well tried principle of Prussian policy to give the Russians as free a hand as possible upon the Bosphorus. The court of Berlin was even more firmly persuaded than the Hofburg that the Porte would recruit its energies under the friendly protectorate of Russia. When von Martens, Prussian envoy in Constantinople, attempted on his own initiative to cooperate with the western powers, he was promptly called to order.

In all questions, however, directly affecting Prussian interests the court of Berlin took its own path. The king held firmly to his considered opinion that Lord Palmerston was the real disturber of the European peace and that the pacifist court of the Tuileries deserved the support of the eastern powers; his son-in-law's indignant complaints concerning the duke of Orleans' marriage left Frederick William cold. Not even Ancillon had been able here to modify his royal master's views. The minister was fond of uttering doctrinaire disquisitions concerning the mysterious word "legitimacy," which "must not be torn from its beneficent semi-obscurity, for this would be as harmful as it is to expose the roots of a tree to the clear light of day." Such legitimist utterances would be promptly followed by the extremely illegitimist contention: "We must no longer ask Louis Philippe whence he comes; we must ask him whither he is going, or rather we must point out to him whither he should go."[1] Prussia was honestly determined to reckon with the July monarchy as an established fact. For several years after Werther had taken over the foreign office, the understanding between the courts remained untroubled. Werther positively refused to support the czar when Nicholas threateningly demanded the enforcement of strict measures against Polish refugees in Paris, for the Prussian minister considered that every concession would encourage the autocrat to new follies.[2] None the less, new follies were perpetrated. In 1839 Nicholas instituted great manœuvres on the Moskva. Here, to the suppressed amusement of the foreign onlookers, men of much military experience, he arranged for yet another representation of the battle of Borodino, stage

[1] Ancillon to Maltzan, January 31, 1837

[2] Werther to Maltzan, August 24 and October 9, 1837.

by stage, but with a few improvements of his own designed to correct Napoleon's and Kutusov's respective errors. At the same time he issued to the army a boastful order of the day which sounded almost like a declaration of war, brought a serious remonstrance from the French envoy, and was sharply censured at the court of Berlin.[1] It was natural that Russian diplomats should continually complain of Prussia's pusillanimity.

" It is true that they took a different view of their neighbour's domestic policy. In this matter they considered the attitude of Prussian officialdom stiffnecked and positively mulish, for the arrogant tone which (following their ruler's example) they now loved to adopt, produced no impression upon the sober-minded Berlinese privy councillors, and whenever the czar permitted himself to talk about Prussia's internal affairs he was promptly admonished to mind his own business. At the Vosnesensk manœuvres in 1837, Nicholas informed General Natzmer that his father-in-law would be well advised to change the organization of the Landwehr, which was democratic and revolutionary. The old king angrily exclaimed: " I will not listen to any such proposal. I am satisfied with my Landwehr both in war and in peace. These Russian fears of revolution have been voiced year after year, and the motives are not those that appear on the surface. I am competent to maintain law and order without Russia's aid and counsel. Let Czar Nicholas see to it that there is no recurrence in Russia of the military mutinies of 1825 and 1830!" Nor was even the ultra-conservative party unconditionally devoted to the czar. The *Berliner Wochenblatt* conducted a vigorous paper war against the court publicists of St. Petersburg, for at this time the Russian autocracy was making its first onslaughts upon the privileges of the Baltic provinces, and in that region, as everywhere, Prussian conservatives favoured traditional rights.

The commercial interests of the two neighbours were irreconcilable. The commercial treaty of 1825, which had been extremely disadvantageous to Prussia, was about to expire.[2] It was renewed for a year, until 1836, in order to give time for further negotiations. The king, however, told his son-in-law in plain terms that a new commercial treaty could not be secured except upon a basis of straightforward

[1] Berger's Reports, September 26 and October 25, 1839.
[2] See vol. IV, p. 277.

reciprocity. How could such reciprocity exist between states differing so widely in civilization? In Prussia there prevailed a mild customs law by which no imports were prohibited with the exception of salt and playing cards. There was in force in Russia a rigid prohibitive system which was so burdensome to Russia's neighbours that the embittered East Prussians were in the habit of saying that the aim of Nicholas' embargo on the frontier was to force East Prussia into union with the Russian realm. The Prussian frontier could be crossed at any point. The Russian frontier was closed; entry into the czar's dominions could be secured only at the widely separated custom houses, and here travellers were treated barbarously, whilst commodities were handled with deliberate malice. Even transit to Odessa, at that time fairly flourishing and therefore regarded by the Muscovites with strong suspicion, was rendered extremely difficult. It was impossible to hope for any change in this system, since all Berlin knew that Finance Minister Cancrin and some of the most powerful men at the St. Petersburg court were owners of large factories.[1] Prussian statesmen were therefore unanimous in their opposition to the proposal for a new commercial treaty, saying that against such neighbours people must protect themselves for good or for ill.[2] The Russian negotiators petitioned and urged, but what had they to offer? They promised to institute two new customs houses—when twenty or thirty new ones were requisite. They offered to reduce by about one-fifth the duties upon iron, linen, and other Prussian exports, duties amounting to nearly 250 per cent. ad valorem; and they demanded in return that Prussia should reduce yet further her moderate transit dues and should permit the import of Polish wool at a time when an epizootic was raging in Poland.

Such suggestions could hardly be taken seriously by a civilised state. Prussia curtly rejected them all, and never thenceforward was a commercial treaty signed with Russia. Prussian contraband flourished as it had never flourished before, whereas there was nothing to smuggle from Russia into Prussia. Vainly did the czar widen the frontier zone from seven versts to thirty, and promise the revenue officers

[1] Frankenberg's Report, February 12, 1836.

[2] Memorial concerning the Commercial Treaty with Russia, 1836. (Presumably written by Beuth.)

a reward of 150 roubles for every armed smuggler they could arrest. Now that Russia had even forbidden the old established caravan trade with China, all the frontier dwellers in the realm regarded smuggling as entirely within their rights. Finally, in the year 1838, Prussia declared herself ready to send to Memel a commissary to look into this matter of contraband. But when Nicholas, in a neighbourly way, offered in his turn to send a Russian commissary to Memel, Werther promptly rejoined that now Prussia would take no steps at all. Smuggling, he said, was the natural outcome of the unreasonable Russian customs system and was secretly fostered by dishonest Russian officials. Nicholas was greatly incensed by this "irrelevant" remark, for he was aware of its truth, but he gave way, and offered to admit a Prussian commissary into a Russian frontier district. This suggestion likewise was bluntly rejected. Prince Galitzin and Count Benckendorff, whom the czar had sent to Berlin, had to return without achieving anything. Upon the urgent request of Nicholas, the king sent one of his aides-de-camp to visit the frontier in company with an aide-de-camp of the czar. The inspection showed that the Prussian revenue officers had everywhere fulfilled their duties; but the Russian aide-de-camp profited by this official journey to arrange for his own benefit to have French and English goods to the value of some thousand thalers smuggled across the frontier.

After this example of Muscovite trustworthiness the envoy Ribeaupierre had the audacity to demand that every Prussian merchant who in the frontier zone should sell dutiable goods to Russian subjects should be treated as a smuggler. The minister for finance rejoined that this would make Prussia a vassal state to Russia, and he would go no further than to give a dry assurance that every smuggler caught in the act would be punished, whatever his position.[1] This amounted to nothing, for since Prussia levied no export dues she exercised no supervision upon exports. Hence, to the indignation of Nicholas, all the Russian proposals were rejected. The Prussian government refused to deny to its subjects the right of self-defence against the barbaric neighbour state, even though the government was well aware that this smuggling traffic was demoralizing to the frontier population in East Prussia as well as in Russia. When Nesselrode represented to the

[1] Stockhausen's Report, August 10, 1838.

court of Berlin that, after all, Prussia took steps to prevent smuggling in the states belonging to the customs union, a sarcastic answer was returned to the effect that the king had not entered into a customs union with Russia and did not consider it his duty to endeavour to secure the carrying out of a foreign customs law.

Next, in 1840, Nicholas endeavoured to avoid crossing Prussian territory by constructing a railway from the Niemen to Libau. His father-in-law at once forbade the Berlin bourse to deal in the shares of the undertaking, to which the prohibition was a death blow. Lord Lieutenant Schön contemptuously asked why it was thought necessary to take so much trouble. These Muscovites carried out nothing they undertook. As long before as the days of Catharine they had designed to construct a canal from the Niemen to Libau. In eleven years they had failed to complete the high road from Tauroggen to Mitau, although Nicholas had been personally active in the matter, and although the Prussian section of the road had ere this been built as far as the frontier.[1] Schön's knowledge of Russian administration was exhaustive, and his forecast was correct; for many years there was to be no improvement in the anarchical conditions prevailing on the Russian frontier. The Russians profited by the advantage which barbarism always possesses over civilization. From time to time, in accordance with the custom of the old Lithuanian riders, they ventured upon a bold disregard of the integrity of the frontier, for they could almost always count upon the indulgence of the Prussian officials. In essentials, however, Frederick William maintained the prestige if his state. On principle he avoided everything which could favour the commercial policy of his untrustworthy Russian neighbour, and in this stand the king was supported by public opinion.

Nor did Russia acquire supremacy at any of the lesser German courts during the old king's lifetime. Doubtless all these courts were eager to please the autocrat, but the customs union, whose advantages were especially conspicuous in the opening years, bound them to Prussia, whilst their pride was affronted by the czar's airs of patronage.[2] When Grand

[1] Schön to Lottum, March 27, 1840.
[2] Blittersdorff's Report, October 14, 1838.

Duke Michael visited Germany, he sent his imperial brother a most alarming description of the condition of the lesser German armies. It was natural that he should speak of the Frankfort force as "un peu mince." In Nassau he noted that the duke was compelled to cancel all leave of absence at short notice to render it possible for the troops to present a tolerable appearance at review. The Russian said that the Würtembergers were dirty, and he considered that the Bavarian troops with their antediluvian staff officers and incomplete battalions were positively pitiful. Owing to this report Nicholas begged the German great powers to insist upon their lesser allies fulfilling the military duties which these had undertaken. The matter, he said, closely concerned himself, for (it was inevitable that his favourite thought should find expression) in case of war his Russians would constitute the reserve of the German army.[1] Such exhortations could serve only to make bad blood, above all in the case of the sensitive king of Bavaria. It was impossible that they should do any good, for the lesser courts could excuse the neglect of their troops by referring to the parsimonious spirit of their diets.

How little affection the czar had succeeded in inspiring was made plain when his children attained a marriageable age. In 1838, when the imperial family passed through Berlin on the way to the spa of Kreuth, it was known at all the courts that momentous marital alliances were in prospect. In the diplomatic world there was loud and irreverent talk of the great Russian connubial congress. There was no end to the festivities at Kreuth. Three empresses were among the august visitors, for in addition to the czaritsa the empress dowagers of Austria and Brazil were present. Close at hand in Tegernsee were Caroline the queen mother and the scions of the Bavarian royal house. The splendours of the Russian court contrasted glaringly with the patriarchal conditions of this high mountain valley. Money was spent lavishly; flatteries were showered upon the Bavarians; extensive purchases were made in the Munich studios; it seemed almost as if the Russian aim was to put all other rulers into the shade Very plainly and with little delicacy Nicholas made it known that he would like to secure the hand of the Bavarian crown

[1] Blittersdorff's Report, October 26, 1835. Ministerial Despatch to Maltzan, June 29, 1837.

prince for one of his daughters. Crown Prince Max was a man of gentle nature and thoughtful disposition. Wholly devoted to science, he resembled most of the Wittelsbachs in lack of interest for military affairs. The czar's love of the parade ground was uncongenial to him, and after prolonged negotiations he declared with German frankness that he had no desire for such a father-in-law.[1]

The only outcome of the journey was an extremely modest marriage which aroused well justified concern in strictly legitimist circles. A sister of the rejected grand duchess became betrothed to the duke of Leuchtenberg, a Napoleonid of dubious status. Thus did the Beauharnais make their way into the Russian imperial house, and henceforward the remarkable article of faith became current at the court of St. Petersburg that the Napoleon family had sinned less deeply against legitimist right than had the Orleans family. The consequence was that Bernadotte, King of Sweden, hitherto regarded by Nicholas with the utmost contempt, was now treated by the czar with marked distinction and was even honoured by a visit. The manners of the Muscovites at once arrogant and obsequious, had aroused general displeasure in South Germany, and people drew a breath of relief when the guests departed. The Prussian envoy Count Dönhoff gave an extremely candid account of the visit, and the king expressly commended him for the excellence of his reports.[2] To the veteran ruler the ostentation of this wooing had been far from agreeable. He considered his son-in-law's behaviour tactless, and definitely forbade the heir to the throne to visit Kreuth. He was annoyed that Nicholas should so earnestly solicit the friendship of the Munich court, above all at this juncture when Prussia was on bad terms with Louis on account of the ecclesiastical troubles. He was deeply affronted that his granddaughter should marry a Beauharnais, for nowhere was the name of Napoleonid in worse odour than in Berlin None of the princes were allowed to attend the wedding. To the czar's chagrin the king of Prussia was represented only by Major Brauchitsch, an aide-de-camp.[3]

Taking it all in all, the friendship of the three eastern

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, August 12, 16, and 19, September 17, October 13 and 20; Frankenberg's Report, August 28, 1838.

[2] Donhöff's Reports, November 14 and 27, 1838.

[3] Stockhausen's Report, August 12, 1839.

powers was now far less intimate than in the early twenties. Nevertheless, during this very decade the legend became current that Russia was supreme in the eastern league, for political hatred ever demands a personality upon which it can be concentrated. Since Nicholas exceeded the two other monarchs in arrogance and in energy of will, embittered liberals were at this early date ready to believe that he possessed a power not merely greater than he ever acquired, but towards which he did not even approximate until the forties, when his influence became enhanced through the weakness of Frederick William IV. Polish refugees originated this fable, as they originated so many more of the political myths of the day. German liberals, beguiled by Sarmatian eloquence, were unable to understand that the joint Polish policy of the eastern powers arose by inexorable necessity out of past events, and they imagined that Russian intrigue and Russian money were everywhere at work. Platen's poem *To the Rising Rouble*, was greeted with acclamation:

> Now that virtue is no longer current coin,
> The rouble has vastly appreciated!

In 1833, when the poet wrote these lines, Russia had no influence over Germany, for at this very time, just after the Münchengrätz meeting, Prussia was frustrating the politica designs of the St. Petersburg cabinet. When Platen angrily exclaimed:

> There used to be but one Kotzebue
> But now there is a whole tribe of them!

it might well be asked who these new Kotzebues could be. Surely the name could not be applied to honest Stägemann or to the other Prussian officials who were endeavouring in the *Staatszeitung* to make the blinded liberals see reason? No one troubled to ask such questions. It was enough to cherish enthusiasm on behalf of the struggle of German freedom against Muscovite slavery. Enthusiasts gave no more thought to detail than the poet himself, who hailed Germany's "future hero" with the following apostrophe:

> For thee, conqueror, may then
> Mongolian blood from every ringlet
> Drip on to the folds of thy cloak!

Such fantastical russophobia could befool none but those who swore by the catchwords of Sarmatio-French radicalism. Far more pernicious was the other political legend of the day, the one that originated in England. This manifested itself in statesmanlike guise, deceiving even moderate and thoughtful liberals. David Urquhart, a young British diplomatist, at one time a grecophil enthusiast, had subsequently in intercourse with Turks of distinction been inspired with a hopeful conception of the vitality of the Osmanli empire. The sins of masters differ in character from the sins of slaves; and among the dignified, cleanly, and upright Turks he felt more at home than among the ill-used rayah peoples, for these were rapacious, and had a hungry look like that of birds of prey. Urquhart returned therefore to the earlier English view that the dominance of the crescent over the Christians of the Balkan peninsula was essential to Europe, and that Russia's eastern policy must be fought with every available weapon. Adopting this idea with the obstinacy of a religious fanatic, he ultimately came to the conclusion that all other European interests were of small account in comparison with that of the future of Constantinople. His goal was world-wide supremacy for British commerce, and with benevolent straightforwardness he declared: "In her present position of power England is injuriously affected by all affairs which she cannot regulate as she will." Upon other nations, therefore, it was simply incumbent that they should assist the development of British hegemony, and they must be duly grateful should the queen of the seas find it convenient to leave them any colonies of their own.

Thus it was that Urquhart's views became assimilated to those of Palmerston. At that time (1836) the foreign minister was boasting in parliament how magnanimously England had behaved towards her betrayed allies, and had observed with a complacent smile: "We might have stripped Holland of everything, but have kept no more than the Cape, Ceylon, and Surinam. We have restored Java." It was impossible, however, that the brilliant hotspur should rest content with Palmerston's policy, a policy which continued to take facts into account. Before long, Urquhart became a passionate opponent of the foreign secretary, accused him of cowardice, and ultimately went so far as to stigmatize him as a secret ally of the czar. All Urquhart's writings contain

an intimate admixture of genius and folly. He shrewdly recognized that the quadruple alliance was a mistake and that it would inevitably weaken the friendship of the western powers; but, affected as he was by a fixed idea, he could never attain to unprejudiced judgment. Universally he scented Russian intrigue. Even the customs union, which to this fanatical Briton was naturally an object of loathing, had been created by Nicholas, the czar's design being to sow dissension in Germany and then to establish a Russian dictatorship in central Europe.

During the years 1833 to 1837 Urquhart issued the *Portfolio*, devoted to the spread of these remarkable views. It was a collection of secret diplomatic documents with appropriate comments and was one of the most influential political writings of the century. The book was responsible for the diffusion among the cultured classes of central and western Europe of that fundamentally erroneous view of the eastern question which persisted for two decades, and until the great disillusionment of the Crimean war. Urquhart's primary aim was to break up the eastern league, and above all to embroil Austria with Prussia and Russia, for by England Austria had from early days been regarded as a natural ally. In rapid succession the *Portfolio* published the despatches and memorials which Pozzo di Borgo had sent to St. Petersburg during the last Turkish war. At the time of the Warsaw rising, copies of these documents had been found in the palace of Grand Duke Constantine, and had been communicated to their able editor, a man who maintained relationships with persons of note all over Europe.[1] These revelations made an indescribable sensation at the courts. It instantly became apparent how fragile was the foundation of the league of the eastern powers. No longer could it be denied that in the days of the peace of Adrianople, Metternich had cherished hostile intentions towards Russia. Vainly did he endeavour to justify himself to the court of St. Petersburg. Pozzo, who had meanwhile been appointed to the embassy in London, was treated with marked distinction by the czar, who desired to annoy the Hofburg. It was long before the ill-feeling between the two imperial courts was allayed.[2]

Even more completely did Urquhart attain his second

[1] Frankenberg's Report, February 12, 1836.
[2] Maltzan's Reports, February 19 and 29, April 5, June 27, 1836.

aim, the moulding of public opinion. It was plain that the *Portfolio* was designed mainly to influence Germany, for in this land of enthusiastic cosmopolitanism the new doctrine of salvation which was to secure world dominion for the British merchant, could most readily make its way. A translation of the collection was promptly issued in Leipzig, and to the liberal papers Urquhart's work was for many years almost as indispensable as the *Staatslexikon.* The immoderate philhellenism of the twenties was succeeded by an epoch of turcophilism. Whoever desired to stand in the foremost front of time must look down with statesmanlike disdain upon the atrocious miseries of the rayah nations. Many of the liberal newspapers wrote as if the eunuchs and the seraglio boys of the sultan were the banner-bearers of European civilization. Even this aberration, masquerading as practical politics, and yet more odious to high-minded German idealists than had been the previous hellenistic enthusiasm, was no more than the outcome of the incalculable moods of the affective life. The Turks were adulated because the Russian despot was destested, and because the Germans felt for the British an unrequited affection. Since people had begun to note that France, instead of gaining the promised freedom, had gained merely the class rule of the bourgeoisie, England was once more regarded as the model constitutionalist state, and was therefore considered to be Germany's warmest friend, although every day brought its demonstration of the detestable way in which the British were doing their utmost to countermine the customs union, the crowning achievement of German statesmanship. Since the numerous friends and agents of the house of Coburg assisted behind the scenes, the fables of the British russophobes secured ready credence among cultured Germans, and many an excellent patriot had so much affectionate concern for the fate of the Bosphorus and for that of the East India Company as almost to forget his own fatherland. One of the ablest and most sterling of our publicists, C. F. Wurm of Hamburg, writing in the *Portfolio* under the pseudonym of Germanicus Vindex, penned fierce attacks upon Prussia's commercial policy. The clever London merchants were delighted with the learned Swabian's abstract free trade doctrines. Wurm's mind had become utterly permeated with Hanseatic cosmopolitanism, so that he was quite unable to realize how gross was his crime against Germany

when in an English organ he opposed the economic unity of his own nation and warned foreigners against Prussia's peaceful conquest.

Urquhart, like all the British, had small understanding of German affairs. Through good luck, however, two or three of Gustav Kombst's writings fell into his hands, and among them *The German Bundestag towards the End of the Year* 1832 and *Authentic Documents from the Archives of the Germanic Federation.* Kombst was an employee at the Prussian embassy, a vulgar, vain, and dissolute fellow. The *Memoirs* which he subsequently published give us an instructive glimpse into the moral perversion of the young German radicals. Deprived of his post for disobedience, on taking his departure he stole from among Nagler's papers a number of private documents which he promptly had printed in Strasburg with appropriate comments. The documents were all genuine, but the ignorant editor falsified in many cases the authors' names. The governments, painfully surprised, resolved therefore to maintain silence. The circulation of the two writings was strictly forbidden, and they soon disappeared from the bookmarket.[1] Urquhart's republication of the greater part of them, translated for the *Portfolio,* first restored them to currency. Great uproar resulted, for the Briton had selected those portions which were especially calculated to inflame liberal suspicions of the German great powers. The editor and the English nation had the delight of seeing the Germans once more engaged in recrimination and mutual calumny concerning matters of ancient history.

Urquhart's work evoked a lengthy series of Russian counterblasts. Among these may be mentioned *Causeries sur le Portfolio* which with childlike honesty extolled the innocent pacifism of the St. Petersburg court; and the far-famed book, *The European Pentarchy* (1839), published anonymously, but penned by Goldmann, one of those clever Polish Jews whom Russia delighted to employ as secret agents. The writer was vehement in his asseverations that he had "no sort of relationship with any government"; and it seems that the book, which is stuffed with sheer inventions, though doubtless written to the order of the Russian court, was not examined in St. Petersburg prior to publication. Many of its contentions betray the hasty conclusions of a busybody. Five years earlier, in a memorial betrayed to

[1] Blittersdorff's Report, July 29; Maltzan's Report, August 7, 1835.

the *Portfolio* and generally held to be the work of Nesselrode (it was entitled *Concerning Germany's Condition and Germany's Future*), Goldmann had propounded the idea that Russia was destined to become benevolent protector of the lesser German states.[1] The *Pentarchy* developed the same idea in cautious hints. It can hardly be supposed that Nicholas approved such designs. Doubtless, like all foreign princes, the czar hoped for the continuance of German particularism, which would ensure the persistent weakness of central Europe. Doubtless, moreover, the servility of our petty princes was agreeable to him. But he was too much the soldier to place much reliance upon these defenceless courts. His ambition had higher flights. It was his hope, when the right hour should strike, to lead the German great powers in the struggle against the revolution.

Meanwhile the hints of the pentarchist and those conveyed in the memorial attributed to Nesselrode sufficed to evoke a new atmosphere of russophobist fable. Political sciolists were prepared to take oath that the czarist envoy called the tune at every German court. Wurm did no more than give expression to the dominant view when he declared that the universality of Russian influence in Germany was unmistakable. Thus did Russia and England strive for the mastery of German public opinion, and both parties secured devoted adherents. But nowhere was a German voice raised, nowhere was anyone found to give pitiless assurance to this distracted nation that she had just as little to hope from British gold as from Cossack lances. There was no one to tell her that it was time to abandon this childish cosmopolitanism, this base concern about foreign interests, and that it was time for Germans to concentrate all their passion upon a single lofty idea, upon an idea which since new year's day, 1834, had ceased to be a vain dream, the idea of German unity.

§ 2. PRUSSIAN AFFAIRS. RHINELAND. POSEN.

In Prussia home affairs were beginning to exhibit that tension which almost invariably arises towards the close of

[1] The Memorial appeared in No. 2 of the *Portfolio*. Goldmann acknowledged its authorship in his work, "The Cabinets and Alliances of Europe," published at Leipzig in 1862.

a long reign. Beyond question the state, with its firmly grounded and long-established officialdom, did not deserve the jaundiced censure expressed by the friends of Varnhagen, who said that it had spent the last twenty years upon the road from Jena to Auerstädt; and still less did Prussia deserve the coarse invectives of the demagogues. Since the institution of the customs union, prussophobia had gained ground enormously in radical circles. Enthusiasts for Germany's future unity considered it their duty to vilify the actually growing unity, the living German state. None among the refugees could exhibit such wholehearted indignation, not one of them could marshal invectives with such roughness, as could Jacob Venedey, the Rhinelander, an honest Teutonist dreamer, self-respecting, but comparatively uncultured and of mediocre gifts. He had taken part in the disturbances of 1833, and associated now with German handicraftsmen in Paris. In *Prussia and Prussianism*, a work published in 1839, he roundly declared: "Prussia has created the antispirit of freedom. Prussia will perish as soon as the German people awakens. All the institutions of Prussia have but one aim, namely, under the semblance of popular welfare, enlightenment, progress, and liberty, to promote the exploitation of the majority of the population by a privileged minority, and to establish stupidly, retrogression, servile sentiments, and enslavement." Confronted by such enemies, C. Streckfuss, the able old privy councillor, was unquestionably right when, in his work *Concerning the Guarantees for Prussian Conditions*, he maintained with all the self-reliance of the Prussian official, that Prussia, a state animated by justice, culture, honesty, and warlike energy, need not shun comparison with France or with England. He erred only when he confidently added: "The permanence of our conditions is fully secured by their spontaneous energy and by their inner harmonious connections."

It was manifest that a great transformation was impending. The vital energy of the old system had been exhausted in its last mighty achievements, the creation of the customs union. The only thing that now held the system together was the existence everywhere of men of notable second-rank abilities, but they lacked firm leadership. The king was visibly aging. Such power for action as he still possessed was wholly absorbed in the laborious diplomatic undertaking of upholding the peace of the world. After the deaths of Motz and Maassen, there

was no longer to be found in the ministry anyone deserving the name of statesman. Upon the death of Duke Charles the leadership in the council of state fell to General Müffling, who worked in the same ultra-conservative spirit as his predecessor, but gained little influence, for the council of state had lost its former power. Von Brenn, the new minister for home affairs, had done good work as Saxon official and subsequently as president; but as minister he had so few original ideas that men of all parties agreed before long in denouncing him as incapable.[1] He left police administration exclusively in the hands of Privy Councillor Tzschoppe, the notorious persecutor of the demagogues, and there now came into force even within the ranks of the officialdom an odious system of espionage which conflicted utterly with all the excellent Old Prussian traditions. Many of the juniors endeavoured to curry favour with the minister by accusing their official superiors of disloyal sentiments.[2] At the corner house in Charlottenstrasse, where Tzschoppe lived on the second floor, all the crude contrasts of Berlin life could be encountered in neighbourly association. On the ground floor worked Gans by an open window, standing at his high desk, and many of the citizens as they passed along the street would cast admiring glances at the well known hero of liberty. On the first storey dwelt old Stägemann, who, though much calumniated by the sarmatiophils, continued to do his best in the royal cabinet to prevent any persecution of the liberals. All who continued to love the humane culture of old Berlin rejoiced to see this distinguished veteran, and to his jubilee festival came Chamisso to pay honour "at once to the statesman and to the singer." Brenn held office for little more than four years. His successor was G. A. R. von Rochow, a conservative aristocrat who had in former days vigorously defended feudalist views.[3] In the self-governing system of the provincial diets and as an official he had displayed exceptional administrative talent, and had overcome many adverse prejudices. A well-informed and vigorous minister, he did excellent service in the cause of prison reform, and aroused general approval during the opening years of his ministerial career, but this vigorous young man exercised no influence over his easy-going elderly colleagues, Lottum, Wittgenstein, and Altenstein.

[1] Duke Charles of Mecklenburg to Wittgenstein, July 8, 1831.
[2] Kühne's Memoirs.
[3] See Vol. III, p. 567.

Nor did he secure any firm support from the new minister for finance. When Maassen died, Kühne, the indefatigable negotiator of the customs union treaties, was by the public generally regarded as the obvious successor. In the crown prince's circle, however, he was reputed to be a jacobin because he had strongly advocated the rights of the unified state as against the claims of the mediatized. Moreover, being a man of sharp tongue he had numerous enemies. After lengthy deliberations the king's choice fell upon Count Alvensleben, who shortly before had represented the minister for foreign affairs at the Vienna conferences. Alvensleben was far from well fitted for his new office. He had not hitherto had anything to do with financial matters, and possessed neither the talent nor the industry essential to the mastery of a new speciality. Like most of the nobles of Altmark he harboured a tacit mistrust for the liberal officials whose customs union policy had so portentously disturbed the habitual activities of Old Prussian thrift. The result was that Kühne soon lost the confidential position which he had enjoyed under Motz and Maassen. Such servile souls as General Tax Director Kuhlmeyer and Privy Councillor Offelsmeier were better suited to the new minister, whom they encouraged in his dislike of publicity. How often had Motz when still only a lord-lieutenant protested against the summary drafting of a budget upon a basis of dubious guesses.[1] Shortly before his death, in a plain-spoken circular despatch, he had begged the other ministers that they should in future favour him with precise estimates, so that Prussia "though without constitutional forms" could acquire definite knowledge of the national finances. The proposed reform was frustrated by Count Lottum's timidity, and now that Alvensleben was in charge of the national finances, the ministry of finance (to Kühne's despair) did not venture to reiterate its well-grounded demand.

Yet there was absolutely no reason for hiding the light of truth under a bushel. During the eleven years 1830–1840, the extraordinary expenditure (over and above the 39,280,000 thalers spent on mobilisation during the revolutionary years) amounted to 27,800,000 thalers, of which nearly 15,000,000 had been devoted to road construction. Since Russia paid 3,900,000 thalers to defray Prussian expenditure on behalf of the Poles, the net extraordinary expenditure for the eleven

[1] Motz to Lottum, December 21, 1824.

years totalled 63,222,527 thalers. The amount was far from extravagant, for it was inevitable that there should occur a gradual increase in expenditure seeing that intercourse was more active, and that by 1840 the population had increased to nearly fifteen million. The yield of the new taxes greatly exceeded the budgetary forecast, and the general state treasury had been able from its net income to provide nearly two-thirds (approximately 41,000,000 thalers) of the extraordinary expenditure—more than 25,000,000 thalers from surplus taxation and more than 15,000,000 thalers from the sale of domains and from ground rents. Moreover, during these eleven years national debt to the amount of more than 31,000,000 thalers had been paid off.[1] During the years 1820–1833, the debt was reduced from 217,000,000 to 175,000,000 thalers, of which 163,500,000 was interest bearing debt. Down to the year 1843, the interest bearing debt was further reduced to 138,500,000 thalers, the annual interest falling from 9,300,000 to 7,740,000 thalers.[2] Nevertheless Alvensleben, overwhelmed with bureaucratic timidity, could not make up his mind to a full disclosure of these favourable results. The published estimates for 1838 showed net income and expenditure amounting to 52,681,000 thalers. The gross yield of the taxes was about 84,000,000 thalers. No one regarded these figures as entirely accurate, for who could believe that since 1820 expenditiure had increased by no more than 1,800,000 thalers?

Even the unity of financial administration which Motz had secured after such desperate struggles was completely lost under Alvensleben. To the rigid Hallerians in the entourage of the crown prince, the alienation of the superfluous domains had long been a cause of offence, although Motz and Maassen went cautiously to work and the total yield of the crown property was not reduced. They blamed the ministry for finance, saying that the sale of the domains was destroying the independence of the crown. Even Schön, who regarded himself as the only heaven-sent minister for finance, and the elderly Ladenberg, who had been banished to the audit office, spurred on the crown prince.[3] In an unlucky hour, Privy Councillor Kessler, director of the domains

[1] Survey of the extraordinary expenditure, 1830-1840, by Rother, Alvensleben, and Voss, February 11, 1841.

[2] Rother, Memorial Concerning the Interest on the National Debt, February 16, 1841. Survey of the National Debt, 1833-1840. For the members of the diets.

[3] Kühne's Memoirs.

administration, now published in Ranke's journal an essay wherein it was asserted without circumlocution that with the exception of the forests the state had no need of landed property at all. Kessler, like almost all the privy councillors, was an unconditional adherent of Adam Smith, but the two ministers, practical men, knew how to bridle his doctrinaire zeal. At the crown prince's court the essay aroused general indignation. When Alvensleben received the ministerial post he had to accept the arrangement that the administration of the domains and forests should, under Ladenberg's supervision, be assigned to the treasury of the household. Kessler went to Arnsberg as president. With Ladenberg it was a point of pride to keep the crown property undiminished in size. Only on rare occasions would he agree to any alienation, as when peasants were to be settled in New Hither Pomerania or Posen. Thus the minister for finance lost the power of free disposal of an important source of income. Commercial and industrial matters were likewise assigned to an independent department under Rother's leadership. The old and deplorable departmental struggles flamed up anew.

The war ministry, too, was under an evil star. During the revolutionary years the false economy of Minister von Hake bore bad fruit. The great cost of mobilisation was due to the need for making in haste arrangements which ought to have been made in times of quiet. From the generals there rose a chorus of satisfaction when Hake at length retired (1833) and was succeeded by Witzleben. All were of opinion that the king had made the best choice; moreover, Witzleben's independence of mind could not fail to exercise a favourable influence upon the conduct of the entire ministry of war. But overwork in the cabinet had exhausted the energies of General Witzleben, though he was but fifty years of age when he received the post which was his due. He was already ailing when he accepted office, and was never really well from that time until his death in 1837. Unfulfilled, therefore, remained the high hopes which the army had naturally placed upon this most estimable man, and his successor, von Rauch, a learned general of engineers, was too old to animate military administration with a new spirit.

The difficult problem how universal liability to military

service was to be fully realized had not yet been solved. Since the army corps were all of equal strength, it was inevitable that the individual provinces should be diversely burdened proportionally to their varying rate of increase in population and to the varying physical fitness of their inhabitants, and again and again the civil authorities complained about these inequalities. The king rightly paid small attention to such complaints. He considered that the disadvantages were "fully compensated" by the great privilege that the majority of the troops served in the neighbourhood of their own homes.[1] A far more serious matter did it seem to him, as to all his generals, that so many of those liable for service should not be called up, this being a plain violation of the letter and the spirit of the law. Hitherto, as a temporary expedient, supernumeraries had been given a brief and scanty training with the Landwehr. When, during the Polish troubles, these "Landwehr recruits" were called up to guard the frontier, they proved extremely inefficient, and there was a general consensus of opinion among experts that henceforward all men liable to service must pass through the school of the army, but the extraordinary military expenses of the years of revolution had been so great that it was impossible at this juncture to contemplate an increase in the regular military estimates. Only one resource remained, an extremely dangerous one, a reduction in the term of service. Among laymen the opinion still prevailed that the practices of ordinary drill were quite easy to acquire. Reaube's *Annual of the Provincial Diets* inquired why men liable to military service should not practice military drill for themselves, and then be exempted from service with the colours if they knew their drill properly. Strange proposals were advanced even in military circles. It was suggested that a portion of the men should serve two years and others six months, so that the average term of service would be about sixteen months.

In such circumstances the ablest generals, Prince William, Witzleben, Natzmer, and Müffling, thought it advisable, despite grave counter-considerations, to recommend the trial of a two years' term of service. Even General Boyen, who had at length regained the king's favour and was summoned to the council, agreed to the proposal. On October 15, 1833, the minister for war provisionally decreed that for the infantry of the line

[1] Cabinet Orders to Brenn, September 11, 1832, September 4, 1833.

service should now last two years, for the foot artillery two and a half years, for the guard and for all cavalry three years as before. The Landwehr recruits were abolished, a correspondingly larger number of recruits entering the line. The battalion of line infantry now numbered on a peace footing 522 men: 200 first year men; 200 second year men; 122 non-commissioned officers, and re-inlisted time-expired men. This made it possible, notwithstanding the increased calling up of recruits, to keep army expenditure almost at the same figure. For the year 1838 the expenditure was 23,500,000 thalers, little more than in the year 1820. But this financial gain was achieved by severe military sacrifices. The excess of recruits put undue strain upon the energies of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Whereas hitherto, under the three years system, the efficient infantryman had been able to hope that as a reward for good conduct he would be granted furlough soon after the expiry of his second year of service, this spur to ambition, which is especially effective in national armies, was now removed, for everyone without exception must serve out his two years. The generals speedily realised that the three years' apprenticeship which was demanded in most German handicrafts was likewise indispensable for the craftsmanship of war. Field service in particular was apt to be very badly performed. During the first half of the year, in which the recruits were not yet fit for field service, the battalion could now march out with only 250 men, one-fourth of its war strength. But this was a mere company, not a battalion at all, and the danger could hardly be avoided that under such conditions peace manœuvres would give a false picture of the realities of war. The favourable expectations entertained by General Krauseneck, chief of general staff, when the two years term of service was introduced, were not fulfilled.

Individual training, doubtless, was zealously promoted, and target practice in particular was cultivated with a care which aroused the admiration of French officers. The ministry of war conscientiously endeavoured to take advantage of every improvement in technique. The Prussian army was the first in Europe to be armed throughout with the new percussion small arms, and experiments were already in progress with the needle-gun, invented by Dreyse, a Sömmerda manufacturer. In the cadet training colleges, Prince William's friend General

Brause, who had been their principal for many years, had awakened vigorous life, and they almost invariably supplied good material to the line. The Landwehr, on the other hand, was in bad case. Among the 3,000 officers attached to this force, not more than half could be regarded as fully competent in the military sense, for those among them who had had experience of war gradually retired, and for motives of economy the Landwehr drills were greatly abbreviated. Yet able officers were above all indispensable to a force which in peace time was composed solely of cadres.

In earlier days the king had by his sharp intervention frequently prevented many a miscarriage during manœuvres, but in old age he had become less exacting, and showed himself satisfied with everything—by no means to the pleasure of his son William, who since the death of Duke Charles had commanded the guard with the utmost strictness. The spirit of the wars of liberation was by no means dead. This was recognised by all when on the five-and-twentieth anniversary of the call to arms of February 3rd the old volunteer jagers held their commemorative festival. They assembled three hundred strong at Gürzenich near Cologne. General Pfuel was in command. In an impassioned poem, Immermann celebrated the silver-wedding of the nation in arms: "Borussia is still fresh and fine, and still is our courage unshaken." When the veteran Arndt, in response to a formal invitation, appeared in the hall, generals and high officials thronged round the dreaded demagogue with cordial greetings. Nevertheless this most national of all armies was not unaffected by the slackness of the prolonged peace. Born heroes like Captain Moltke and Lieutenant Goeben were unable to tolerate for long the mechanical uniformity of garrison service, and sought in foreign climes an outlet for their active impulses. Men of commoner stamp were by the eternal boredom driven into error and even into crime. In the year 1837 Ensign von Arnstedt of the guards, who had murdered a superior officer, was executed by decapitation at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and among ladies of distinction much weakly compassion was aroused by this punishment, severe but just. Reflective men recognized that such crimes were no more than symptoms of the general disorder of a weary time. It was natural that unruly youth should break out in revolt against the monotony of life.

To thoughtful officers of more mature years this tranquil epoch brought a gift of inestimable value, General Clausewitz's posthumous book, *On War*. It was the theoretical heritage of the wars of liberation, the masterpiece of the military science of the century. The political conception of war which Napoleon, Scharnhorst, and Gneisenau had realised in the sphere of practice, was here scientifically expounded with conspicuous clarity. War, said Clausewitz, is policy in its most vigorous form; it is the means whereby our political will is enforced upon our enemy; its first aim, therefore, is the destruction of the hostile forces. From this preliminary proposition the author proceeded step by step to deduce the untenability of the old doctrine, not even yet completely exploded, in accordance with which it was held that artificial manœuvres, the occupation of watersheds and mountain crests, the utilisation of inner lines of operation, constitute the commander's chief task. Now and again Clausewitz would himself seem to relapse into these views of an outworn past, would seem to prize defence as the safer form of warfare. In the end, however, he returned always to the thesis that the positive aim of war can be attained solely through attack. He declared it impossible to act on a preconceived and strictly observed plan of campaign, for the commander is faced by the living will of the enemy. Every military leader must be resolute to seek out the enemy whatever the danger, must be attracted by the thunder of the guns. The fine chapter upon the plan of campaign and upon "the absolute form of war" reads almost like a prophecy of the 1870 campaign. Genuinely "warlike war" must, he wrote, eventuate in the destruction of the hostile forces, and a success of this character is secured by a comprehensive onslaught or by a pitched battle. By the light of previous experience, Clausewitz believed that in most cases the aims of war would continue to be restricted. It was impossible for him to foresee that in days to come great national armies on the Prussian model would be universally constituted and that thereby the ideal of absolute war would be made the rule.

His ideas were in conformity with the natural heroic sense of the Germans and with the constitution of the Prussian army, which was organised in all respects for rapid and decisive action. Simple and great, like the art of war itself, these ideas served merely to express with scientific precision what the more capable among the German officers had long recognised

The book therefore aroused universal admiration. To less highly cultured officers it was made accessible in a number of popularisations, as for example in the *Military Letters of a Deceased Officer* from the pen of Pönitz, a Saxon military writer. All the military science of Germany was nourished on Clausewitz's book and many of his propositions were soon regarded as commonplaces. Thus were the conceptions of Napoleonic warfare incessantly elaborated by the Prussian general staff, whereas among the French these conceptions had passed almost into oblivion. The French army was now in good condition, and notwithstanding the party struggles by which the officers' corps was rent, it was thoroughly trustworthy vis-à-vis the foreign enemy. The training of the troops, however, was far less thorough than in Prussia; the non-commissioned officers, many of them veterans, did more harm by bad example in the way of drunkenness and immorality than they did good by their technical capacity; and the victories won in Algeria exerted a most unfortunate influence upon the spirit of the army. The "African" generals acquired undeserved prestige, although it was obvious that their rude methods of warfare would not suffice in combat with a civilised enemy. Army administration, untrustworthy elsewhere, was positively dishonest in Algeria. The troops degenerated into savagery in the campaign against a barbarous people, and when they were subsequently called upon to suppress working-class risings in Lyons and in Paris they behaved with devilish cruelty to their own countrymen. Despite all the unfortunate outcomes of the prolonged peace, the Prussian army continued to excel the French in loyalty, discipline, culture, humanity, and a vigorous warlike spirit which, though not given to boasting, was yet confident of its power to retread the old paths to victory into the heart of the hostile land.

Among the many disillusionments of his old age, the king found it especially hard that he was not to see the redrafting of the Frederician law code, for this reform seemed to him above all indispensable. Whilst in the old provinces Minister Mühler gained great credit for himself by the strict administration of justice, and whilst he was making even the decayed patrimonial courts tolerably efficient in so far as this was possible, under Kamptz's leadership there was no advance in the great work of revising the laws. Neither the minister,

a man of cumbrous erudition, nor the committee of distinguished jurists who were his collaborators, was lacking in zeal. Within eight years drafts were prepared for the criminal code, procedure at trials, the constitution of the courts, and the beginnings of the civil code, and there was made in addition the enormous collection of provincial laws, an astounding testimony to German learning and industry. But everything was left in the preparatory stage, for Kamptz was quite without the art of coming to a conclusion at the right time. During his term of office only one law was promulgated which really advanced the administration of justice, and even this reform was due to the personal intervention of the king. Marchand, a Berlinese advocate, had published a pamphlet describing how tedious was procedure in the courts of first instance, and had sent this work to the monarch. Frederick William was influenced by the convincing and reasonable demonstration, and commanded that a remedy should be found forthwith. In the year 1833 was issued the ordinance for summary jurisdiction, prescribing for simple law cases an abbreviated oral procedure such as was already in force in Posen,[1] and thus indicating the way for the reform of civil procedure as a whole.

In other respects the important work of legal revision remained sterile. In Rhineland, Kamptz, who was here in charge of the administration of justice, sowed nothing but dissension. The severe persecutor of the demagogues was suspect apriori to the Rhinelanders. Nor was it long before he aroused the opposition of the Prussian judges. An appeal court judge in Naumburg who had proposed a foolish toast to the Poles was condemned to a term of imprisonment and was subsequently cashiered by the king. Kamptz defended the procedure of the crown with customary impetuosity. The badly drafted provisions of the civil code, by no means free from ambiguity, had hitherto been interpreted to mean that no judge could be dismissed except after condemnation in due form of law, and upon the Rhine the irremovability of the judges was regarded as a bulwark of popular freedom. Henceforward the Rhinelanders looked upon their minister of justice as a sworn enemy. They railed against cabinet justice when for a second time the king, as previously in the Fonk case,[2] refused to confirm a death sentence based upon

[1] See vol. II, p. 496.

[2] See vol. IV, pp. 160-1.

the verdict of a Rhenish jury. Never could they agree that by Prussian law the monarch did not merely possess the prerogative of pardon, but was further entitled, in virtue of his supreme jurisdiction, to confirm or to annul every death sentence. Kamptz, however, gave sufficient occasion for more reasonable complaint. This remarkable minister of justice in Rhineland made no secret of his hatred for the *code Napoléon* and initiated against the Rhenish courts a petty warfare which could not fail to fortify the province in its preference for French law. He instructed the Rhenish chief procurators to challenge all the decisions of the police courts, on the ground that these courts were not to be trusted,[1] and he made so reckless a use of his power to reduce sentences that the Rhenish judges felt that their official honour was affronted —for Kamptz was accustomed to say that Rhenish law was written in blood.

He was now actively opposed by von Ammon, chief procurator in Düsseldorf, a convinced liberal who had proved his Prussian sentiments as volunteer in the War of Liberation and who regarded the Rhenish assizes as a precious jewel of German popular freedom. Ammon made personal application to the king, adjuring him "to put an end to ministerial encroachments." "If," said the chief procurator, "I defend a foreign legal system, this is only because many juridical institutions, which appear foreign but sprang primitively from a German root, seem to me better than our domestic institution.[2] A prolonged and deplorable dispute ensued. Kamptz attempted by numerous insults to revenge himself on the unruly subordinate. The king, however, decided against the minister, annulled his right to commute sentences,[3] and expressed serious disapproval of the harshness displayed towards Ammon.[4] Through such proceedings Kamptz secured so odious a reputation on the Rhine that Lord Lieutenant Bodelschwingh, cousin to Ammon, at length assured the king in plain terms that this enemy of Rhenish law ought not any longer to remain Rhenish minister for justice. Kamptz stood his ground for a long time, but finally (December, 1838), upon a fierce remonstrance from Bodelschwingh, he resigned his Rhenish

[1] Kamptz, Circular to the Rhenish chief procurators, December 13, 1834.
[2] Ammon, Note on Rhenish Criminal Law, sent to the king, February 1, 1835.
[3] Cabinet Order of March 23, 1835.
[4] Cabinet Order to Kamptz, July 12, 1835; Cabinet Order to Ammon, October 19, 1836.

office, to devote himself henceforward exclusively to the labour of revising the laws.[1]

Mühler now became responsible for the administration of justice throughout Prussia. A special ministerial department was established to deal with Rhenish law and was placed in charge of Ruppenthal, the celebrated jurist of Cologne. This change showed very clearly what was in any case manifest from the sterility of the work of legal revision, that the Rhinelanders were long to retain their distinctive legal system. How great had been the change of opinion. After the war no one would have thought it possible that the liberators of Rhineland would allow the indefinite continuance of the foreign conqueror's legislation. So powerful now had proved the influence of French and Belgian ideas in the west, that this legislation was already regarded as almost inviolable. The government was without resource against these moods of the time, for in view of the inchoate condition of German legal science, and in view of the intensity of party feeling on both sides, it was impossible to bring into being a national legal system adapted to modern requirements. Ammon and the abler Rhenish jurists recognised clearly enough that at least a universally applicable criminal code was essential to the national unity of the monarchy, provided only that the Rhenish jury system were preserved. But the mass of laymen were unwilling that any change should be made, desiring even to retain the *code pénal* in all its harshness, simply because it was termed Rhenish. What a hubbub arose in the provincial diet when urgently necessary reforms were suggested in respect of water rights and similar matters. The deputies were at once alarmed lest it should be proposed to reestablish the old particularist rights of Cologne and Treves, and it was difficult to allay their apprehensions.[2] Officials were unanimous in their reports that the *code Napoléon* was "the breath of life" for Rhinelanders. Even to Rochow, much as he detested the French legal system, it seemed inexpedient to disregard local sentiment in this matter.

The continuance of the Rhenish legal system was in fact thoroughly justified as long as the crown had nothing but an obsolete legal code to offer the Rhinelanders in exchange.

[1] Frankenberg's Report, December 6; Berger's Report, December 6, 1838.

[2] Report to Lottum from Count Anton Stolberg, November 23; Kamptz to Lottum, November 27, 1833.

Before long, however, the government retreated yet further. Alarmed by the obstinacy of Rhenish particularism, it abandoned the fundamental idea of a revision of the laws, and hardly even ventured to make preparations for the indispensable future legal unity of the monarchy. Kamptz and his advisers were already preparing two new legal codes for the eastern and for the western provinces respectively, and when the diets of the year 1839 were dismissed, a timid assurance was given in the speech from the throne that the king reserved the right of deciding, with the cooperation of the provincial diets, whether the revised civil code, when completed, was "to be enforced also in the Rhenish province." Simultaneously an official translation of the five codes was ordered, and the fat little book with blue-white-and-red bands across the back, was henceforward the political bible of every Rhinelander. The Rhenish jurists, having proved victorious in defence, soon passed to attack. Louder and bolder became the cry that the legal uniformity of the monarchy could very readily be established if the retrograde east were to follow in the footsteps of the progressive west and were itself to adopt the French legal system. In the circles from which these proposals emanated, clericalist and liberal tendencies were jointly at work. Enthusiasm was displayed for "the four liberties" of the model land of Belgium—freedom of the church, freedom of the schools, freedom of the press, and freedom of association. In the older provinces of Prussia, opposition to these confident desires found but hesitating expression, for the officials of the old provinces felt that the Rhinelanders were supported by public opinion throughout the south and the west; and it was considered essential that the crown should at all costs spare the susceptibilities of these most important among its newer provinces.

Down to the present day, during her territorial expansions, Prussia has frequently found that members of the younger generation, continually hearing complaints of the new order, prove more hostile to the German state than their elders who grew to maturity under the old conditions. Thus, too, had the mood of Rhineland unmistakably changed for the worse. No one, indeed, thought of secession, for the province flourished exceedingly beneath the eagle's pinions. In the old domains of the crozier a sentiment of dynastic loyalty actually began to prevail when in the autumn of 1833, precisely

at the right moment, the crown prince revisited his favourite land. All the world then hastened to Coblenz, many, doubtless, to bask in the rays of the rising sun, but many others animated by honest devotion. In the Ahr valley a new road was built beside the river, and near Altenahr a cutting one hundred and ninety-two feet long was excavated through the Gucklei greywacke, the work taking a year and costing nearly 14,000 thalers. The crown prince came to witness the completion of the cutting. The entire province celebrated the great day. The newspapers penned panegyrics upon "this splendid excavation with natural walls fashioned by human art," declaring that the work redounded to the honour of the royal government—a few years before the railways threw into the shade all the glories of the good old times. When the heir to the throne departed, the provincial diet sent him a cordial greeting which was acknowledged with equal warmth. None the less the separatist spirit was on the increase. When the Rhinelanders sat over their beer they loved to talk of a Rhenish Westphalian viceroyalty which was to be ruled in accordance with the *code Napoléon*, and was to be but loosely associated with the junkerish east. Disputes between natives and the "Prüss" were unceasing, invading even the peaceful precincts of the Düsseldorf academy. Here careful calculations were made how many pictures of the art union "the easterners" had purchased and how many pictures painted by Rhenish Westphalian artists. In this childish controversy there participated with the publication of two pamphlets no less a man than Fahne the judge, a deserving historian, who was in the habit of inviting artists to merry festivals at Fahnenburg on one of the forest-clad slopes of Berg.

The ministry had long felt that government on the Rhine was too lax and forbearing. Since Ingersleben's successor as lord lieutenant, Pestel, proved too much of an invalid to fulfil the duties of his office, he was replaced in 1834 by Ernst von Bodelschwingh, a distinguished official barely forty years of age, a man of moderate conservative views, who early in life had attracted Stein's attention. By his natural simplicity, his earnestness, his benevolence, his consideration, and his convincing eloquence, he soon made himself so agreeable to the Rhinelanders that they even found it possible to forgive him his Westphalian origin and his strict Protestant views.[1]

[1] Report to the king from the ministry of state, June 25, with a separate Memorandum from the crown prince, July 3, 1833.

Younger and more vigorous men were appointed as presidents, Count Anton Stolberg, the crown prince's friend, going to Düsseldorf, and Cuny being subsequently sent to Aix-la-Chapelle. The provincial estates, nevertheless, exhibited a morose humour, being suspicious of everything that came from the east. At the diet of 1833 even the demand for a national assembly was rejected "with indignation," for it was considered fruitless to urge it during the old king's lifetime, and Count Stolberg, the royal commissary, was able by private influence to secure the quiet withdrawal of certain proposals for freedom of the press, public sittings of the diets, and the introduction of a national guard.[1] But when he produced the draft of a rural communes' ordinance, a well-intentioned law designed to overthrow the dominance of the Napoleonic mayors and to give the Rhenish villages self-government, he encountered insuperable resistance. "We want no separation of town and country," was the universal cry; it was insisted that even the neofrench burgomasterships must remain.

The principal grievances of the province concerned the reputedly heavy taxation. Since hardly any Rhinelander took the trouble to make himself acquainted with the old provinces, preposterous notions gradually became current concerning the exemption from taxation of the manorial estates in the east, though this was in truth a matter of trifling significance. Every Rhinelander believed that the richest and most vigorous province was being overtaxed to benefit the east. The opinion was as unfounded as were the outcries of the radicals of Neuchâtel against Prussian extortioners. But it persisted, and was fortified by the publication in 1833 of David Hansemann's book, *Prussia and France*. How unfortunate was it that this loyal Prussian patriot should conceive the idea of writing concerning matters he did not understand, discussing them with all the assurance of the sciolist, and confirming the deplorable prejudices of his fellow countrymen. With great diligence Hansemann compiled a number of statistical tables. Where knowledge failed, he filled in the gaps with "estimates," proceeding with a superficiality which this able merchant would unquestionably never have tolerated in his own business affairs. For example he estimated "the main national property" of the province

[1] Stolberg's Reports to Lottum, November 16, to the king, December 2, 1833

of Saxony thirteen million thalers higher than that of Rhineland, and on the basis of this incredible contention it was not difficult to demonstrate that the Rhenish province was overtaxed. Even more recklessly than in his *Constitutional Memorial*[1] did he now betray the class selfishness of the new bourgeois society. He held that the highest aim of the state was to exhibit consideration towards capital, and that national expenditure must be regulated simply in accordance with the taxpayer's convenience. Parsimonious as Prussian expenditure already was, Hansemann proposed to reduce it promptly by nearly one-third, approximately by 16,500,000 thalers, of which saving 9,000,000 was to be effected in the army estimates. Should the liquidation of the national debt be continued, a great reduction of taxation would soon be secured; but in any case the wealthy Rhenish province ought to pay half a thaler less per head of population than the impoverished eastern provinces! The ostensibly cheap Napoleonic prefectural system was held up before Prussian administration as a shining example. Forgotten now were the miseries the province had endured as a result of the inadequate salaries and the consequent dishonesty of French subordinate officials.

This widely read work gave South German liberals an entirely false picture of Prussian conditions. Its portentous numerical tables endowed it with great power in Rhineland, for to uncritical laymen the figures seemed irrefutable. Immediately after its publication, the provincial estates declared that whereas they had hitherto suspected that Rhineland was overtaxed, suspicion had now become certainty, and they roundly demanded that in the western provinces the land tax should at once be reduced by one-fourth. An answer, compiled by the candid old Benzenberg and by Kaufmann, professor at Bonn, remained without influence; nor was emotion stilled even by the masterly memorial issued by Maassen shortly before his death. At the next diet, 1837, the foolish old grievances were again enumerated, and since the clergy, with the example of the Belgian priestly state before its eyes, now scarcely cared to conceal its detestation of the Protestant royal house, the state of feeling in the province began to give ground for serious alarm.

In Westphalia, too, complaints of oppressive taxation

[1] See vol. V, p. 225.

were rife. The difficult work of making a cadastral survey, which in the western provinces cost 5,000,000 thalers, inevitably infringed a number of real or supposed interests, for an accurate estimate of the value of land is impossible, seeing that this value is continually changing. Privy Councillor Rollhausen, who was in charge of the survey, was known among the nobles as the "commissaire général," and had frequently to be protected from their hostility by the strong hand of Vincke. At the diets, now that Stein was no longer there to maintain discipline, anger often secured free vent. It was subsequently demonstrated that while Westphalia was more heavily taxed than the Rhenish province, its burden was equalled by that of Saxony and was lighter than that of Silesia. The estates nevertheless obstinately asserted that taxation was too high by at least one-third. Nor was passion allayed when in 1839, the survey having at length been completed, the reasonably drafted land tax law for the western provinces was promulgated. There was no reduction in the total sum levied by the land tax, for the state of the national finances made it impossible to think of any remission of taxation. The two western provinces, though united in opposition, cherished as of old fundamentally divergent views. Whereas the Rhinelanders, proud of their modern code, looked down upon the reactionary easterners, the conservative majority in Westphalia regarded the Berlin cabinet with suspicion for its supposed jacobin tendencies. At the Münster diet, the draft of the rural communes' ordinance was likewise opposed, for to the Westphalians the legislation seemed too liberal. To them it was an unprecedented idea that all independent householders were to receive the suffrage, and they insisted that every communal burgess must qualify by the possession of "a reasonable amount of landed property."

The sentiments of the nobility found expression in a writing *Concerning the Bases of our Constitution* circulated among the deputies by Baron Werner von Haxthausen during the diet of 1833. Haxthausen had been one of the founders of the Tugendbund. An enthusiast for Germany's greatness, he was high-minded, able, cultured, on terms of intimate friendship with Steffens and the brothers Grimm; but a romanticist in politics and religion. He demanded the reestablishment of the old diets of Paderborn, Münster, and Ravensberg; as a strict Catholic he condemned secularisation; he was opposed

to all the modern life of the state, even disapproving the new town's ordinance, and regarding the officialdom as a parasitic growth which was sucking the vital juices out of the vigorous Westphalian oak. If a good Prussian could talk in this way, what was to be expected from the sanspatrie sacerdotalists of Münsterland. What could be expected from the clerics, who here showed contempt for the "Protestant" authorities even more arrogantly than it was shown by their colleagues on the Rhine. A spark only was needed to initiate a dangerous conflagration.[1] Thus heavy was the payment which had to be made for the unnatural separation of the provinces, a separation accentuated by the provincial diets. The bourgeois and Protestant elements that were to be found in the manufacturing districts of Westphalia had no chance of coming to an understanding with kindred energies in the east.

The government treated the western provinces with much consideration, but in Posen, after all that had been experienced with the Poles, even Prussian patience was exhausted. Vanished were those hopeful days when the German officials had foregathered in friendly fashion with the Polish nobles in the viceroy's hospitable mansion. Even Prince Radziwill recognised how completely he had been deceived regarding the sentiments of his fellow countrymen. He resigned the viceroyalty, and died not long afterwards. Henceforward the lord lieutenant was supreme representative of state authority, and to this important office the king summoned a man who was to secure for the Prussian name a firm prestige in the land of the white eagle. Lord Lieutenant Flottwell was born in East Prussia, was educated at Königsberg in the school of Kant and Kraus, and subsequently entering the Prussian administrative service had under Schön's leadership become intimately acquainted with the Poles. He straightforwardly declared that the system of considerateness and concessions was obsolete, that the nobles and the clergy were Prussia's sworn enemies. From the Poles a German government could never win love, but only respect. The Germans would gain this respect by favouring without injustice the spread of German civilization. Though not free from the passionate

[1] Tzschoppe to Wittgenstein, September 3, 1833, with reports of the voting in Rhineland and Westphalia.

temperament characteristic of his fine stock, his judgments were gentler and more equitable than those of his mentor Schön. He desired that strict laws should be enforced in the mutinous province, but this must be done with "scrupulous consideration" for existing circumstances. Otherwise the government would run the risk of infringing its own rules, "and this would entail a reputation for inconsistent and lax administration which would be especially dangerous in Posen."[1] By his fearless candour he acquired the personal confidence of the king and of Prince William the younger. Since all the Slavs regard with tacit veneration the two qualities which are lacking in themselves, the qualities of poise and firmness, his personal relations with the Polish nobles were tolerably satisfactory, although in political matters they regarded him as a deadly enemy.

The Germans and the Polish peasants revered him as their protector, and had similar feelings for his friend General Grolman, commanding officer of the district, whom the Poles in general hated even more ardently than they hated Flottwell. Grolman's liberal and heroic spirit made the disloyalty and ingratitude of this "unworthy" province a horror to him. He lacked Gneisenau's faculty of ignoring with distinguished contempt the crooked dealings of the Sarmatians; he detested "this conjuncture of illegality, dissoluteness, and filth" and he desired to play his part in "transforming the Poles into human beings." Little did he care that the liberals, who in the days of the Carlsbad decrees had made a hero of him, now stigmatised him as reactionary. Since the death of Gneisenau, the army regarded him as its leading man. During the Polish rising it had been necessary to empty the Landwehr arsenals and to withdraw the Polish regiments from the province. Upon Grolman's advice it was decided that the Lower Silesian regiments of the fifth army corps should henceforward be garrisoned in Posen whilst the Posen regiments were to be transferred to German Silesia.

At new year, 1833, Flottwell, visited Berlin to lay before the ministerial council the result of his observations. In the ensuing months was issued a series of far-reaching ordinances. The monasteries of the provinces were secularised, their income, supplemented by a considerable grant from the state, being devoted to schools and seminaries. Since many of the nobles

[1] Flottwell to Lottum, July 24, 1832.

had been ruined through participation in the revolt and a number of estates had been brought under the hammer, the sum of one million thalers was placed at the lord lieutenant's disposal for the purchase of these estates, which were to be disposed of to "purchasers of German extraction." The results were excellent, for about thirty German landowners were established in the region; but it was impossible, in view of the condition of the national finances to carry out Grolman's urgent recommendation that all the Polish landowners should be bought out. During the revolutionary epoch the Landrats elected by the circle diets had behaved exceedingly ill, many of them supporting the rising and others grossly neglecting their duties. The right of appointment of which the circles had made so bad a use was, therefore, provisionally transferred to the district governments.

Even worse was the condition of the rural police. Many of the noble bailiffs misused their official powers for the oppression of the peasantry. Arbitrary methods and neglect were universal. At times a bailiff would warn, not political offenders alone, but common criminals, when prosecution was imminent. A half measure of reform having effected no improvement, in 1836 the crown at length decided upon a radical change. The circles were divided into subdistricts containing from six thousand to nine thousand inhabitants, the police administration of each subdistrict being placed in charge of a royal commissary appointed by the lord lieutenant and supervised by the Landrat. The petty local authorities with restricted powers were placed under the orders of the subdistrict commissary. In those villages where the burdens on the peasantry had not yet been removed, the mayor was appointed by the great landowner, but in the villages where emancipation had been completed the mayor was chosen by the community of independent landowners—for Flottwell was aware that for centuries the Polish peasant had regarded his local squire as the source of all authority, and could not shake off this opinion until freed from all feudal obligations.[1] The one hundred and thirty subdistricts' commissaries (for the most part retired officers or non-commissioned officers), together with the Landrats who acted as their official superiors, conducted henceforward a firm bureaucratic regime. They protected the peasants against the nobles; they secured the

[1] Flottwell to Brenn, July 21, 1832.

enforcement of law throughout all strata of society; and they incurred everywhere the hatred of the nobility and won the respect of the common people. The nobles' dominion was replaced by a strict official state. Self-government in the country districts was practically destroyed. How could it be allowed to persist seeing that its essential preconditions, loyalty and respect for law, were quite unknown to the Polish nobles.

The law courts, too, were reorganised, and a formal order was issued that a German translation should invariably be demanded in the case of all Polish petitions and legal proceedings. To the mediate towns, many in number and hitherto heavily oppressed by the nobles, the year 1833, characterised by numerous and fruitful reforms, brought the abolition of taxes payable to the landowners. This enfranchisement was effected with great speed, for the crown advanced the redemption money. The advantageous results of the change were soon manifest in the behaviour of the previously demoralised petty bourgeoisie, for with the abolition of the taxes there was abolished also the liquor monopoly which had been one of the chief props of the Sarmatian nobles' regime. In the days of the Polish republic the members of the nobility had vied one with another in granting "municipal rights" to their villages, for in this way they had secured the right of propination, the monopoly of brewing, distilling, and selling liquor, and were enabled to exploit the privilege effectively by means of the fairs. Thus it had come to pass that the province with a population of 1,100,000 contained 145 townships, most of which owed their existence exclusively to the landowners' brandy. This abuse was now done away with, and since the government applied the town's ordinance to all the larger towns, and with the provision of a number of new middle schools arranged for a reasonably good education, Flottwell was able to hope that in course of time there would come into existence in Posen a self-respecting and hard-working middle class similar to that found elsewhere in Germany.

Emancipation in the rural districts was facilitated by the speedy abolition of the dues payable to the landowners by the towns. By the year 1837 twenty-one thousand corveable peasants had been transformed into free property owners. The benefits of this reform were obvious to all. A mere glance at the houses and the fields enabled the traveller to distinguish

a village under the new system from one where the old was still in force. Here, as universally since the declaration of May 29, 1816, emancipation was restricted to peasants on the larger farms, those who owned teams, for the state had no desire to deprive the great landowners of that wage labour which is indispensable in the east. But governmental procedure was far stricter in Posen than in the old provinces. The officials paid scant attention to the complaints of the Polish nobles, who were always discontented; nor was it necessary here, as it had been in the old provinces, to pay sedulous attention to the interests of mortgagees. In Posen mortgage institutes were still new, but in the old provinces thousands had mortgaged their estates; the credit of the great landlords had in any case been severely shaken by the fall in the price of grain, and the government had to move cautiously if it was to avoid involving them in general ruin.

The Jews, meanwhile, who at that time were still making common cause with the Germans against the Poles, acquired enlarged rights. They were to form synagogue-communities with corporate privileges, and were to undertake the duty of educating their young people. They were henceforward liable to military service unless they preferred to pay the customary recruit subsidy. Those in decent circumstances could secure formal naturalisation and thus qualify for the majority of communal offices. The hope of the authorities was that these reforms would gradually put an end to the sinister hatred of the Gentiles which had been inculcated at the Jewish school in Lissa. Even these cautious steps, however, went far in advance of public opinion, and aroused violent opposition in the diet. Within the next ten years, however, more than two hundred elementary schools were established in the villages, most of them carrying on education in the Polish tongue, and teaching but little German, for the government, though censured for its strictness, ventured to go no further. There were also instituted two new gymnasia with associated boarding establishments under clerical supervision, a Catholic seminary, and a number of Protestant pastorships. When Flottwell assumed office, there were four miles [German] of high roads in Posen, but after the lapse of a decade the great network of roads connecting the town of Posen with Berlin, Old Prussia, and Silesia, had been nearly completed.

Never before had this country been ruled so justly, perspicaciously, and considerately, but the king's lenity to the participators in the Polish rising was regarded by the nobles as a sign of weakness.[1] The behaviour of the amnestied was challenging and defiant. The crown found it necessary to suspend the Kröben circle's right of election to the provincial diet, owing to gross infringements of law. At the diet of 1834 the old and immoderate complaints of injustice to the Polish language were reiterated. Three-fourths of the Ritterschaft voted for this statement of grievances, which was supported by no more than two of the town deputies and one of the peasant deputies. The nobles thereupon demanded the *itio in partes*, which was properly applicable only to the safeguarding of the rights of the respective estates; and although the majority objected, formally renouncing any desire for "political separation" from the other provinces, the nobles independently carried their complaints to the steps of the throne. The king expressed approval of the protesting majority's action and bluntly declared that he regarded as null the illegal motion of the Ritterschaft.

Conspirators were unceasingly at work. The party of the reds had gained the upper hand among the refugees in Paris and had founded a Polish democratic union, with sections, courts of assize, regular subscriptions, and an oath pledging members to unconditional obedience. Its secret agents were universally active in the clubhouses of Posen, Gnesen, and Samter. They were busied at all the nobles' residences whose inmates, in accordance with the old Polish custom, passed the winter in reciprocal visits, staying until store rooms and cellars were completely emptied. Rarely could the government gain information regarding these subterranean intrigues[2]; and who could realise all the evil arts of seduction exercised day after day in the hope of corrupting the German officials? Not every judge could be depended on when the night before a trial one of the Polish nobles concerned in the affair had invited him to the customary "Vortermin," endeavouring at a great drinking bout to influence official sentiment. When the king granted amnesty to the young officials and aspirants who returned from the Polish rising, acting on the advice

[1] See vol. V, p. 253.

[2] Flottwell's Reports to Brenn, February 7 and March 11, 1832; Tzschoppe to Flottwell, October 18, 1834.

of his ministers he had them all transferred to other provinces,[1] explaining unambiguously to the diet that these misguided young men must become accustomed to German life, must experience gain of the manners of a law-abiding people.

More dangerous than aught else was the irreconcilable hostility of the Catholic clergy, led first by the Polish zealot and patriot Wolicki and subsequently by Archbishop Dunin, weak and untrustworthy. In almost every country where there are mixed nationalities the Roman priesthood inclines to favour the tongue spoken by the less civilised nationality; how much more was this the case in Posen where Polish was the speech of the Catholic majority. Even German priests were so little able to escape sharing the dominant sentiments of the clergy, that Flottwell, to the horror of Altenstein (ever unduly credulous) frankly declared after six months' experience of the province that he had not yet encountered a thoroughly trustworthy priest.[2] Catholic Germans were between two stools. Among the Bambergers, Catholic peasant immigrants from Franconia, the clergy was secretly at work, though at first without obvious result. When a German married a Polish woman, the children were always lost to Germanism, for in the average marriage the wife decides what shall be the nationality and the creed of the children. Nor were social relationships favourable to the Germans, for most of the Poles belonged to the lowest strata of society, and, justifying here as everywhere the name of proletarians, they multiplied far more rapidly than the German middle classes.

Thus it happened that, notwithstanding extensive immigration, German civilisation advanced but slowly, and impatient Germans began to think of sharper methods. Immediately after the Polish rising, General Grolman recommended the breaking up of the province of Posen and the assignment of its fragments to the three adjoining loyal provinces. Küpfer, a native of Posen, urged the crown to constitute a great joint-stock company, under the management of a royal immediate committee, for the purpose of buying up all the land of the Polish nobles. This was the shadow[3] of coming events, but

[1] Tzschoppe's Opinion concerning the amnestying of the officials, October 15, 1832.

[2] Flottwell's Report to Altenstein and Brenn, March 17; Altenstein to Brenn, April 8, 1831.

[3] Küpfer, Memorial concerning the Germanisation of the grand duchy of Posen, sent to Lottum on January 27, 1838.

that generation, with its narrow conceptions of national finance, lacked courage for such bold designs. The state of affairs in the province grew more and more intolerable. The two nations were inspired with mutual contempt as well as with mutual hatred. Whilst the Germans became accustomed to speak of all baseness and dishonesty as "Polish doings," the only way in which the Poles could account for the thrift and orderliness of the Germans was by ascribing these virtues to an inborn spirit of servility.

To no one was this intensification of national conflicts more distressing than to the few distinguished Poles who desired neither to betray their own nationals nor to secede from the Prussian state. Among these were the veteran General Chlapowski and Count Eduard Raczynski, the most highly cultured man among the Prussian Poles. Of artistic temperament, the count had endeavoured his utmost on behalf of the education and the adornment of his native land. To him the town of Posen owed its fine library and its water supply. By the foundation of an agricultural school, by the establishment of a sugar factory, and by improvements in agricultural technique, he attempted to induce his fellow nobles to engage in orderly activities, but was compelled to look on while his relatives devoted themselves to conspiracies which he would neither promote nor hinder. Such were the difficult conditions under which, upon this Polish frontier, the Prussian officials had to wage war on behalf of German nationality, law and order, and civilisation, their campaign being rendered more difficult by the definite hostility of German public opinion. Did a liberal newspaper ever deign to refer to the peaceful conquests in the eastern march, it was in the form of an essay by some discontented Polish nobleman who regarded the liberation of the Posen peasantry as an act of Prussian tyranny.

In the other eastern provinces the tranquil life of these years was disturbed by little else than religious disputes. In Königsberg the sect founded by Schönherr, theosophist and mystic, continued its strange devotional exercises. Its leader was now a preacher named Ebel, a handsome, ardent, and eloquent man, who exercised an irresistible charm over women, and was in the habit of uttering mysterious allusions to the transfiguration of earthly love. The adepts of

this creed were wont to greet one another with fulsome demonstrations of affection. Ebel, an inspired enthusiast, was the centre of a circle of distinguished men and women belonging to the leading families of the province, and among these were two sisters-in-law of the lord lieutenant; but Schön himself detested anything which diverged from the critique of pure reason, and spoke of the members of this congregation of the awakened as "Muckers" [sanctimonious humbugs]. Before long, sinister reports were circulated regarding secret practices ascribed to the "Muckers," and in view of the profoundly passionate nature of the East Prussians it seemed far from improbable that the ancient and enigmatic kinship between sensuality and religious ecstasy had found renewed expression in the doings of this sect. There were grounds for suspicion, but there was no proof, nor is proof forthcoming to-day. The principal witness had recently been expelled from the congregation, and his testimony was therefore of doubtful worth. The consistory, whose members were exclusively rationalists of Schön's way of thinking, conducted an enquiry that was obviously partisan. The lord lieutenant felt it a point of conscience to destroy the obnoxious congregation root and branch, and his methods were so savage that the adepts lodged several complaints against him in Berlin. But the ministers supported Schön, for by Altenstein's ecclesiastical principles sectarianism was necessarily evil.[1] The supreme court of appeal finally decided that the alleged lewd practices were unproved, and Ebel was merely condemned as a sectarian for infringement of his clerical duties.[2]

The province was already ill at ease, and by this "Mucker" case, which dragged on for seven years, emotions were profoundly stirred. Nothing could be more welcome to the growing opposition than a scandal involving priests and nobles. Although Ebel was far from taking his stand upon the Augsburg confession, and although the orthodox had ever been his declared enemies, by adherents of the dominant rationalism the Augsburg confession and orthodoxy were charged with complicity. To the enlightened Königsbergers every man of strongly religious views was a "Mucker" and a hypocrite.

[1] Petitions to the ministry of state, from Frau von Bardeleben, March 18, from the Reverend Diestel, November 11; Altenstein's Opinion, April 29, 1837, together with opinions by Mühler, Rochow, and Rother.

[2] W. H. Dixon's book, Spiritual Wives (London, 1868), is filled with gossip scandal, and false reports, and is of small value to the historian.

The liberals, inspired by their hatred of the nobility, gave free rein to their inventive faculties, and had incredible things to relate concerning the moral corruption of the honest East Prussian aristocracy. The Jews of Königsberg, who were now beginning to feel their strength, and who possessed a vigorous spokesman in Dr. Jacoby, likewise made no attempt to conceal their malicious delight. Nor was Schön the man to lull party passion. He was at open feud with Sartorius, the new superintendent general, a man of strictly orthodox views. General von Natzmer, the commanding officer, a gentle and genial man, had to lodge a complaint against the lord lieutenant because the latter, when a deputy appeared at the diet wearing his Landwehr uniform, had in the presence of a general exclaimed: "You are able to wear the coat of a freeman, and yet you wear the livery of a servant!" The king pacified the insulted officers' corps by the issue of a cabinet order in which he administered to the lord lieutenant an extremely mild reprimand, complaining of Schön's perpetually challenging demeanour. "You are," said the king, "always passing censorious and libellous judgments concerning the proceedings of the higher authorities, and you permit yourself utterances whereby the prestige of the government is lowered, and whereby contrary to your intention, discontent is fostered in the province." Schön expressed his thanks to the monarch in moving terms, and insisted that there was less discontent in East and West Prussia than in other provinces.[1] None the less, the lord lieutenant continued to express public disapprobation of everything done in Berlin, and especially of the customs union, which was certainly of small profit to this remote province. He was aware that the king was indulgent to him owing to his well-tried loyalty, and he was pleased that the liberals of East Prussia should extol him as their party chief. Pride in Old Prussian freedom, anger with the "Muckers," discontent owing to the frontier embargo, impatience natural to inactive days, and the critical spirit which was never lacking in Königsberg, worked in cooperation. The ancient coronation city became the focus of an opposition which, though able, was insatiably critical—an opposition which was all the more vigorous in point of expression because it was unable as yet to prove its mettle in action.

[1] Schön's Petitions to the king, February 11 and March 11; Cabinet Order to Schön, February 25, 1834. Schön's later account of the matter (Aus den Papieren, III, 125) obscures the real issue.

Some ecclesiastical disorders ensued in the Mark on the introduction of the new Berlin hymnal, the work of a theological committee of which Schleiermacher and Bishop Neander were members. An excellent selection had been made from the Evangelical church's well-stored treasure house of hymnology; the wording of the old hymns had been altered in a few places only, in conformity with the demands of modern tastes, but with scrupulous care; and the king hoped that the congregations would voluntarily adopt the book. Altenstein, however, again attempted to secure his ends by positive commands. The crown prince, thereupon, championed the rights of the congregations, demanding for these the safeguarding of "their treasury of songs, which is genuinely their property . . . . In my opinion," he continued, "there are some things which must be regarded as matters of course, and for these no legislation is required." He succeeded in adjusting matters satisfactorily. It is true that his zeal for freedom of conscience invariably found expression upon the side of the ultra-orthodox. To his historic sense the hymn-book was insufficiently antique. "In my opinion," he wrote, "the book, as a book, considered per se, is a good book,' which stands a hundred miles ahead of the revolting earlier new hymnal. But as a work, to speak without exaggeration, I find it BAD, not so much from defects in point of execution, of which I do not here wish to speak, but simply *for this reason*, because, in my firmly held opinion and according to my canons of taste, Homer, the Mahabharata, the Nibelungenlied, etc., etc., etc., if altered in accordance with the principles which have been applied to the alteration of the old German songs, and even if the work had been performed by an archangel, COULD NOT FAIL to prove an *abortion*. This to me is so much a matter of principle, the view is so intimate a part of my personality, that I really cannot argue about the question."[1]

The crown prince was far more painfully affected by the petty-minded oppression of the Old Lutherans, and though on friendly terms with Altenstein he rightly considered it his duty to announce his open opposition to the minister. There was, indeed, no reasonable ground for the Old Lutherans' severance from the united national church, for the union had left the essential truths of religion intact, and even the strictly

[1] Crown Prince Frederick William to Altenstein, October 24, 1829; May 2, 1830.

Lutheran ritual might still have been practised unchanged, for the congregations and their pastors were entitled to choose freely from among the numerous Old Lutheran formulas found in the appendix to the new liturgy. But when did religious faith ever trouble itself about rational grounds? Should the Old Lutherans accept the liturgy, they would have to recognise the members of the Reformed church as Protestant brethren, which would indubitably conflict with Luther's opinion. It was as impossible for the state to constrain them to such a concession as it was for the state to prevent Catholics from regarding Protestants as heretics. These poor fellows, for the most part men of the common people in Silesia, blinded by passion and with their emotions stimulated by fanatical preachers, considered themselves bound in conscience to refuse religious community with the members of the Reformed church. However narrow, harsh, and intolerant their religious zeal, they proved themselves faithful descendants of those valiant Silesians who had of old defied the imperial saviours. The Old Lutherans of Breslau believed themselves to be obeying God's command when they asked the king's permission to found an independent church under the leadership of their devout pastor, Scheibel. Frederick William rejected their request, for he agreed with Altenstein in the opinion that since the petitioners maintained themselves to be Protestants their right place was within the Evangelical national church.

Embittered by this severity, the devotees soon advanced to breaches of the law. On their own initiative they appointed representatives; they took over the management of church property; and they had ecclesiastical affairs administered by unqualified persons. Altenstein made personal exhortations and despatched commissaries in a vain attempt to stem the excitement, regarding his own actions as a proof of unwonted tolerance. Without avail did a cabinet order of February 28, 1834, furnish assurance that no one was compelled to join the union, the only demand being that the liturgy must invariably be used in the national church. It was impossible that such a half measure in the way of concession should win over refractory spirits, for incontestably the liturgy was merely the ritual expression of the union. Besides, in severe terms the king reiterated his assertion that "for the enemies of the union to organise as a separate religious community" must be regarded as "unchristian" and would therefore not be

tolerated. Most of the high offices in the church were still held by rationalists of the old school, and the consistories of Stettin and Breslau waged ceaseless war against everything they considered sectarian. In one place Baron von Senfft-Pilsach was forbidden to preach to his flock; in another, the men of Peilau were debarred from receiving communion with the Moravian Brethren in the neighbouring settlement of Gnadenfrei; in another, a hostile consistorial decree imposed obstacles to the work of the mission to the Jews. The Breslau consistory wished to dismiss Hirschfeld from his pastorate because, though he adopted the liturgy, he retained the formula "Vater Unser." The crown prince declared, "to expel this man on such a count from the office he has filled so advantageously would be positively ATROCIOUS," and he insisted that Altenstein ought "to let the matter REST." Unremittingly did he espouse the cause of the persecuted, and prophesied to the minister that these vexatious methods could serve only to strengthen the sectarian spirit.[1]

Such was indeed the upshot. Expelled from his Breslau incumbency, Scheibel opened a fierce paper campaign from Saxon territory. His onslaughts were especially against the king's writing concerning the liturgy, though the criticisms were phrased as if he had believed Bishop Eylert to have been the author of the work. His fulminations continued so long that the leaders of the orthodox, Hengstenberg, Hahn, and Olshausen, formally declared themselves opposed to separatism. Among theologians of note, one only, Guericke of Halle, joined the sectarians, and even he a few years later became reconciled to the national church. None the less the Old Lutherans of Silesia held firm, and at a synod in Breslau (1835) they determined never to abandon their separate church. In the Silesian village of Hönigern, the Old Lutheran incumbent was relieved of his duties and was about to be replaced by a pastor belonging to the union; thereupon the entire congregation, led by the women, assembled with loud lamentations around the closed church. Soldiers had to force the gates, and were quartered in the village for a time. Throughout these unfortunate incidents the government strictly observed the letter of the law, but it was plainly apparent that the ecclesiastical policy of the old territorial system was out of date. The only

[1] Crown Prince Frederick William to Altenstein, May 2, 1830; December 30, 1831; June 26, 1833.

possible basis of Protestant freedom in these days was that a new church constitution should safeguard the rights of the congregations.

After much dispute and suffering, some of the Old Lutherans, to the number of more than a thousand persons, resolved to emigrate. No one interfered with their faith or their ritual; all that was denied them was the Protestant right of forming a congregation. But they imagined themselves to be suffering for their religion, though the only things that drove them from the country were an unfortunate misunderstanding and their own intolerant hatred of the members of the Reformed church. It was a terrible day when four hundred of these unfortunate Silesians, travelling down the Spree in their own boats, passed through Berlin, and then, continuing their voyage down the Havel, glided beneath the king's windows at Potsdam, their Lutheran hymns resounding across the quiet waters. Did it not seem as if there had been a recurrence of the days of the Great Elector, when Paul Gerhardt, suffering likewise on account of intolerance rather than for the faith, had been compelled to quit the Mark? But that which in the harsh century of the wars of religion had been the outcome of necessity, could in these secular days have been readily averted by wise and broadminded ecclesiastical policy. How profound was the contradiction! Frederick William looked upon himself as protector of the Protestant faith in Germany, and was publicly acclaimed as such by the pious G. H. Schubert and the other Bavarian Protestants whom he gladly assisted in all their religious undertakings.[1] In these very days, profoundly moved, he was celebrating the tercentenary of the Brandenburg reformation. Yet under the rule of this pious prince occurred a persecution which conflicted with all the conceptions of Protestant freedom.

It was currently reported throughout the country that the good king was ignorant of the severities of his officials. But he was well aware of all that was going on. With profound distress and with keen attention did he watch the progress of these religious disorders, and he went so far as to furnish the emigrants secretly with financial assistance. Yet never for a moment did he waver in his ecclesiastical policy. In the tribulations of oppressed and bemused con-

[1] Petitions to King Frederick William: from the Protestant congregation of Munich, January 14, 1834; from G. H. Schubert, January 10, 1836.

sciences, he could see nothing but criminal revolt against the divinely ordained authority of the church, continually asking himself in amazement, "How are such aberrations possible in a land where freedom of conscience is unrestricted?" He had no inkling of the thoughts harboured by his German neighbours regarding these persecutions. The Lutherans of Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Bavaria had heretofore censured the debile syncretism of the union. They could now maintain with considerable semblance of truth that this noble enterprise on behalf of Protestant freedom was at bottom nothing but the exercise of tyranny over conscience. For a long time to come the growth of the union was checked. When the worst days of persecution were over, the crown prince at length collected his forces, and in 1839, supported by Mühler, assured the ministry of state that "some sort of recognition" ought to be granted to the secretaries. Were the Evangelical church likewise to be given more freedom, these errors would soon die a natural death.[1] But it was impossible to think of any change during the lifetime of the old ruler.

How great was the distress of the pious Steffens, when at this time (1837), still profoundly moved by the departure of his Lutheran coreligionists, he visited Tyrol, to encounter there in the Alps another emigrant train, wains heavily laden, men, women, and children to the number of more than four hundred, including twelve persons over seventy years of age. These were the Protestants subsequently established in the new Zillerthal, the last religious colony founded by the Hohenzollerns. The emigrants were led by a sturdy peasant named Johann Fleidl. The Austrian government would not permit them to remain in the land of religious unity, for the fanatical Catholic clergy attributed to the honest Lutherans all kinds of terrible sectarian excesses. Orders had at length been issued that the Zillerthalers were to remove to another crown-land, perhaps to Transylvania. The authorities in Vienna were naturally quite unconcerned by the consideration that Tyrol was German federal territory. Nor had the Bundestag a word to say about the manifest infringement of article 16 of the federal act, and no German publicist raised the question whether Austria with its distinctive laws could still be regarded as part of Germany. But among the Protestants of the

[1] Crown Prince Frederick William to Altenstein, February 4, 1839.

highlands the Prussian name had been greatly esteemed ever since the days of the Salzburg emigrants. The refugees from Zillerthal had no wish to settle close at hand in Bavaria, for with good reason they distrusted the ultramontane sentiments of the court of Munich, and they turned to the veteran king. He treated with them through the mediation of Strauss, his court chaplain, and offered them a new home close to Schmiedeberg, on the beautiful slopes of the Riesengebirge, where the loss of their yet more beautiful native surroundings would be less painfully felt.[1] The cost of establishing this new settlement in thickly populated Silesia was exceedingly heavy, the expense per head being nearly five times as great as that which King Frederick had devoted to such settlements. The pious and magnanimous Countess Reden was commissioned by Frederick William to act as chairman of a committee to help the immigrants through the difficult period of transition. Within a year they had all been settled in the three villages of the new Zillerthal—loyal and industrious folk, and cheerful for all their zealotry. Happiness soon shone upon them in their smart Tyrolese houses among the mountain leas. The young men were gladly accepted as recruits by the Görlitz yagers. A number of them subsequently passed onwards into the North German plain to make a living as dairy farmers. They remained always in close touch with the royal house. Prince William the elder and Princess Marianne frequently came over from Fischbach to visit them. Next to the Bible nothing was more precious to the emigrants than the king's portrait in the communal school. "God bless King Frederick William III" was inscribed beneath the eaves on the first house in Mittelzillerthal.

The diets of the eastern provinces gave but little trouble to the government, performing their inconspicuous duties faithfully and diligently. Feudalist opposition to Hardenberg's legislation was still manifested from time to time, but was less active than in earlier years; and as soon as the tedious deliberations began concerning the draft of the new trades ordinance, it became evident that the principles of freedom of movement and freedom of occupation had taken firm root among Prussians. Even the most conservative of the diets, that of Brandenburg, did not venture to demand that the

[1] Dönhoff's Report, May 18 and 28, July 1, 1837.

constraints of the old guild system should be restored, all that was asked for being free corporations with stricter discipline for apprentices and journeymen. The estates were aware how small was public interest in their proceedings, and in East and West Prussia, in Saxony, and in Silesia, proposals were made on several occasions that the deliberations of the diets should become more accessible to the people. It was, indeed, impossible that the new ideas which were beginning to ferment among the bourgeoisie should secure expression in these assemblies, representative as they were of landed property; and the growing power of the new thought was displayed only in the franker phraseology of the provincial press. Whilst Berlin newspapers were still in the old rut, in the *Schlesische Zeitung*, Schön, a young political economist, would already at times publish leading articles dealing incisively with home affairs. Baron von Vaerst vied with him in the *Breslauer Zeitung*. East Prussian liberalism secured its platform in the *Königsberger Zeitung* in so far as the strict censorship would allow.

§ 3. THE CUSTOMS UNION AND THE RAILWAYS.

As soon as a new political idea has become established in national life, the force of inertia invariably leads to a reaction on the part of injured interests and opinions. Nor was the customs union to remain immune from this experience. The total yield of the new duties increased from year to year, and South German financiers had good reason for congratulating themselves upon their decision. From the Bavario-Würtemberg customs union Bavaria had received barely two million florins annually, but in the first year of the German customs union (1834) her receipts were nearly double this amount, namely, 3,895,000 florins. By the year 1840 the total revenue to be distributed among the members of the union had increased since 1834 by more than fifty per cent., from 12,180,000 thalers to 19,010,000 thalers. Trifling, however, were these financial gains in comparison with the vast transformation which with astonishing quickness was effected in the economic life of the south. To the large scale manufacture of Prussia, already firmly established, the customs union brought no more than a somewhat extended market. The

young industries of South Germany, on the other hand, acquired thereby at one stroke the wide and free outlet which had hitherto been lacking, and were granted duties which afforded adequate protection, being from two to four times as high as the Bavario-Würtemberg tariff. It must be remembered that since the year 1818 there had been little change in the Prussian import duties, whilst the price of most manufactured articles of foreign origin had fallen considerably.

In these favourable circumstances the economic energies of the south underwent conscpicuous increase in strength. A number of new enterprises originated; manufacturing districts came into existence in the neighbourhoods of Lahr, Mannheim, Ludwigshafen, Esslingen, Augsburg, and Nuremberg; and for the first time the South Germans learned that which was now well known in the north: that kindred industries tend to develop side by side in a single area. During the years 1834 to 1842, the import of raw cotton into the countries attached to the customs union increased more than twofold, from 121,000 to nearly 243,000 cwt. Since these new industries did not as yet feel secure of their footing, they clamoured for protection, and there was a sudden change in the position of economic parties. Quite recently the South Germans had complained of Prussia's high tariff—for Berlin was naturally disinclined to complicate the venture of the customs union by simultaneously effecting a notable reduction in the tariff. But hardly had the union been formed when complaints were voiced that the protection it afforded was insufficient. South Germany became the cradle of a protectionist party in strong opposition to the free-trading ports and commercial centres of the north, and the protectionists were strong enough to prevent any reduction of duties. Such changes, few in number, as were effected in the tariff during the first three decades of the customs union were almost all in the direction of increase. For example, the duties upon linen twist, silken twist, yarn, and dyed silk, were somewhat reduced, obviously to meet the wishes of South German manufacturers. But South Germany had now to pay for the backwardness of her industrial legislation. To the Berlinese privy councillors, many even of the justified desires of the Augsburg and Stuttgart protectionists were suspect because the south was considered the classic land of the antediluvian prejudices characteristic of the guild system.

" Producers having adapted themselves thus rapidly to the customs union, and inclining merely to complain that its measures lacked vigour, the South German chambers, too, at length began to abandon their ill-conceived opposition. The shameful failure of parliamentary liberalism could no longer be denied. How much more intelligent, perspicacious, and patriotic than even Paul Pfizer had Cotta, a simple man of business and no politician, proved himself during the years when the customs union was being formed. In the Badenese diet much criticism was still to be heard concerning the proletariat in the manufacturing districts and the increase in prices, and also concerning real or fancied failures of customs policy.[1] At the customs conferences Prussia was already mooting the question whether the diets ought to be allowed to have a voice in deciding individual details of that policy. Both parties, however, speedily recognised that it would be more prudent to let such difficult matters rest. The diets now made it a rule to leave customs policy entirely to the governments. The first three customs conferences, held respectively in Munich, Dresden, and Berlin, were peaceful. At the Munich conference (1836) Kühne had set the right tone of friendly and businesslike discussion.

It is true that from these assemblies, in which the liberum veto prevailed, nothing more could be expected than a reasonable treatment of current affairs. Few as yet were sufficiently enlightened to recognise that a unified market necessarily demanded unified coinage and a unified system of weights and measures. Even Dahlmann was still of opinion that to do away with the venerable coinage of the different members of the union would be to attack the faith of the people. In his view the diversity of German political constitutions wrought far more harm than did the multiformities of the monetary system. When the currency confusion in the gulden countries became intolerable, the South German governments resolved to call in part of the depreciated old Brabant coins, whereupon a cry of horror was raised to the effect that this was the first step towards the introduction of the Prussian thaler—a coin which already passed freely from hand to hand. The canny house of Coburg seized the opportunity to declare that its notorious six-pfennig pieces were no longer legal tender. The Bavarians were greatly incensed at this proof of

[1] Blittersdorff, Instruction to Frankenberg, April 24, 1839.

neighbourly honesty, and when the Coburg duke visited Munich they displayed their ill will openly in the streets.[1] A year later (1838) the states of the customs union signed a coinage convention, establishing a fixed ratio between the thaler and the gulden. The only effective remedy for the currency difficulties, the general acceptance of the thaler standard, was impracticable, for the South Germans, with King Louis at their head, were almost all agreed in believing that the cheapness of living in the gulden countries was dependent upon their currency system and would be destroyed by the introduction of the terrible thaler. Financiers, though more far-sighted, did not venture to run counter to so powerful a prejudice. But it was agreed that the double thaler, equivalent to three and half florins and popularly spoken of as the champagne thaler, was to be minted by all the states, and for many years this remained the solitary union coin of Germany. No improvement was thereby effected. Since the South German states had never yet coined their Rhenish gulden, and even now did not mint nearly enough gulden pieces, their domains were flooded with countless florin coins, including not merely the irresistible Prussian thaler, but the old crown thalers of Brabant and coins from Austria and France. With exemplary patience the common people engaged daily in the solution of difficult arithmetical problems as they handled coins worth respectively 2 fl., 42 kr., 1 fl., 45 kr., 1 fl., 10 kr. To crown all, paper money and bank notes were legal tender in the land of issue only, and yet circulated in all the countries of the union, for they were essential to the exchange of commodities. Anyone who accepted payment in paper had to keep a sharp look out lest there should be palmed off upon him one of those "wild" currency notes which the lesser princes of Thuringia, confiding in the goodnature of their neighbours, were accustomed to print in vast numbers.

Nevertheless, however much might still be lacking to the unity of the German market, a magnificent success had been achieved. During the War of Liberation, Stein had vainly attempted to levy a war tax in all German ports, but now a common tariff frontier existed in actual fact. At one stroke vexatious disputes which had diminished our power and had been injurious to the character of our people, were ended for

[1] Galen's Report, Darmstadt, April 26, 1837; Dönhoff's Reports, Munich, May 11, June 16, and December 25, 1837, December 19, 1838.

ever. The nation was well pleased, feeling that the change was in accordance with the nature of things. The tariff wars of the old particularist customs unions had become matters of ancient history. People smiled indulgently when Dr. Emminghaus of Weimar, now that matters were settled, took the trouble to prove in a learned writing that by Roman law Saxony and Thuringia had unquestionably been entitled to leave the Mid-German customs union. The business world speedily adapted itself to the new forms of customs administration, showing the authorities a confidence which was honourably reciprocated. In the year 1826 the Magdeburg provincial tax administration had allowed the great business houses tariff and tax credit to the amount of no more than 13,000 thalers; a few years later this sum had risen to above a million, and it continued to increase, for obligations were always discharged punctually on settling day. In the great towns of eastern Germany the mercantile classes had secured the right of association as early as the twenties; and in the western provinces, too, chambers of commerce had recently been constituted in various towns, notably in Elberfeld and Barmen during the year 1831. The commercial classes thus acquired the means of giving clear expression to wishes and grievances. How long and how aimlessly had the Germans disputed about their elusive federal law and about the futilities of their petty diets. Now had come into existence a real and effective public opinion, imperiously demanding its right to deal with questions of national commercial policy.

To the surprise of the officialdom, the strength of this new power was promptly manifested when the customs union concluded its first commercial treaty with a foreign state, the treaty signed with the Netherlands on January 21, 1839. After the secession of Belgium, the Dutch had hoped for the reestablishment of that old commercial policy which they had found so lucrative in the days of the Holy Roman empire. Their idea was to supply Germany with colonial produce and manufactured articles, drawing raw materials from the impoverished hinterland. Wishing first of all to gain control of the German sugar market, they instituted a semi-manufacture, producing muscovado sugar, which at the custom houses was declared to be raw sugar. Gone now were the days when the Germans believed themselves able to walk only with the aid of foreign crutches. Marshalling its forces for

defence, the tariff union decided that henceforward muscovado sugar, like refined sugar, was to be taxed at double the previous rate (1836). Complicated negotiations ensued, lasting for several years. In the end Holland gave new and welcome concessions for the facilitation of Rhenish navigation, securing in return a reduction in the tariff on the Dutch sugar. The king of the Netherlands and his daughter Marianne (wife of Prince Albrecht of Prussia) played a vigorous part in these business negotiations, contending that the house of Orange ought to be treated with especial consideration since no help had been vouchsafed against the Belgians.[1] Count Alvensleben gave way in the end, agreeing to a fifty per cent. reduction in the tariff upon Dutch sugar. He feared that should he refuse there would be too great a fall in the customs revenue, and the other governments of the customs union were likewise influenced by fiscal considerations. The settlement was not effected until after violent disputes, which eventuated in the retirement of Privy Councillor Windhorn, a leading Prussian financier.[2] Yet hardly was the matter settled when a storm broke forth in the press, an indignant chorus arising that Germany's interests were being sacrificed to the foreign world. German silk manufacturers and beet sugar manufacturers declared that under the new conditions it would be impossible for them to make headway against Dutch competition, and the event proved them right. The two great silk mills of Stettin were nearly ruined. Nor could the Hansa towns, to which the customs union had granted identical privileges, compete successfully with victorious Holland.

All too soon did it become plain that the first diplomatic activity of the new national commercial policy had been a disastrous failure. At the same time it involved an infringement of the principles of the customs union, for by these principles differential tariffs were rejected, and yet by the Netherlands treaty dangerous privileges were accorded to an unfriendly neighbour state. The nation, therefore, had good reason to complain, and public disfavour was so decisively expressed that two years later the governments found it necessary to annul the ill-considered arrangement. Such was

[1] Münchhausen's Reports, April 23 and June 3, 1837; Frankenberg's Reports, April 23 and May 25, 1837, December 6, 1838, January 25, 1839; Berger's Report, March 27, 1839.

[2] Kühne's Memoirs.

the first and well-deserved success of public opinion. There was no sign of undue presumption on this account, although it was natural that there should be sharp criticism of Mynheer and the policy of jusqu' à la mer. But universally there prevailed the healthy self-confidence of a vigorous nation which had at length determined to be master in its own house. The "sugar war" demonstrated how much sound political judgment and national pride our people could exhibit in any matter of serious concern; it proved likewise that the customs union had already become a popular force whose welfare and illfare came home to all. Hoffmann of Fallersleben had good reason for apostrophising the founders of the customs union in the following terms:

> Around the German fatherland
> A girdle ye have woven,
> Binding our hearts more firm and true
> Than federal ties could ever do.

Even opponents began gradually to realise that such a community as this, continually growing and visibly strengthening, would never again be dissolved. Just as Austria had tacitly abandoned her struggle against the customs union, so also were the proud Britons of Germany constrained to learn how to accept an accomplished fact, and this though their celebrated publicist Rehberg had so recently and so confidently declared that the accession of Saxony to the Prussian customs union was a sheer impossibility. The new Hanoverian tax union attempted for a time to foster smuggling from Brunswick into customs union territory, but upon strong representations being made by Prussia these evil practices were discontinued.[1] Both parties soon came to see that it would be better for them to support one another's efforts towards the suppression of smuggling.

It was harder for England to accustom herself to the new situation in Germany. When even Frankfort shook off the bondage of British commercial policy, Palmerston loudly expressed his anger against the customs union. Thereupon Sieveking, the Hamburg syndic, who was friendly to England, explained that the trouble was largely England's own fault.[2] It was true that the British corn duties had powerfully though

[1] Frankenberg's Report, January 11, 1836.
[2] Blittersdorff's Report, July 21, 1835.

involuntarily contributed to the development of customs unity in Germany. Had England after the War of Liberation, by arranging judicious commercial treaties with the unprotected German states, facilitated the import into England of German natural products, the superior development of British manufacturing industry at that date would for a long time to come have assured to England dominance in the German market, and would have imposed obstacles in the way of the independent development of German industry. But the corn laws were one of the pillars by which traditional aristocratic parliamentary rule was supported. Remaining in force, they heavily burdened German agriculture, being particularly disadvantageous to the grain trade owing to the operation of the sliding scale. Since the tariff varied with the market prices, and since marine transport was still extremely slow, German shippers could never reckon in advance what duties their grain cargoes would have to pay. Thus did British commercial policy refuse to the Germans the one valuable concession which it was in England's power to offer, whilst the islanders, fanning the flames of intra-German dissension, nevertheless hoped to maintain their commercial supremacy over Germany. Now, when the favourable opportunity had long been passed, the English were faced with the new and invincible national commercial union. The Germans had discovered how to protect themselves by joining forces, and the days of Anglo-German sonderbunds were over. England and France made one more attempt to play the old game. During the customs conferences of 1839, Palmerston's agent, Dr. Bowring, and Engelhardt the clever French consul at Mainz, came to Berlin as unbidden guests, their aim being by allurements and promises to stir up some of the lesser states against the customs union, hoping above all to influence Baden. Their reception was frigid. Bowring's arrogance and importunacy aroused general displeasure, and the two envoys had to withdraw without achieving anything.[1]

Mecklenburg alone was still willing to be the tool of foreign intrigue, for she obstinately desired the maintenance of her particularist existence. On July 19, 1836, she concluded with France a commercial treaty the manifest aim of which was to promote a lucrative smuggling trade in French wines, which were to be introduced from Mecklenburg into the neigh-

[1] Frankenberg's Report, July 19; Stockhausen's Report, August 10, 1839.

bouring Prussian provinces. The governments of the customs union were greatly incensed. King Louis railed against the ungerman sentiments of the Mecklenburgers. Czar Nicholas, who detested all dealings with the bourgeois king, expressed his displeasure in Schwerin.[1] By sedulous guarding of the frontier it proved possible to avert the bad consequences which would otherwise have resulted from this treaty. The western powers had no resource but to accept the situation; they were compelled to recognise that there was no prospect of disintegrating the German commercial union, and that they must deal with it as power against power. England, attempting confidential preliminary negotiations, was now to learn how difficult it was to secure concessions from a union so many-headed and comprising such manifold interests. In Berlin Palmerston made a secret offer to reduce the English duties on timber provided the customs union would lower the tariff on cotton piece-goods. Had such a proposal been made at an earlier date, when Prussia stood alone, it would unquestionably have been accepted, but now a cold answer was returned to the effect that a reduction of the timber duties, whilst it would certainly be favourable to the English shipbuilding industry, would in Germany advantage only the eastern province of Prussia, and there could be no thought of sacrificing the Saxon cotton weavers to the interests of these provinces.[2]

Thus vigorous was the growth of the new Germany, to the alarm of all the other powers, which had counted upon the weakness of central Europe. Yet precisely in these early years of hopeful blossoming, the existence of the customs union was seriously threatened. This time the danger came from Prussia herself. Fiscal interests, which beyond question were seriously affected by the pursuit of idealist aims in policy, armed for defence. The settlement of the customs union accounts, so favourable to South Germany, involved for Prussia at the outset nothing but loss. The distribution of the revenue proportionally to population proved manifestly inequitable, and to Prussia's detriment. During the year 1833 Prussia's customs revenue per head of population amounted to 20 silbergroschen. Next year, after the foundation of the customs union, the revenue fell to 15 silbergroschen, a decline of nearly 25 per cent., and the earli r figure was not approximately regained until 1838. During five years of unprecedented

[1] Frankenberg's Report, November 3, 1836; Münchhausen's Report, February 14, 1837; Dönhoff's Report, March 4, 1837.

[2] Frankenberg's Report, March 31, 1836.

commercial expansion, Prussia's financial administration suffered nothing but loss. Of the 12,180,000 thalers which the customs union divided in the first year among its members, the net contribution of Prussia had been 8,990,000 thalers, whilst Bavaria contributed only 950,000 thalers, and Würtemberg no more than 270,000 thalers. This colossal discrepancy between the respective contributions of the allies actually increased with the years. By 1840 the sum which Prussia paid into the fund for distribution had increased by nearly 50 per cent., attaining the figure of 12,950,000 thalers, whereas Bavaria's net revenue increased to no more than 1,210,000 thalers, whilst during the years 1838 to 1840 the customs revenue of Würtemberg remained practically stable, amounting to about 427,000 thalers per annum. Only in Saxony, where trade flourished, did the customs revenue increase even more rapidly than in Prussia, expanding during seven years from 1,070,000 thalers to 1,940,000 thalers. To all the other states of the union Prussia had to make continually increasing disbursements.

In view of these facts it was undeniable that Prussian national finance suffered unceasing disadvantage for the benefit of the South German allies, even though some of the goods taxed in Prussia were subsequently transported to the south, thus making it impossible to draw up a precise profit and loss account. Minister Rother, who from 1835 onwards was in charge of the ministry of commerce as an independent department, joined with other rigid financiers of the old school in asking wrathfully whether a powerful state had ever before made such sacrifices on behalf of a lofty idea. Where were the anticipated political advantages of the customs union? One who had looked only from above could not possibly see them. The professors of political science had long ere this made up their minds, and enunciated as an axiom that the customs union was nothing more than an economic league, entirely devoid of political significance. Some strength was given to this contention by the fact that at the Bundestag the votes of the members of the union were often widely divergent, whilst during the religious troubles Prussia and Bavaria were at feud. Alvensleben soon went over to Rother's view. Schön and Ladenberg, who had long and obstinately opposed Eichhorn's ideas shared this opinion; the reactionaries at court, finally, who would never tolerate any mention of German

policy, supported the adverse movement.[1] With one voice they censured the south, where the consumption of colonial wares was so small; they lamented the fair privileges of Leipzig; and they grumbled about the way in which smuggling continued to flourish in the Erzgebirge. Throughout Prussia, loud were the complaints of all whose personal affairs were not directly advantaged by the economic repercussions of the customs union, the universal cry being that the generous king was allowing himself to be "pumped dry" by his South German friends. Such an opinion was widely diffused among the landed gentry, and was shared even by young Otto von Bismarck.

After the balancing of accounts for the year 1834, Alvensleben sent the king a report by which Frederick William was profoundly depressed. The minister's accounts, as his admirers in Altmark phrased it, were like those of a "good paterfamilias," and he ascribed solely to the customs union the unfavourable yield of the financial year. He had already made up his mind that the union must be provisionally suspended in order that terms might be secured more favourable to Prussia's national finances.[2] The crown prince, however, opposed him with ardent patriotism, and in Ranke's journal Kühne wrote an essay *Concerning the German Customs Union*, wherein the economic significance of the commercial league was placed in the proper light. For the moment the danger was averted. But the financial party was still dissatisfied, continuing to complain as it had complained about the customs law of 1819 and about the suppression of the lucrative excise of old days. General Tax Director Kuhlmeyer brooded savagely over his statistical tables, while Alvensleben stressed his conviction that he was a Prussian before he was a German. In December, 1839, the minister surprised the union governments by a memorial discussing the question of the continuance of the customs union. Prussia, he wrote, must at least demand a different scale for the distribution of the wine dues, seeing that foreign wine was consumed almost exclusively in Prussia, and a similar change was necessary as regards the yield of the brandy tax. The thrifty minister wished also to impose a new tax upon the young beet sugar industry, and the yield of the tax was to be assigned as far as possible to the respective

[1] Berger's Report, August 27, 1839.
[2] Kühne's Memoirs.

37281

states, seeing that in Prussia alone was the sugar-beet extensively cultivated.[1]

But these demands, though by no means inequitable in themselves, threatened the very existence of the customs union. Should any state be granted preferential rights it would be impossible to refuse similar rights to the others, and therewith would disappear the equality of privileges which constituted the foundation of this commercial league. Alvensleben did not fail to recognize what was at stake, inviting Zeschau from Saxony and Gersdorff from Thuringia to a discussion as to the possibility of dissolving the union. Kühne took heart, and in an eloquent memorial *Concerning the Results and Successes of the Customs Union* he controverted the arguments of the parsimonious minister. Fortunately the financial statement for the year 1838 had just appeared. On this occasion the balance had for the first time become favourable to Prussia, justifying the hope that the losses of recent years would before long be recouped. Since the minister had of late ceased to consult the leading specialist of the customs union for guidance as to customs questions, Kühne, after talking the matter over with his friend Beuth, decided to break with all bureaucratic usage and to publish his memorial. In May, 1840, shortly before the death of Frederick William, he submitted it to the crown prince. The latter, though he had little love for the liberal privy councillor, expressed cordial approval. Never, he said, should petty fiscal considerations be allowed to destroy the fruit of long years of struggle, to ruin the beginnings of practical German unity, to nip the first blossoms of national economic progress. It could be foreseen that the customs union would survive this crisis and that the Prussian state would continue to make great sacrifices on behalf of national commercial policy. Yet Prussia could not on this account reckon upon national gratitude. The newspapers still displayed little interest in statistical tables, and liberal philistines continued to believe that the cunning Prussians were skimming the cream of the customs union.

Notwithstanding the great advances of these years, Germany remained a poor country in comparison with the western powers. The rate of interest was still high, being from four and a half to five per cent., and great undertakings had frequently to raise capital in England, where it could be secured

[1] Berger's Report, April 4, 1839.

at from two and a half to three per cent. The Berlin bourse had not as yet any considerable foreign dealings; its transactions were almost exclusively in German securities, the only notable exception being that in the days of the Carlist war there occurred some foolish speculations in Spanish paper. Foreign intercourse, at any rate with countries across the seas, was still quite unorganized, and dependent upon a thousand chances. When Goethe wished to send a parcel of gifts to his admirer Carlyle, the old man had often to wait for months until some friendly Hamburg skipper could announce a sailing to Edinburgh, and in winter these communications were entirely suspended. It was absolutely impossible, too, to reckon the costs in advance, and many surprises were in store. In the year 1834 the Saxon consul in New York was commissioned by his government to buy the latest works upon the American railway system. The prime cost of the books was 17½ thalers, but when the case finally reached Saxony by way of Havre, the freight charges had mounted up to 265 thalers, 18 groschen, 3 pfennigs. The marine communications of the customs union were subject to those sudden and enigmatic oscillations which are an invariable sign of immature conditions. During the year 1830 more than a thousand ships had entered the port of Pillau and the same number had cleared. There then occurred a notable decline, and in the year 1834 the entries numbered only 354. Not until the close of the decade did the entries and clearances rise to the former figure. In the estuary of the Oder, after a prolonged period of stagnation, shipping trade began to flourish once more, for there was an increasing export of grain to England and America, and the conquest of Algiers had put an end to the exploits of the Barbary pirates. Hitherto the Stettin shippers had never sent their vessels further than Bordeaux, and had invariably laid them up for the winter months; but now, thanks to the French, their bottoms could during the winter safely navigate the Mediterranean. From 1837 onwards steamboats plied between Magdeburg and Hamburg, but these vessels were primarily engaged in passenger traffic, taking freight as a mere accessory. Steam navigation on the Rhine, too, though making rapid progress, was still almost exclusively devoted to the conveyance of passengers.

Now that the need for improved transport facilities was everywhere making itself felt, it became a matter of keen

regret to the Germans that during the seventeenth century, the classical age of canal building, their country had been so impoverished and resourceless. Except in Brandenburg and the adjoining regions of eastern Prussia (where despite the difficulties of the times the energy of the Great Elector and the enterprise of Frederick II had led to the construction of a few valuable waterways), Germany had no canals. Thus throughout the greater part of the extensive German domains the only available means of transport was by wheeled traffic, and even upon the new high roads the cost of cartage was still so high that bulky and heavy commodities, such as stone, coal, timber, and even grain, could in inland regions be transported for short distances only. The wealthy city of Leipzig was still without paved side-walks, for from the distant quarries heavy granite paving-stones were unprocurable except at prohibitive cost. What profit to agriculture was derivable from emancipating laws or from the customs union whilst agricultural products were still practically excluded from distant markets? Advances in technique had long ere this transformed agriculture into a skilled industry, and F. G. Schulze, the Saxon, was now advancing the opinion which old Thaer had continued to reject, that the great agriculturist ought to be a man with academic training. At Jena in 1826, and upon the sometime monastic estate of Eldena near Greifswald in 1834, Schulze founded agricultural colleges which worked in cooperation with the neighbouring universities. Spirit, which was still unknown to the Prussian customs law of 1818, had now become an important fuel, and to the great landowner a distillery was indispensable if only to obtain distiller's wash for use as manure. Sugar-beet cultivation was on the increase, and Councillor Koppe of Wollup in Oderbruch, who since the death of Thaer had been the leading agriculturist of North Germany, gave the free trade theorists a convincing demonstration that there was nothing artificial in fostering the domestic production of an indispensable article of diet, seeing that national property was thereby indubitably increased. It was, however, impossible as yet for the elaborate division of labour characteristic of large scale manufacture to make its way into agriculture. Each large estate was as it were an isolated entity, endeavouring to restore the exhausted energies of the soil without extraneous aid, depending upon a well-planned rotation of crops and upon a combination of

tillage and cattle-breeding or sheep-farming. Koppe was the acknowledged master of this art of managing self-contained and self-supporting estates. Owing to the high cost of freight, even to the more enterprising among the landowners it seemed impossible to work for the world market, to undertake with zealous specialization the practice of some particular branch of agriculture, and to import the necessary fertilizers from elsewhere.

Manufacturing industry, too, despite the improvements in trade, was still petty and parochial. In the year 1826, Prussia's total production of steel was only 62,000 cwt., her production of cast steel in 1832 being actually no more than 94 cwt. Such iron wares as could be manufactured only with the aid of coke were imported from England, for in nearly all German factories, since freightage made the cost of coal prohibitive, the only fuel employed was wood from the neighbouring forests. Little use was as yet made of the magnificent coal beds of Westphalia, for here too the cost of transport was an obstacle. According to a calculation made in 1833 by Friedrich Harkort, the popular Westphalian, in the Bochum district one hundred pits were worked whilst four hundred were idle. Harkort instituted a great machine factory in Wetter-on-the-Ruhr, and Aston had a similar factory in Magdeburg; but in the year 1837 there were in Berlin no more than 29 steam-engines with 392 horse-power in all, whilst in the whole of Prussia there were but 419 engines with 7,355 horse-power. Even to bolder spirits among the industrials, the costly installation of the new machines seemed too risky a venture. Here and there attempts were already being made to hold industrial exhibitions, but participation was scanty and reluctant. Many manufacturers were suspicious of the new development, and the majority were afraid to expose their wares to relentless public criticism. The Breslau exhibition of 1832 could be adequately housed in one storey of a dwelling of moderate size, and the committee voted one hundred thalers for the purchase of choice exhibits. Down to the end of the decade the mass of the population had still little inkling of the approach of a new era. Three times a year the peasant visited the nearest fair to buy new boots and any tools he might need. At the tobacco booth he purchased supplies for his long pipe. In an adjoining stall stood the "poor tinder man" (a favourite subject of folk

songs), wearing a cap made of tinder as badge of his trade. Brunswick gingerbread and all kinds of goodies could be bought for the children. On great days our friend could visit a show booth to see a fat lady, or a monkey riding on a camel.

It was the railways which first shook the nation out of its economic stagnation, completing what the customs union had merely begun. So vigorously did they influence all the habits of life that by the forties Germany had already assumed a completely different aspect. To our nation it will ever remain a joyful memory how speedily, energetically, and resolutely this poor and politically disintegrated generation learned to avail itself of the world-transforming invention. Many influences cooperated to make the change peculiarly difficult for the Germans. A few years earlier the new Prussian express postal service had been admired as little short of a miracle. The making of roads was everywhere in its inception; entire regions, including even wealthy Hither Pomerania, were still without paved highways. The construction of the new network of roads and the provision of diligences to ply on them seemed to all the task of immediate importance, and to carry it out successfully was no easy matter, for the formation of the customs union, by opening up new trade routes, had led to considerable changes in the lines of traffic. Could anyone be found to whom it would appear other than insane to undertake a further change in such a period of economic transformation, a change which threatened to revolutionise transport and to scrap the new high roads.

After the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway (1826), extensive railway developments ensued in England and in North America. For a long time, however, the British parliament was suspicious and reluctant to move. A special commission appointed to consider the subject reported that it would be improper to make sacrifices on behalf of the railways or to squander national property for their construction. On the continent Belgium led the way. Here conditions were extremely simple. The youthful state had urgent need of a line from Antwerp to the Rhine for the protection of its port on the Scheldt against the competition of the hostile Dutch. The wealthy bourgeoisie dominated the chambers completely, the great towns were all in close proximity, the country was so flat that there were no engineering difficulties,

and consequently as early as 1834 the Stephenson railway system was adopted for the entire country. The French hesitated for a considerable time. As late as 1830 even the sanguine Thiers was of opinion that a railway could never be anything more than a plaything for large towns. Subsequently bold schemes were drafted, but the success of these was hindered by the corruption of parliamentary life. The great companies, which all desired to build railways running from Paris to the frontiers, were for many years forbidden to develop any sections of their lines because the government, fearing the electors, would not give the preference to any particular part of the country. The consequence was that as late as the forties France had but one railway, the little pleasure route by which the Parisians travelled to Versailles. The great railways were not established until the reign of the third Napoleon, at a time when the German main lines had already been in use for a decade. In this friendly rivalry of the continental nations Germany moved greatly in advance of the others, with the exception of Belgium, outstripping both centralised France and wealthy Holland.

As early as 1828 Motz had planned the construction of a railway connecting the basins of the Rhine and the Weser, the aim being to evade the payment of the Dutch Rhine dues;[1] but the design, which was still quite immature, was abandoned when the Netherlands gave ground in the tariff dispute. For the like reason, as a weapon against Holland, the Westphalian diet of 1831 asked for the construction of a railway from Lippstadt to Minden. Two years later the Rhenish diet requested that a railway should be built from the Belgian frontier to the Rhine and to the coaling basin of the Ruhr, and asked for a second line from Elberfeld to the Rhine. The suggestion was made that the state should either construct the lines itself or should guarantee four per cent. interest to a joint stock company. More boldly conceived was the plan for a railroad from Cologne to Minden, developed by Friedrich Harkort in a booklet, and laid by him before the Westphalian diet. But how was it possible for the king to entertain such far-reaching proposals at this juncture, when negotiations for the customs union still hung in the balance? It was his hope, he answered the Rhinelanders, that the commercial classes of their own region would be able to find

[1] See vol. IV, p. 253.

means for the proposed developments. In Bohemia, meanwhile, Gerstner, a bold entrepreneur, had constructed the Budweis-Linzer railway (1828), but this served merely for the transport of salt from Salzkammergut, was worked by horses, and could not be utilised as a great means of communication. Numerous projects were put forward, but they were still so nebulous that even Cancrin, the enterprising Russian minister for finance, said banteringly to Gerstner: "The time will be ripe for these in about a hundred years." Statesmen were unanimous in their complaints of the "railway mania." Agreement was still lacking regarding technical essentials. In Posen, Captain von Prittwitz, one of the ablest engineers in the German army, recommended instead of Stephenson's system the adoption of "suspended railways" worked somewhat after the manner of funiculars. Doubts were felt whether in impoverished Germany great railway lines could possibly be made to pay, and it was the general belief that the enterprise could prove successful only when the line connected two adjacent large towns, such as Berlin and Potsdam.

King Louis of Bavaria took up the idea of railway construction with the enthusiasm he invariably displayed for any new conception. In Joseph von Baader, brother of the philosopher, the king had at his right hand a brilliant expert who delighted in bold designs and liked to speak of himself as the veteran of the German railway system. The king was undismayed when the supreme board of health assured him in moving terms that alike in the passengers and in the spectators railway travelling would inevitably give rise to severe brain disorders, and when they insisted that for the protection of wayfarers it was at least essential that the permanent way should be enclosed by a lofty hoarding. Louis despatched the architect Klenze to England, Belgium, and France, to glean information about railway developments, and the king loved to listen when Field Marshal Wrede talked to him of a Bavarian network of strategic railways of which the fortress of Ingolstadt was to be the centre.[1] Especially alluring was the thought of a great railway from Lindau to Hof, to be extended by way of Leipzig and Magdeburg to Hamburg. This would consolidate the customs union, would divert the main stream of German traffic to a line running north and south from the Elbe to the lake of Constance,

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, December 7, 1835; June 25, 1836.

and would secure for Bavaria the leadership of national commerce. He had enquiries made on the subject in Berlin, for which he was cordially thanked, and assured that the Bavarian proposal would be given serious consideration.[1] But he would hear nothing of a railway from Ulm to Augsburg, for this might be extremely advantageous to his Swabian neighbours. He objected, likewise, to a line from Würzburg to Frankfort, on the ground that this would unduly facilitate intercourse with the dangerous French. The plan of a railway connecting Alsace with the Palatinate, which the French envoy unceasingly pressed on his attention, aroused patriotic misgivings, for he would do nothing to bring the Strasburg garrison so near to the federal fortress of Mainz.[2] His long cherished plan for the Ludwigskanal seemed to him, however, of more importance than any railway scheme. The grand design to complete the work of Charlemagne, to connect the German Ocean with the Black Sea, exercised an irresistible fascination upon his romantic disposition. When Rothschild disposed of canal shares to the value of eight million florins, and when the diet adopted a complacent attitude towards the king's darling project, schemes of railway development were almost entirely relinquished in favour of the Fossa Carolina.[3]

Nevertheless, Louis was able to enjoy the satisfaction of having the first locomotive railway in Germany opened in his kingdom of Bavaria. This was the line from Nuremburg to Fürth, a distance of one mile [German], which could be traversed by steam in a quarter of an hour, and with horses in twenty-five minutes. It owed its construction to the Nuremberg bourgeoisie. Johann Scharrer set the enterprise going, Plattner raised the share capital of 175,000 florins, and the engineer Paul Denis was responsible for the construction. The authorities, alarmed for the Ludwigskanal, were inclined to look askance at the railway, and the Ansbach government purchased only two of the hundred florin shares. Not until the entrepreneurs were ingenious enough to think of naming their line "the Ludwig Railway" did the official world become more friendly. Great was the rejoicing when on December 7, 1835, the first train started, to the thunder of guns. A

[1] Ancillon, Instruction to Dönhoff, February 13; Dönhoff's Reports, January 27 and October 3, 1836.

[2] Dönhoff's Report, May 29, 1837.

[3] Dönhoff's Reports, November 23, 1835, August 22, 1836.

monument was erected and a medal was struck to commemorate the opening of "Germany's first railway with steam carriages." This little municipal line, built only for passenger traffic, was soon earning for the shareholders a dividend of six per cent., but its success did not suffice to prove the practicability of great railways.

Such well-meaning enterprises aimed merely at increasing the prosperity of individual towns or small areas, and it almost seemed as if for the Germans the curse of particularism would hinder a grandly conceived utilisation of the great discovery. But Friedrich List now brought forward plans for a comprehensive network of railways covering the whole of Germany, and by the successful completion of a trunk line he demonstrated the possibility of realising an ideal which was almost beyond the grasp of the average man. It was as pioneer in German railway development that List did his greatest service to the nation, and gained his place in the history of the fatherland. At an earlier date, when he had laboured on behalf of German customs unity, he had done no more than give candid expression to an aspiration which was already cherished by most of his contemporaries, and he had frequently erred in the choice of means. Now, however, in his railway schemes, he was enormously in advance of his countrymen, and he never failed to exhibit the brilliant assurance of the seer's vision. After his flight from Hohenasperg he spent several years in North America, becoming rejuvenated there during the most prosperous days of the young union. In the States he witnessed the vigorous struggle of the human spirit with the elemental forces of nature, and observed a boldness of enterprise of which no one dreamed as yet in his quiet fatherland. He noted how the most distinguished and most highly cultured men of the nation were giving their best energies to promoting economic development in a way that was quite impossible in a land of professors and officials. Whilst prospecting for coal in the Blue Mountains, the poor refugee was dreaming of a German railway system, declaring: "In the background of all my plans lies Germany."

Returning to Europe at the time of the July revolution, he was inhospitably received in his old home. The Hamburg senate hesitated to recognise the notorious demagogue as American consul. Merchants shrugged their shoulders when he spoke of his railway schemes, for the Englishman Elliot

had just proved that only one railway was possible in Germany, the line from Hamburg to Hanover, and to the dwellers in this town of anglomaniacs it seemed quite impossible that a German could have the right of it over an Englishman. Vainly, too, did he knock at the door of King Louis, endeavouring to convince the monarch that a canal could serve only to connect two given points, whereas railways could be constructed in a comprehensive network. He insisted, moreover, that the desired communication between the German Ocean and the Black Sea had long been in existence, for the best route led through the straits of Gibraltar. He now wrote indefatigably for the newspapers, being fond of styling himself "Dr. Möser, junior." His art of treating ponderous economic problems so as to make them light, vivid, and easy to grasp, did in fact recall Justus Möser's mischievous humour, but in the pugnacious Swabian, passion continually flamed to the surface. No a man of profound learning, but well educated and with wide experience, he was as far in advance of other economist publicists as his fellow countryman Paul Pfizer was in advance of writers on current political topics. The dominant economic doctrine, the abstract theory of free trade which, following in the footsteps of the doctrine of natural law, conceived for itself an economic form conditioned by the laws of nature, became to him ever more odious. He was already beginning to consider economic life from the historical outlook, just as Savigny had considered law from that outlook, and he endeavoured to deduce the principles of political economy from changing social conditions.

Good fortune led him at length to Leipzig, at the very moment when the bourgeoisie was contemplating adhesion to the customs union, and when, in view of the lack of waterways in Saxony, it was anxiously considering the possibility of discovering new means of transport. He recognised at the first glance that here or nowhere must be established the foundation of the German railway system. If a great trunk line were established with capital provided by the wealthy and anxious commercial city, in this busy manufacturing country success could not fail, and Leipzig's central position made it clear that new lines would be constructed to the north and to the west. The easy-going Saxon government made no difficulty about permitting him to reside in the country, and the warnings of the Hofburg and of the rancorous king

of Würtemberg were ignored.[1] He promptly issued a booklet, *Concerning a Saxon Railway System as the Foundation of a General Railway System* (1833). With wonderful perspicacity and almost unfailing accuracy he pictured in broad outline the railway developments of the future. Provisionally, Lindau and Basle, Bremen and Hamburg, Stettin, Danzig, and Breslau, were to be the termini of the German lines, and this is precisely what happened. Though he had but a superficial knowledge of Berlin, he recognised that that city was predestined to be the centre of German communications, and he proposed that six trunk lines, all of which were subsequently built, should converge upon the Prussian capital. His plan applied only to the customs union and adjacent territories. Except for a projected line from Dresden to Prague, Austria was for the time being disregarded, for he recognised that the conditions obtaining in that country were altogether exceptional.

The book won over four enterprising young Leipzig merchants to the plan of the Leipzig-Dresden railway, these being Wilhelm Seyfferth, A. Dufour-Feronce, C. Lampe, and Gustav Harkort, brother of the popular Westphalian. They called a meeting, sent in a petition to the government, and secured the friendly and intelligent support of King Frederick Augustus. List thereupon issued an ardent appeal to all who might wish to participate in this "national opportunity." With characteristic enthusiasm he spoke of the new blossoming which would ensue for our ancient cities. Now that the customs union had been successfully created, the Germans needed nothing but cheap and speedy transport "to carry them forward to the position of premier industrial nation of the world." List issued regular reports on behalf of the committee which was constituted to push the scheme, confidently assuring the public in terms which to most people still sounded almost insane that on the great routes of commerce the railways were destined to become the ordinary means of transport. He was even so optimistic as to believe that railroad development would lead to the abolition or diminution of standing armies. The cost of the plan was greatly underestimated, and this was fortunate, for otherwise in these impoverished days the venture would hardly have been begun. Like all men of prophetic nature, List was not free from lighthearted recklessness, and imagined that half a million or at most a million thalers

[1] Frankenberg's Report, January 20, 1835.

would suffice. The committee, more cautious, decided to issue shares to the amount of 1,500,000 thalers, but was soon forced to recognise that three times this sum was requisite. But by this time the enterprise was well under way. No one wished to draw back, and the necessary capital was raised without difficulty.

List recommended the direct route by way of Meissen, through the populous and beautiful hill country of the Mulde basin. James Walker, the English engineer, was opposed to this design on account of the difficulties of a mountain railway, and, since it was thought undesirable to overtax German technical capacity at this early stage, a devious route was selected, passing across the plain by way of Riesa. Now the difficulties of purchasing land had to be faced, the state coming to the aid of the projectors with a reasonably drafted expropriation law whose terms were suggested by List. Many actions were fought. The owner of a windmill complained that the line cut off his wind; another plaintiff declared that his income had been diminished because his peasants had less land to till; in a few villages the countryfolk ventured direct opposition. Despite all difficulties Captain Kunz pushed forward the work of construction ably and vigorously. A locomotive known as "The Comet" was purchased in England and was for a time placed on exhibition at so much per head. The carriage builder and the first engine driver likewise came from England. In April, 1837, it was at length possible to open the first segment of the line, from Leipzig to a neighbouring village. Thick crowds stood along either side of the track, but no one spoke above a whisper, so alarming was the unprecedented spectacle. Next "the cutting" at Machern had to be excavated through a trifling prominence which the modern traveller hardly notices, and strangers came from far and wide to contemplate the marvel and describe it thoroughly, among them the much-travelled Baron von Strombeck. The Oberau tunnel, the most difficult part of the construction, was bored by Freiberg miners in true mining fashion as an adit from four vertical shafts. When all was ready, the pitmen, in gala dress and torch in hand, lined up on either side of the tunnel to hail the passage of the first train with the old "Glückauf" [Godspeed] greeting of the Erzgebirge:

"The dominion of mind over matter advances with continuously accelerating energy," wrote Babbage, the English

mathematician and mechanical engineer. One technical advance followed hard upon another. In 1839 Hossauer brought the first daguerreotype from Paris and exhibited it at the Berlin industrial union. This was the modest beginning of a new and educative industry. The characteristic adventurousness of the century was ever more confidently displayed, and the coming generation looked hopefully forward towards a future of immeasurable greatness. Whilst the Germans were still at work upon the building of their first great railway, another momentous discovery, the German discovery of electro-magnetic telegraphy, was pushing steadily forward. The old semaphore system had during recent years undergone extensive development in Prussia. In clear weather an enquiry despatched from Berlin could be answered from Coblenz within four hours. When, as at times happened, the semaphore on the tower in the Dorotheenstrasse transmitted its enigmatic signals unremittingly throughout the day, Berliners were anxious, suspecting that evil days were at hand. By the combined labours of couriers and signalmen news could be forwarded from St. Petersburg to Berlin in fifty hours, and there was hope of speeding up the service, for the czar had recently ordered from Fraunhofer in Munich four hundred and fifty telescopes for the use of the Russian semaphore stations. But this system of optical telegraphy was reserved exclusively for the authorities, and for the general public there was available no rapid means of transmitting messages. Now, however, to Gauss' delight, young Wilhelm Weber came to Göttingen. The physicist and the mathematician collaborated in following up Soemmering's brilliant discovery.[1] By a wire three thousand feet in length passing over the tower of the church of St. John, they connected the electro-magnetic apparatus of their observatory with the physical laboratory (1833). A truly German picture this, that so momentous a discovery should be made in a quiet academic town whose snug burghers had no thought of world commerce. The two professors maintained that their telegraph could be used with equal efficiency over vast distances, thus uniting countries and nations. In 1836 Wilhelm Weber offered to instal telegraphic wires beside the Leipzig-Dresden railway, to begin with as far as Wurzen, estimating the cost of the experiment at 2,000 thalers. But the thrifty committee would not risk so great a sum upon a dubious issue. The

[1] See vol. II, p. 325.

German discovery was shelved. Some years later it was taken up by the Americans and was made serviceable to world commerce.

The entire line was opened for traffic on April 7, 1839, and for years people continued to talk of the adventures of the first journeys. At one station a Leipzig student ordered a glass of beer, and with a mocking laugh left the waiter unpaid on the platform when the train started. In the dreaded tunnel, ladies of a certain age were in the habit of holding a pin between their teeth to protect themselves from the kisses of obstreperous youths. Cautious physicians talked gravely of the dangers of the tunnel, which the train took nearly a minute to traverse; they contended that in old people the sudden change of atmosphere was likely to cause apoplexy—and it must be remembered that the third class carriages were still unroofed and that the second class compartments were windowless. It was generally believed that the tremendous friction would inevitably make the rails and the wheels red hot, and fears were not allayed until the first journeys had been completed without disaster. The success of the venture exceeded the boldest expectations. It was astonishing to note how promptly this first great railway quickened the desire for travel on the adjoining high roads of central Germany. During the year of 1828 the inns of Dresden had entertained seven thousand strangers, but during the first nine months of 1839 the number was thirty-six thousand. In its opening year the line carried four hundred and twelve thousand passengers and extensive freight. During the second year the passenger traffic fell off a little, now that the first access of curiosity was over, but goods traffic increased with unexpected speed. At the outset many carters still made their way leisurely along the road beside the railway for the forwarding agents dreaded the expense of loading and unloading. Not until branch lines were established and access to the stations was facilitated did a really extensive development of goods traffic occur, but as the years went by it became apparent that to carry freight was more lucrative than to carry passengers. This conflicted with general expectation. Even the distinguished Arago had insisted that a railway might be successful in carrying passengers but could not possibly transport large quantities of goods.

List, unfortunately, derived little satisfaction from this

triumph of his idea. There exist solitary geniuses who, though capable of awakening and elevating their nation by means of creative ideas, are incompetent to apply their mature and elemental energies to the petty and everyday affairs of public life. Their lot is as a rule tragical. List soon became a nuisance to his associates on the Leipzig railway committee, just as years before he had been a nuisance to his fellow members in the Würtemberg chamber. The committee men were efficient men of business, by no means narrow minded, but their first thought was of the interests of their own good city, and when List at the general meetings began to talk of the great Prague-Hamburg railway, they dreaded, and with good reason, that he would alarm timid philistines. When, in jovial mood, List laughed mightily until his leonine head shook, he was the image of primitive self-satisfaction; but he was subject to accesses of hypochondria, and in these his temper became almost intolerable. He was therefore thrust on one side with a gratuity of about four thousand thalers, without even being allotted any shares in the undertaking. The Leipzig merchants did not feel that they were treating him scurvily, for they were giving their own services at unselfishly low rates, the chairman of the board drawing a salary of fifteen hundred thalers and the four directors seven hundred and fifty thalers each. It is true that the before-mentioned Englishman who recommended the route across the plain received for his brief journey a fee of nearly seven thousand thalers, but in these days of cosmopolitan enthusiasm it was generally agreed that a Briton must be better paid than a German. The German love of all things foreign wrought much mischief in this matter of railway development. From sheer mitativeness the gauge of the Stephensonian railway, which was far too narrow, was adopted by the Leipzig-Dresden Company and subsequently (to the detriment of railway travellers' nerves) by all the other German lines. Now, too, a flood of French or French-sounding verbal abortions invaded our language, which might here have proved its creative energy. In railway matters Germans had nothing to learn from Frenchmen, for Germans led the way, and yet they found it necessary to talk of the "Kompagnie," of "Billet Expeditionen and Konduckteuren," of "Perrons," "Waggons," "Coupés," and "Extra-Convois"—for this was unfortunately the period when young Germany had overwhelmed the journalistic vocabulary with foreign innovations.

List was not embittered by his experiences in Leipzig and continued to work unrestingly at his plans. He founded an *Eisenbahnjournal* which was forbidden access to Austria and speedily succumbed, but his example compelled the press to undertake the thorough discussion of economic questions which had long been neglected. To ensure the progress of his line northwards, in 1835 List went to Magdeburg, where the mercantile classes, who six years earlier had refused all suggestions for railway construction, received him with open arms. Especially enthusiastic was Chief Burgomaster Francke, one of the most respected men in the monarchy. Whereas in South Germany parliamentary deputies were the popular favourites, here in the north especial honour was paid to municipal worthies, to Kospoth in Breslau, to Bärensprung in Berlin, and to Demiani in Görlitz. The Magdeburgers boasted that their line to Leipzig would be the first railway in the world to cross a national frontier. Francke became chairman of a committee and sent a petition to Berlin whereby the ministry was compelled to devote serious attention to the railway problem. Thus in Prussia too the ball was set rolling by List.

Several other enquiries had already been sent in concerning lines from Berlin to Potsdam, Cologne to Aix-la-Chapelle, Düsseldorf to Elberfeld, Düsseldorf to Minden, and Berlin to Stettin. It had become plain that the chief need of Prussian commerce was more rapid communication between east and west, and that the line from north to south favoured by Bavaria was a less urgent matter. Minister Rother, however, was unable to approve any of the proposals. Though the belief was still general that railroads, just like other roads, were available for use by everyone, and that the initiators of these undertakings would earn their reward merely by charging substantial tolls, the experienced bank director recognised at the outset that the railway companies would control the entire transport business in the areas of their respective lines. He was unwilling to grant such a privilege to any private company, for he feared that a bad use would be made of the monopoly, and that great opportunities would be given to cunning speculators in the share market. None the less it seemed to him inadvisable that the railways should be constructed by the state, for he doubted whether the new enterprise would pay, and he considered that the state had no

right to do anything which would interfere with the established diligence service or be detrimental to the existing roads and waterways. He was influenced likewise by political considerations, for he believed that railway connection with the Rhine, with Bavaria, and with Belgium, would tend to make Prussia dependent upon foreign countries. Reporting to the king, he concluded with the following declaration: "No reason as yet exists why the central government should at its own expense provide railways to serve as routes of general commerce, why it should support such enterprises with comparatively large sums, or why it should make any other notable sacrifices on behalf of the new undertakings or grant them special privileges."[1]

Whilst Rother's attitude was merely expectant, Nagler, the postmaster general, was decisively opposed to railway development. For years he had administered the postal system with remarkable success, and hoped to secure yet more brilliant results for his majesty's diligence service. How could he be expected to regard the new discovery in any other light than as an odious business rival? Moreover, to the members of the Prussian officialdom numerous objections were suggested by their strict sense of justice. The law decreed that expropriation must be a quite exceptional measure, that it was permissible only when dictated by demands of public welfare. Judges of the strict old school considered that it might be allowed with a good conscience for the building of high roads and for the construction of railways which served state purposes like the Magdeburg-Leipzig line. But would it be admissible to use the right of expropriation on behalf of the proposed Berlin and Potsdam railway, which was to be built simply to make it easier for Berliners to take their pleasure in the Potsdam gardens?[2] Even the king was at first disinclined to favour the railways. He was now too old to feel enthusiastic about an invention which threatened to interfere with the building of high roads, a work which had been a delight to him of late years. Besides, the thoroughly democratic character of the new method of travel was distasteful to him. For millenniums rapid transit had been regarded as a natural privilege of princes and the aristocracy, and now it seemed that these ancient customs were to be swept away in a moment. However unpretentious his personal outlook, it seemed to him

[1] Rother's Report to the king, August 16, 1835.
[2] Frankenberg's Report, February 5, 1836.

that there would be something extremely unsuitable in his travelling to Potsdam in the same train with his subjects of Berlin.

The heir to the throne, on the other hand, was an enthusiastic advocate of railway development, greatly outdoing in his ardency even his brother-in-law King Louis. Among the numerous contradictions in this strangely mingled and richly endowed spirit, it must be noted that the crown prince invariably displayed a keen interest in simple economic questions which might have seemed utterly alien to his romanticist outlook, and that his judgment in such matters was surprisingly accurate. Just as he had never failed to defend the customs union against the parsimony of the financial party, so now was he firmly convinced that the railways would have a great future. He thought that it would be best to have them constructed directly by the state, or that if they were to remain in private hands they ought to be assisted by guaranteed dividends, by facilitating expropriation, and by the grant of other privileges. In view of the frequency of applications from the railway promoters, and in view of his son's urgency, the king commanded detailed discussion of a comprehensive railway law, which was to settle once for all the position of the state authority in relation to the new invention.

The discussions were prolonged. A committee was formed consisting of members from all the state departments, the minister for war sending one of his best officers, Colonel Peucker, a man of much erudition. The ministry of state considered the matter independently, and so finally did the council of state. The dispute ran high. The older ministers were averse from the innovation, but the younger ones, Rochow, Mühler, and Alvensleben, took the side of the crown prince, for they had confidence in the future. The conflict became so pronounced that in April, 1837, Rother, after a heated passage of words between himself and the heir to the throne, relinquished his position as director of commercial policy. Henceforward his activities were confined to the affairs of the Oversea Trading Company, and to those of the bank, of which he had been in charge since Friese's resignation. The ministry for commerce was now reunited to the ministry for finance.[1]

[1] Münchhausen's Reports, April 8 and 11; Frankenberg's Reports, April 11 and September 11, 1837.

Railway problems were so new, so incalculable, so completely untested, that no one could dare to speak of himself as an expert, and persons of outstanding ability held divergent views. Beuth, for example, a man of genius and still in his prime, who in general ardently favoured all technical progress, regarded railways with grave suspicion. But their most outspoken adversary was General Aster, the leading military engineer of the age, whose antagonism was not diminished by the fact that in the building of fortifications he had frequently made use of light railways. In his opinion: "Railways, owing to the costliness of their construction and to the somewhat exclusive character of their utilisation, cannot be compared with such inventions as the printing press and gunpowder, which are cheap and universally applicable." For military purposes they would be valuable solely "where it might chance that the routes necessary for war coincided with the railway lines established to subserve industrial purposes." A railway system, he contended, would be of little military value, since the more passive combatant could speedily put it out of action, and the more active combatant would find its utilisation too untrustworthy. Besides, where would the means be found for the rebuilding of the destroyed railways after the war?[1] Savigny replied to the general, doubtless urged to this course by the crown prince, who had himself taken counsel with Kühne. It was intended, said Savigny to build long and uninterrupted lines, running for instance from Berlin to the Rhine, and unquestionably that these would be advantageous to an army fighting in the west.[2]

With all the ceremoniousness of his official manner Nagler defended the cause of the threatened diligence service, declaring: "The complete separation and emancipation of a highly restricted and subordinate means of communication—the railways, to wit—from such a state institution as the postal diligence service which conducts and favours the most important branches of communication for the benefit of the community at large, cannot fail to be extremely disadvantageous, and must necessarily throw the entire system out of gear."[3] Once more, in a lengthy memorial, he adjured the king not to

[1] Aster, Considerations concerning the Report of the ministry for justice, April 10; Aster's Separate Opinion, April 30, 1838. Frankenberg's Report, June 14, 1837.

[2] Savigny, Reply to the Considerations of General Aster, April 12, 1838.

[3] Report of the ministry of state to the king, July 1, 1837.

sacrifice the interests of the diligence service to railway enterprise.[1] After prolonged struggles, however, a certain clarification of opinion began. Although while the discussions were still in progress David Hansemann in an eloquent pamphlet issued an urgent warning against the dangers of privately owned railways, not one among the high officials was found to recommend the construction of the lines by the state. The condition of the national finances made such a venture too hazardous. The difficult question, therefore, whether the crown was entitled to raise large loans in default of a national assembly, was not now mooted. On the other hand the king was unwilling to grant to any private company a monopoly that might be injurious to the public weal, expressly declaring that there was no thought of leaving the railway companies to enjoy in perpetuity such privileges as might be granted them, for this proposal was quite inadmissible.[2]

The fruit of these deliberations was the Prussian railway law of November 3, 1838, enacted before the first great German railway was completed. This law, one of the last memorable achievements of the old official state, was designed for the regulation of conditions that were entirely unknown, and it has nevertheless continued to prove its vigour and vitality throughout half a century full of unforeseen transformations.[3] The strength of the law consisted in this, that, while it reserved for the central authority an extensive right of supervision over privately owned railways and provided for the possibility of a future state railway system, it wisely refrained from detailed prescriptions regarding a development which was still incalculable. All railway enterprise was to be subject to royal approval, including the route selected, the building of the line, and the installation of the carriages and locomotives. Lines and rolling stock were always to be kept in safe and suitable repair. The companies were given such rights of expropriation as had been exercised for the construction of high roads; their accounts were to be subject to official audit; and in general they were to be supervised by permanent commissaries. The state reserved the right of purchasing the undertakings when thirty years had elapsed, and established

[1] Nagler, Memorial Concerning the Relationships of the Diligence Service to the Railways, April, 1838.

[2] Cabinet Order to Müffling, September 12, 1838.

[3] Cabinet Order to Müffling, November 3, 1838.

the liability to a tax, the precise amount of which was to be subsequently specified, part of the proceeds being devoted to amortisation of the share capital and part to compensation of the diligence service. The rate of compensation was left open. Provisionally, special agreements were to be made with the respective lines, whilst upon all was imposed the obligation to forward mails free of charge. There was every justification for this last prescription, which alone made it possible for the post office to continue its civilising activities under the changed conditions; but it was to involve numerous complications which have not been fully disentangled even to-day. In addition the crown reserved the right of modifying or amplifying the prescriptions of the law at its own discretion, and the existing companies had to submit in advance to such prospective alterations. In this way a strong check was placed upon the spirit of monopoly. The business world complained of excessive tutelage. Hansemann published a sharp criticism, and adjured the government not to frighten away German and foreign investors. But the elastic prescriptions were discreetly handled, and sufficed for a number of years, as long as the state remained unable to take over the conduct of railway enterprise.

In Prussia meanwhile the actual work of construction had begun. The first railway to be opened was the short section from Düsseldorf to Erkrath. Next, still in the year 1838, came the inauguration of the Berlin-Potsdam line, and great was the astonishment when the number of passengers rose to two thousand daily, and on feast days actually to four thousand. A year later it was found necessary to allow this company to run its trains after nightfall, slowly, of course, and with manifold precautions. To the king the new mode of travel was not yet entirely congenial, and for a time he continued to travel to and fro by the road which ran parallel to the line. But he soon noted that not even his black Trakehnen thoroughbreds could keep pace with the locomotive engine, and one day Berliners were informed to their surprise and delight that his majesty had taken the early train to Potsdam. The mercantile classes of Magdeburg were especially energetic. After the building of the Leipzig line had been undertaken, successful arrangements were made for a second line which was to run to Berlin by way of Coethen, and simultaneously negotiations were in progress for a third railway

to Hamburg. In the last case the senate proved reluctant to move, fearing a decline in the Elbe navigation and impoverishment of the shippers.[1]

The preliminaries for the important line from Cologne to the Belgian frontier took a considerable time. First of all it was necessary to secure the amalgamation of two rival companies. Meanwhile vexatious negotiations were in progress with the court of Brussels, which at that time, egged on by the western powers, was displaying an unfriendly spirit towards Prussia, and was already thinking (in defiance of the spirit of neutrality) of strongly fortifying the eastern frontier. Frederick William wrote direct to King Leopold, threatening a breach of diplomatic relations (1837). Nevertheless, influenced by Werther's sage counsel and by the urgent recommendations of King Louis of Bavaria, he was unwilling to relinquish the plan of a railway from Cologne to Antwerp. The line would be of great value, not only to Rhenish trade, but also to German policy. Thereby it would become possible to elude the incalculable Dutch tariff, and Belgium would be bound more closely to Germany, seeing that the construction of the Brussels-Paris railway was still delayed.[2] At length Belgium gave way, and it proved possible to come to terms. In August, 1839, on the eve of the king's birthday, Ammon, chairman of the new company, opened the first section of the line. He knew that Rother and several of the other ministers were much afraid of dependence upon the foreign world, and therefore in his formal speech on this occasion he proudly declared: "German loyalty is grounded on a firm foundation, upon our hereditary affection for king and country, and upon a clear recognition of our national deserts, upon the moral worth of our people." In the interim the men of Cologne had been planning the indispensable trunk line to the east, to Minden and Magdeburg.

Enormous was the transformation. The consumption of iron in the states of the customs union rose during the years 1834 to 1842 from 10·6 to 18·1 pounds per head of population. It was unfortunately still necessary to import rails from abroad; in the year 1834 the import of rails, pig-iron, bar-iron, and wrought-iron had been 367,000 cwt., but by 1840

[1] Berger's Report, November 24, 1838.

[2] Werther's Reports to the king, June 27 and October 7; Münchhausen's Report, April 23; Dönhoff's Report, May 29, 1837.

the figure had risen to 1,203,000 cwt. How the world was changing was evidenced by the tragicomical example of Postmaster General Nagler. Now, after his defeat, this deadly enemy of railways desired to use the funds of the royal postal service to construct a line from Halle through the Golden Aue to Cassel, with branches to Erfurt, Weimar, and Gotha (1839). The profits were to go to the post office. Rother warmly commended the plan to the king, on the ground that mail coach and railway train subserved the same ends. But the other ministers were adverse. They had no wish to extend the postal monopoly. Besides, it would have been a piece of particularist folly to disregard the ancient commercial route across Thuringia by way of Erfurt and Gotha simply because the line along the Golden Aue would have a larger mileage in Prussian territory.[1]

When Frankfort began to participate in the movement for railway development, the seamy side of the new invention was displayed. It was useless to expect from the capital of the Rothschilds such disinterestedness as had been manifested by the merchants of Leipzig and of Magdeburg, for in Frankfort there was no monarchical authority to discipline the commercial spirit. Fierce disputes arose over the simple question, which bank of the Main was to be chosen for the construction of the railway from Frankfort to Mainz. Nassau insisted that the right bank, more thickly populated, was preferable; Hesse favoured the left bank; the Bundestag would not permit the fortification authorities in Mainz to treat directly with the company, although Major Pientka, the Prussian engineer officer in charge of the fortifications, had just issued an admirable report on the matter.[2] After prolonged wrangling it was at length agreed (1838) that the line should be built upon the right bank from Frankfort to Castel, for the bridging of the Rhine was still regarded as impossible. The accommodating committee now offered to sell Du Thil some shares for the state of Hesse. The minister refused to buy, and Grand Duke Louis, when informed by the experienced statesman of the philanthropic aims of the railway promoters, said, "I will have nothing to do with

[1] Rother, Memorial concerning the railways, sent to the king in December, 1839; Frankenberg's Report, November 25, 1839.

[2] Galen's Reports, March 15 and June 3, 1837; Sydow's Report, November 7, 1837; Schöler's Report, June 22, 1838.

the matter." Privy Councillor Knapp, however, fell into the snare, and after a scene in the chamber he was compelled to quit the Hessian ministry. Subsequently Rothschild wished to force the Hessian government to approve the plan within six weeks, for it was essential to his speculations that he should know in advance the precise date when the shares could be issued. This demand also was indignantly negatived by Du Thil. Thus valiantly did Hesse defend herself against the Frankfort financiers. In Nassau, however, President Magdeburg "was committee and government in one person," and the Frankfort senate enacted what Du Thil termed a "hair-raising" expropriation law, giving landowners compensation four times as high as that which was assigned to them in Hesse. When the Taunus railway was at length opened, it was well managed, but the fares were excessive, the highest in Germany. Du Thil vainly endeavoured to get this grievance redressed. He found the opposition of Frankfort insuperable, "for in this republic," he complained, "it is the invariable practice for one hand to wash the other—and besides too many of the senators were interested parties."[1] These Frankfort experiences were not lost upon Baden. There the government summoned an assembly of notables to consider plans for a railway from Mannheim to Basle. The idea secured widespread support. Nebenius penned an excellent memorial which convinced the notables and even Finance Minister Boeckh (who had at first held other views) that to prevent stock exchange intrigues and speculation in railway shares it was essential that the state should build the railway for itself.[2] This was the first programme of the German state railway system.

The vastness of the commencing social transformation was most plainly demonstrated by the fact that no one was able to foresee the magnitude of its consequences. Not merely did transit and transport increase beyond expectation (for all that even bold spirits had hoped was that the railways would be as superior to the high roads as these had been to the unmetalled roads which they replaced). In almost every detail the forecasts of the most perspicacious proved erroneous. The railway service was unquestionably a monopoly, and the paragraph in the Prussian law providing that persons

[1] Du Thil's Sketches.
[2] Otterstedt's Report, December 23, 1837.

not belonging to a railway company should have a right to make their own use of its transport facilities proved from the first a dead letter. Goods traffic was more lucrative than passenger traffic; local traffic paid better than long-distance traffic; the returns from the third class exceeded the returns from the other two classes together. Yet, shortly before, people had marvelled at Friedrich Harkort's prophecy that the coffers of the railway companies and the treasuries of the states would be filled to bursting by the common people, who would travel by rail instead of on foot simply as a help to earning their living. Trading routes were not distinguished from military routes, as Aster had feared, for war was compelled to follow the trading routes. It had been generally believed that there would be a tendency to abandon the use of horses, but the Germans were to learn that in every industrious nation the satisfaction of a need creates new needs in endless succession, for on the by-roads more horses were henceforward employed than had previously been employed on the main roads.

Now that the power of distance had been broken, the world began to recognise and indeed to overestimate, the importance of the epoch. Hurried and breathless activities became general; there ensued a febrile eagerness for the new and unknown; there was manifest an itch for enjoyment and gain which contrasted unpleasantly with the overstrained idealism of the previous generation. The old forms of social intercourse were shattered. The more the number of letters increased, the more arid became their contents, and as newspapers multiplied it was found that men of culture would write almost nothing but business letters. Through increasing facilities for intercourse, all classes were shuffled together so inextricably that the continued maintenance of caste arrogance was hardly possible. Society became democratised; conversational forms grew curter and more businesslike, but grew at the same time rough and ungenial. The average man received a mass of new impressions and acquired much fresh knowledge. But these impressions and this knowledge were fugitive in proportion to their abundance. The new generation was prey to many-sided and superficial culture; it suffered from repletion, lack of concentration, and pretentiousness. The great towns expanded irresistibly whilst many of the lesser towns dwindled. A fierce passion for urban

enjoyments was diffused throughout the nation, and as capital became heaped up there occurred a concurrent increase in the misery of the masses.

Yet for disintegrated Germany the advantages of the new conditions were enormously greater than the drawbacks. Persistence of the crying contrast between spiritual greatness and economic dearth would inevitably have endangered the national character. It was essential that general well-being and a bold love of enterprise should become associated with the growing political power of new Germany. The stay-at-home and musty parochialists needed to be vigorously shaken up. The unworthy police pressure from which German life suffered could be dispelled neither by parliamentary speeches nor by newspaper articles, but only by the physical energy of a social intercourse so active and so extensive as to laugh at supervision. Now that the particularist fatherland could be crossed in three hours, even to the most simple mind the falseness and meanness of particularism had become apparent, and people began to realise what it really signified to belong to a great nation. Tribal and political boundaries no longer exercised their old sundering force; innumerable neighbourly prejudices melted away; and the Germans gradually came to learn what they needed more than aught else, the happiness of getting to know one another. For this reason, in the feuilleton style of the day, the German-Hungarian poet, Carl Beck, spoke of railway shares as "bills drawn upon Germany's future unity." This increasing sense of self-respect proved itself also in Germany's relations with the foreign world. The first railways were largely built with English capital. By degrees, however, the German money market aspired towards independence. Moreover, and this was a matter far more significant, when German ironworks were able to secure cheaper coal, it grew possible for German rails to be used in place of rails from England. Cheap railway freightage enabled the nation to enter into effective possession of its treasures of iron and coal. Once again was seen in operation the old and wholesome law of historical ingratitude. Germany had learned lessons from England, and now, rapidly gathering strength, thrust her teacher aside. Great factories sprang into being, providing the railways with carriages and locomotives. In Berlin, Borsig, the young Silesian, having for a time directed Egell's ironfoundry, erected a factory for

building locomotives. Starting with fifty workmen, within a few years he was employing a thousand, and he knew that the world belongs to the man of courage. In Nuremberg the little carriage-building shop of the Fürth railway developed into the great factory of Klett and Cramer. A new class of engineers and railway experts came into existence, enterprising and talented men, proudly conscious of their work for civilisation. There was now in progress a great and peaceful movement of national enfranchisement, but not until the next decade was the full strength of that movement to be manifested.

§ 4. DEMAGOGUES AND REFUGEES.

In every great transformation of social life it is inevitable that individual classes and individual occupations should suffer. Precisely during these optimistic opening years of the customs union and of railway development were to be recognised the first indications of massed poverty. Small concerns participated in the general economic advance, but whereas the number of employees increased greatly, the growth in the number of employers was comparatively small, and in view of the fiercer competition the maintenance of an independent business grew ever more difficult. The petty industries of the soap-boilers, the curriers, the potters, and the glovers, languished, if only because they were unable to maintain themselves against the great factories. The Berlin municipality complained that during the years 1821 to 1838 the cost of poor relief had risen from 104,000 thalers to nearly 374,000 thalers, the increase being far more rapid than the growth of population. Whereas the upper classes were by degrees enabled to abandon the penurious habits of the years of war, the common people could live scarcely better than before, and in many of the larger towns there was a decline in the average consumption of meat. The growth of the towns led to the sudden enrichment of many owners of house property, but the rents, especially of the smaller tenements, became exorbitant. Talented men like Borsig started large-scale manufacture upon its brilliant career, but the position of the average operative was deplorable. The manufacturers, men who had just won for themselves a standing in the old aristocratic society, used their power

with the relentlessness which is ever characteristic of the parvenu. These were the days when English factory owners were engaged in positive conspiracies against their employees, and when in their meetings they were coming to an understanding not to pay wages above a certain rate and not to sell their product below a certain figure. The doctrines of Adam Smith, elaborated by Ricardo and Say in the spirit of exclusive capitalist rule, were still universally dominant. It was regarded as an immutable law of nature that the workers should be poverty-stricken, and hardly a word was uttered concerning the duties of employers.

The state authority, whose coercive justice had in Prussia so frequently intervened to secure social equity, paid as yet but little heed to the new conditions. The state invariably moves slower than the community at large, for the former is merely competent to follow the latter in its transformations. What the government was able to do for industry by protective duties, technical schools, and loans granted by the bank and by the Oversea Trading Company, redounded almost exclusively to the advantage of the entrepreneur. The distresses of the home workers in the hunger-stricken highlands of central Germany were still almost completely hidden from the eyes of the authorities. In these regions poverty was now extreme. Thousands of hard-working persons were suffering owing to the incalculable oscillations of price in the world market. In the weavers' villages on the Landshut ridge the mean duration of life was falling from decade to decade. All these social dangers were in their inception. Even in England, though the development of industry here was incomparably more advanced, not until after the victory of the reform bill did the workers hit upon the idea of constituting a working-class party. Unmistakable, nevertheless, was the approach of the epoch when the labouring masses would be awakened to self-consciousness by the pressure of poverty arising from no fault of their own, and when they would be forced to make entirely new claims upon the state and upon society.

One of the first to recognise the characteristics of the changed situation was the Munich philosopher Franz von Baader, a man always well-equipped with ideas. In the year 1835 he published a pamphlet, entitled *The Disharmony of the Propertyless or Proletarians*, making use of an expressive foreign term, for his best thoughts were derived from the

study of the wealthier economies of western Europe. He foresaw that to the modern world social questions were soon to be of greater importance than political, and insisted that the state ought to regulate the conditions of labour, not from philanthropic motives nor yet with an eye to the prevention of disorder, but as a simple matter of justice. It was natural that from his Catholic outlook he should regard the priests as predestined representatives of the working class. Meanwhile the ideas of French socialism were slowly filtering into Germany. Just as Heine for a time shared the views of Père Enfantin, so did Börne contribute to Raspail's socialistic journal *Le Réformateur*. It was natural that the other Young Germans should detest the existing property system seeing that they opposed marriage and were universally inclined to share bed and board. Their favourite, Heinse, in *Ardinghello*, had espoused the ideal of community of goods and wives. Wienbarg was fond of extolling "the sacredness of poverty," and fulminated even more fiercely against the aristocracy of wealth than against the aristocracy of birth, saying, "All the roses of the world become the prey of a bloated brood of stockjobbers and privileged lackeys." It is true that these feuilleton catchwords were mere Parisian reminiscences, indicating æsthetic hostility to the prose of the bourgeoisie, rather than reasoned conviction. One only among the Young German writers, Georg Büchner, was a declared and convinced socialist.

Men of culture were as yet hardly awake to the seriousness of the social problems. Schulze-Delitzsch's official colleagues in Naumburg looked upon the young lawyer as a dreamer when he enunciated his socialistically tinged opinions regarding the future of the working classes. But the peaceful and quiet days of working-class life had vanished. This was plain to all who plumbed the depths of literature—for the transformations of social life are most unmistakably heralded in the works of those lesser authors who merely reflect the general opinion. Hitherto writers for the circulating libraries had paid little attention to class differences except that the misalliance, the favourite thought of every milliner and shop girl, had invariably been a favourite topic of romance. Great was now the change. What could be more innocuous than the popular, pious, and good-tempered earlier writings of Gustav Nieritz, the Dresden schoolmaster, and yet how profound a social enmity was hidden in these stories. The poor stone-

workers and lace-makers of the Erzgebirge invariably personated illused virtue, whilst nobles and manufacturers were hardhearted oppressors, so that it was almost made to seem as wealth were a sin. Thus did life present itself to the eyes of the burdened common people. Rougher and more defiant was the language of Adolf Glasbrenner in his broadsides, *Berlin as it is—and drinks*, a cheerful fellow, who made it obvious that he had verily been baptised with Spree water, and that his Berlinese jokes were spontaneous, not carefully elaborated like those of Saphir. Loafers, cabdrivers, eating-house keepers, and servant wenches, exchanged ideas upon the world and the times. They rarely discussed politics, but their sharp tongues played over all the contradictions and absurdities of social life—arrogant, pert, well-informed, always to the point, and ever confident that the true Berliner can do anything that is doable. Humour is invariably democratic, for it sweeps away all social barriers. The increasing self-respect of the masses was reflected in these pictures of Berlin life, reflected with the clearness that had of old characterised the Eulenspiegel and the genre writings of the reformation epoch.

Social tranquillity was still undisturbed, except that on one occasion (1839) the gold-workers of Pfortsheim ventured a disturbance because their hours of labour were increased, and troops had to be called in to restore order. But that trouble was in the wind was shown by the behaviour of German workers abroad. Most of the German handicraftsmen in Paris and Switzerland gradually went over to the camp of the radical extremists. Since this stratum of the population is but little troubled by political cares, the change could be explained only by social unrest. Journeymen comprised the chief strength of that section of Young Germany which in 1834 became formally associated with Mazzini's Young Europe, and their watchword was liberty, equality, and humanity. Mazzini, it is true, stood on an altitude to which the glances of these common folk could hardly reach. His leading thought was the idea of nationality, and since he passionately espoused this living force of the new century his influence was more far-reaching and more enduring than that of any other demagogue of that age. He solemnly renounced the cosmopolitanism of the earlier carbonari and of their High Lodge in Paris. In his writing *Foi et Avenir*, published in 1835

in answer to the French laws of September, he did indeed glorify revolt, preach war to the knife against the established powers, advocate a league of oppressed against oppressors. But he held that citizens were to be enheartened, not by an appeal to the rights of man beloved of the jacobins, but by the thought of duty, self-sacrifice, martyrdom for one's country. Freedom was to bring the realisation, not of the individualist democracy of 1789, but of a social order which was to constrain all human energies to the service of the people, the future king. "The French revolution lies heavy upon us," he exclaimed; "we are merely aping the manners of our fathers, and must reorganise ourselves as a religious party . . . . we believe in the holy alliance of the peoples, we believe in the freedom and equality of the nations, we believe in nationality, in the popular conscience, in the sacred fatherland. Faith and action! The future is ours!" This mystic gospel of the brotherhood of equal peoples rang through the world in manifold variations, stirring up not merely the Italians, but kindling likewise the less mature nations of the east, the Magyars and the Czechs, the Roumanians, and the Serbs.

To Mazzini all methods of incitement were welcome means to this end. He had no objection to offer when the more cultured among the German refugees who foregathered in Biel and Zurich stirred up their working-class fellow countrymen with crude inflammatory writings. Most of these educated exiles were sometime Burschenschafters of the school of the Unconditionals: Rauschenplatt from Göttingen; Sauerwein from Frankfort; Fein the Brunswicker and Carl Becker the Hessian, both renowned as cynical philosophers to whom soap and water seemed no less contemptible than neckcloth and waistcoat. Gustav Kombst, purloiner of Bundestag documents, was of the company, declaring, quite in Follen's spirit: "We revolutionaries make use of any means that is not antagonistic to our conviction." From these circles was issued a periodical, *Eas Dordlicht*, whose language left nothing to be desired in point of plainness. For example: "Workmen, handicraftsmen, and peasants, you are the backbone of the nation. Shake off the gyves which parasitic idlers have fastened upon you. No one comes into the world booted and spurred any more than another comes saddled and bridled. Masters and slaves are created solely by prejudice and arbitrary

will. The prince has a rump like any other man." A widely circulated poem, *A Hundred German Workmen*, with a hanged man pictured on the wrapper, described how all the different workmen stood ready, each with an appropriate tool, to gaol, to hang, or to behead the rulers

I am the farrier Kilian.
A cage have I contrived
Where you the princes prison can
When of their thrones deprived,
Then crowds will flock, agog to see
These wrecks of vanished monarchy.

Gloomier was the grim humour of the *Song of the Persecuted* penned by the good-natured loafer and minor poet Sauerwein:

If the princes ask you,
"What doth Absalom?"
Prithee give them answer,
"High he hangs in air,"
Not from any gallows
Nor to any rope,
But to a dream, a vision,
Republic is its name.—
Naught on earth was left him

Save despair's poor hope,
And to be a soldier,
To fight for freedom's realm——
Yield to us the purple
Mantles that you wear;
They will make good breeches
For our fighting men.

In a pamphlet entitled *Spirit Voices of the Murdered to Fränzchen, Fritzchen, Nickel, and their Associates*, reckoning was made for the Germans of the three hundred to six hundred million florins of their national taxes—for the cautious statistician would not render his estimate more precise. "The Englishman," said the writer, "pays taxes for world dominion, and liberty; the Frenchman for glory and equality; the German for slavery and shame. Therein lies the difference." Conspicuous among the conspirators for impudent boasting was the North Frisian, Harro Harring. He termed himself "rebel from conviction," despised Goethe as the "bestarred court colossus of poesy," and in the preface to one of his numerous volumes of verse explained his historical outlook as follows: "The German party of movement now consists of students

and handicraftsmen, and the singer of this epoch is Harro Harring." To him the refugees owed the widely sung verses:

Princes thirty-three or four
To your heads pay heed
When the people, angered sore,
At length are roused indeed!

So extravagant became the intrigues that the level-headed Carl Mathy, who had also been driven into Switzerland by the folly of the Badenese demagogue hunters, soon withdrew from the group. Whilst still a refugee Mathy wrote a quietly worded and weighty prize essay upon the abolition of tithes, and rejoiced to be enabled for a time to earn a peaceful living as schoolmaster in Soleure.

The Polish exiles were not content with insolent words. They were excogitating fresh plans of revolt, and although, succumbing to the illusions of refugees, they greatly overestimated their powers, their mad onslaughts might well cause grave inconvenience to neighbouring powers. In this century of civil wars the existence of a hospitable state offering asylum to all conquered parties was a European necessity. Had Switzerland preserved scrupulous neutrality, strictly forbidding the refugees to undertake any hostile enterprise against hosts or neighbours, the Confederation might have played as worthy a part as had been played by the republic of the Netherlands during the wars of religion. But the radical party, now dominant in the national assembly, had no mind for the fulfilment of this honourable duty, and vainly did Neuchâtel and the other conservative cantons draw attention to the wording of the Viennese treaties. In the year 1834 some hundreds of refugees, led by the Polish general Ramorino made a raid into Savoy. Among the invaders were several Germans, including the brothers Breidenstein and the bold Rauschenplatt. The disturbance was promptly suppressed, but the adventure could never have been undertaken but for the heedlessness of the Swiss authorities. Meanwhile serious tidings came to hand regarding suspicious movements on the German frontier. Bavaria and Baden, dreading a coup de main, took precautionary measures, and though their fears may have been exaggerated, they were certainly not unfounded.[1] At a meeting of German

[1] Minister Winter's Circular to the Badenese circle governments, April 28: Dönhoff's Report, Munich, April 3, 1834.

workmen in Steinhölzli near Berne, the colours of the South German states were trampled under foot, the black-red-and-gold standard was solemnly raised, while those assembled sang:

> The head that's raised above the crowd
> The people's axe shall sever.

It was impossible that Switzerland's neighbours should be content to look on quietly, should take no action until these wild spirits hazarded a new onslaught. The court of Vienna was anxious for the safety of Lombardy, and Count Bombelles, the Austrian envoy, lodged a complaint, being consequently honoured by the refugees with the nickname of "the new Gessler." Next, in a note which had been carefully discussed at the Vienna ministerial conferences,[1] the Bundestag demanded the expulsion from Switzerland of all the Germans who were endeavouring directly or indirectly to disturb the peace of the German federal states (March 6th). The national assembly returned an evasive answer. The Swiss radicals railed against the tyrants, the loudest voice being that of Ludwig Snell, professor at Berne, who had in earlier days been associated with the Unconditionals, and had since then been naturalised as a Swiss. Like so many of Germany's lost sons, he was always delighted to seize the chance of fouling his own nest. In a writing entitled *The Infringement of International Law in the Attack on the Confederation* he gave an extremely sentimental description of the struggle of free Switzerland against the holy alliance, for this professor of international law was unaware that the Confederates had themselves been members of the holy alliance. "In a great kingdom," he exclaimed, "I might have been a wealthy and respectable slave, but I saved my own sense of human dignity by becoming citizen of a republic. Under monarchical government a man's first duty is to maintain silence, but in a free country he is called upon to raise his voice." By means of a circular despatch to the German courts Lord Palmerston attempted to take a hand in the game. Since Switzerland was so obviously in the wrong, he did not venture to defend the behaviour of the Confederation, but he warned the Germans

[1] Brockhausen's Report, February 25 and 28; Ancillon to Brockhausen, March 7, 1834.

against coercive measures for it was his secret hope that the vexatious troubles on the Swiss frontier might long continue.[1]

The Bundestag would not be diverted from its purpose, and renewed its demand in a more peremptory note (May 1st). Austria, likewise, and Switzerland's South German neighbours reiterated their complaints. Dusch, Badenese chargé d'affaires, who handed in these documents, though friendly to the Swiss, was compelled to use forcible language. At the same time strict supervision of the frontier was ordered, and it was decided that in case of need an embargo on trade would be announced.[2] Thereupon the national assembly lost courage. Despatching an embassy to Chambéry to apologise to the deeply affronted King Charles Albert, on June 24th, the assembly promised the Germanic Federation that all refugees disturbing the peace of other states would be expelled. The Vorort Zurich and the canton of Berne assured the Viennese court of their good intentions in a tone which displayed very little republican pride.[3] Now began the renowned Swiss "refugee hunt." The alarmed cantonal authorities dealt with the refugees, guilty and innocent, as caprice might dictate, bringing them to trial, clapping them in gaol, placing them under supervision, making domiciliary searches, and opening letters. At the same time a number of Swiss citizens were placed under arrest, and Mathy straightforwardly declared that in Germany the treatment of demagogues was comparatively humane. The two Breidensteins and many others had to leave Switzerland. Rauschenplatt, likewise, wrathfully took his departure, for the doughty little man had recently made further trouble by attempting in the canton of Basle, beneath a mighty tree of liberty, to found an independent republic in the Jewish settlement of Dipflingen.

It was impossible that this erratic and arbitrary persecution could restore order. Most of the refugees, many even of those who had taken part in the raid on Savoy, remained in Switzerland. In Zurich, Berne, Geneva, Lausanne, and Liestal, German reading clubs were created. These bodies were designed to initiate handicraftsmen into the doctrines of radicalism, to support the secret press, and to write con-

[1] Dönhoff's Report, April 27, 1834.

[2] Brochkausen's Reports, March 29 and May 17; Brockhausen to Olfers in Berne, June 5, 1834.

[3] Despatches from the governmental council of Berne, November 21, and from the Vorort Zurich, November 27, 1834, to Effinger, chargé d'affaires in Vienna.

fidential letters to the "brothers" at home announcing that "the great popular banquet was about to take place." For several years in succession the German garrisons on the lake of Constance had to be ever on the watch against a renewed attack by the Polish legion.[1] The interchange of despatches with the national assembly became extremely acrimonious. The patrician Switzerland of days of yore had invariably observed the formalities, but the language of the new democracy vacillated between pusillanimity and rudeness.[2] The Bundestag, acting after its manner, issued foolish prohibitions. German students were forbidden to attend the new universities of Berne and Zurich, and it must certainly be remembered that some of the most forward among the German demagogues, Siebenpfeiffer, Hundeshagen, and Snell, had been given professorial appointments at Berne. In 1835 the Bundestag forbade handicraftsmen to emigrate to countries where political societies of working men had been formed, but the enforcement of this decree was left to the individual states, and (to Metternich's indignation) Baden soon found it absolutely necessary to allow her workmen to resume free intercourse with the Swiss neighbours.[3]

Since it was impossible to rest content with the activities of the Confederate authorities, Austria maintained in Switzerland a number of secret agents. These persons kept the Bundestag, the court of Carlsruhe, and other German courts supplied with intelligence of dubious authenticity,[4] whilst the harassed refugees on their side were busily endeavouring to discover the traitors in their camp. Great was the sensation when in 1835 a Jewish student from Brandenburg, Lessing by name, was murdered at Zurich—a common fellow who had been an active member of the secret societies, but was widely regarded as a spy. The legal enquiry at Zurich was a splendid example of how not to do it, and brought nothing to light. No proof was forthcoming that Lessing had been a Prussian spy, or a victim to political vengeance.[5] There were numerous indications that the affair was an ordinary criminal outrage, for the corpse had been rifled, and was

[1] Frankenberg's Reports, February 7 and June 22; Dönhoff's Reports, February 7 and March 4, 1835.
[2] Blittersdorff to Frankenberg, July 30, 1838.
[3] Frankenberg's Report, August 5, 1835.
[4] Türckheim to Frankenberg, March 19 and July 16, 1835.
[5] See Appendix XXVII.

discovered in the vicinity of a house of ill-fame. But the Swiss newspapers and numerous pamphlets maintained with the utmost assurance that the infamous machinations of the Prussian government had at length been disclosed. With France, too, the national assembly was embroiled, for Prince Louis Napoleon, having attempted to raise a rebellion in Strasburg, and having been pardoned on condition that he emigrated to America, had nevertheless returned to his Swiss château of Arenenberg (1838). The bourgeois king promptly demanded his expulsion, and moved troops to the eastern frontier. Austria, Prussia, and Baden supported France in the demand.[1] The Swiss press began once more to brandish the names of Tell and Winkelried, and to assure tyrants that kings' blood and peasants' blood were both equally red. The shrewd pretender quietly bided his time until these diplomatic bickerings had once more made everyone talk about him. Then, removing to England, he penned a magnaminous letter to the national assembly declaring himself unwilling by a more prolonged sojourn to endanger the safety of his second home. Thus, through the fault of both sides, relations between Germany and Switzerland remained for long on an ill footing, the German courts displaying undue anxiety and the Confederates manifesting little fidelity in the fulfilment of their treaty obligations.

Thirteen thousand refugees from various lands were by now assembled in France, and among these a modest part was played by the Germans, though they were hardly less active than the Poles in forming revolutionary secret societies. When the Hambach Press Club in Paris was dissolved by the French government, there was promptly constituted the League of Outlaws which was to propagate "the Hambach spirit" under new forms. In accordance with the example of the carbonari, the unit of organization was the "tent" comprising five members; the adepts constituted the "mountain"; at the head of all stood the Parisian "focus." Workmen returning from Paris founded tents in Berlin, Frankfort, Mainz, and many other towns of Central Germany; the Prussian authorities believed that there were two hundred such centres.[2] Metternich now invariably spoke of the demagogues as "the old men of the mountain," and beyond question

[1] Blittersdorf to Frankenberg, July 30, 1838.

[2] Mühler's Memorial concerning the League of Outlaws, November 12, 1840.

no one who accepted the programme of these secret leaguers at its face value could doubt that they advocated regicide and universal revolution.

"The Outlaw's Confession of Faith" and its paraphrase "the Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizens," began with the proposition: "God created all men after his own image, and created them all equal. Hence the only permissible form of government is a democratic republic." Resistance the striking down of oppressors, was extolled as "the citizen's most sacred and urgent duty." It was further declared though somewhat more modestly, that equality of rights ought to entail "an approximation to equality in external conditions" hence the common people should be exempt from taxation there should be a graduated income tax, and the worker had a right to public assistance. Among the members was the student Carl von Bruhn, in later years an active associate of Lassalle. The journal of the league, *The Outlaw*, was edited by Jacob Venedey, who did not himself belong to the more extreme faction of democrats, but who, as is usual with persons of narrow intelligence, approved all the rough sayings of his collaborators. Börne was his idol, and like Börne he believed that immoderate railing served to invigorate patriotism. "For centuries," he said, "Germany was the land whence slavery spread throughout Europe, and the same is true to-day." The Germans were alone responsible for the slavery of the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Italians and even for that of the Greeks and the Spaniards; "but, he asserted, "the vast national debt will be paid, and the shame of Germany will be atoned for and avenged." Wonderfully had the times changed; to this new Burschenschafter the War of Liberation seemed mere folly. He showered fierce invectives upon Arndt and the other volunteers of 1813 who had now, he said, become the slaves of absolutism.

Personal disputes were an inevitable accompaniment of the nefarious idleness of this work of conspiracy. Before long a League of the Just split off from the League of Outlaws and there were subsequently formed in addition a League of Germans and a League of Communists. Towards the year 1836 one of the comrades, Schapper by name, went to London founding there the radical working men's association which still exists to-day as a nursery of social democracy. Young Germany, too, removed its headquarters from Switzerland to the

Thames, and since England made it a matter of principle not to interfere with political conspiracies against other countries there gradually came into existence in Britain a number of German secret societies, which kept up communications with Mazzini's Young Italy, with the French society of the Rights of Man, and with the Democratic Society of Poles.[1] Though powerless for the moment, the members of these secret societies were to exercise considerable influence, for their prolonged subterranean activities paved the way for the risings of the year 1848.

Meanwhile from the doctrine of unconditional equality certain ingenious spirits had already drawn the ultimate conclusions, those most congenial to the appetites of the crowd. In the days of the July revolution, Gall, the able technician (the man who became famous in later days through his process of "gallisising" wine), had suggested the plan of fighting the power of great capital by associating the forces of lesser capital. His words were still unheeded. A very different reception was given to the teaching of Wilhelm Weitling, a tailor by trade, the first apostle of pure communism known to modern Germany. Born in Magdeburg and reared amid the narrow surroundings of petty handicraft, it happened by the whim of destiny that the handsome and clever journeyman tailor outrivalled an archduke in the competition for a girl's favour. He thus gained intimate acquaintance with the weaknesses and the revengefulness of the mighty ones of earth. Initiated in Paris into the doctrines of Cabet and Fourier, he subsequently went to Switzerland to stir up the German workers in that country. His booklet, *Mankind as it is and as it ought to be* (1838), was suited to the understanding and to the tastes of the masses, and was by no means devoid of talent, although plenty of food and drink played too large a part in his ideals for the future. Founding his doctrine upon the apostolic simplicity of early Christianity, he bluntly declared, "to be rich and powerful is to be unjust." He demanded social equality for the workers, "the most useful men on the face of the earth," and went so far as to insist that the two sexes should be educated alike. At first for five hours daily, and subsequently for three hours daily, the members of the

[1] Hans (Curtmann, the Hessian) to Rauschenplatt, London, September 29, 1836. Police report from London to the Federal Central Authorities, August 18, 1837.

community were to perform their common task, but everyone was to be at liberty to procure for himself additional means of enjoyment by working overtime. Thus "the world would be transformed into a garden and mankind into a single family." These alluring pictures could not fail to charm the imaginations of numerous oppressed men of the people. The prophet's language seemed quite innocuous, and he did not trouble to answer the question how the great transformation was to be brought about.

Emigration to North America was powerfully stimulated by the discontent of the revolutionary years. During the ten year period, 1830 to 1840, about 182,000 German-speaking immigrants entered the United States, twelve times as many as in the previous decade. From 1832 onwards the annual figure was never below 10,000, and in the year 1840 it rose to 34,000. Many of these homeless wanderers experienced a tragical fate, and almost all learned the truth of the proverb, "No one succeeds in America until he has lost his last European coin." But the disillusioned were kept silent by shame, whilst the fortunate trumpeted their successes to their kindred in Germany with all the pride of the self-made man. In folk history there are periods when the tendency to a settled life predominates, and there are other periods wherein the migratory impulse affects the human spirit with obscure elemental power. Just as in former days the seductive strains of the song "Naar Oostland wille wi varen" had echoed through the villages of Flanders, so now did numberless persons dream of the fabulous happiness that was waiting across the great water for every energetic emigrant; and just as sober persuasion had been unable to restrain the crusaders from marching upon the holy city, so now no rational argument was competent to overcome the vague yearning for the west. It was inevitable that the young world, where the existence of the state was almost unmarked, should exercise irresistible attraction upon those who had no developed sense of the state, those to whom state authority seemed nothing more than the oppressive control of a guardian or a policeman.

In the foreign environment it was continually borne in upon the Germans how strong is the inner kinship of our nation. The German-speaking immigrants to the United States, including those from Alsace-Lorraine, from Switzerland,

and from Austria, involuntarily drew together as fellow countrymen, whereas the Scottish and the Irish who came to the States held aloof from men of English birth. The political refugees, who belonged to the upper classes, were natural leaders, being unmistakably raised above the native born in point of culture and prestige. The Giessen radicals were represented by Paul Follen and by Friedrich Münch, a man of sterling worth and exceptional energy; of the Frankfort conspirators, Gustav Körner and the two Bunsens made their way to America; from the Palatinate came members of the distinguished families of Hilgard and Engelmann. J. G. Wesselhöft, one of the Thuringian Burschenschafters of that name, published in Philadelphia *Die alte und die neue Welt*, the largest German newspaper of the American union. In western states, where the German settlements were exceptionally extensive, W. Weber, another member of the Jena Burschenschaft, edited a German periodical in whose columns vigorous condemnation of lynch law, the ill-treatment of the negroes, and other manifestations of American brutality, were often scathingly censured. These fine energies were all irrevocably lost to the old fatherland. In monarchical Germany the republican sentiment, which found expression in the emigrants' letters, could not fail to promote mental confusion and to increase the foolish hatred of standing armies. Even in journals of moderate liberal tendency it was universally maintained that fortunate America was spontaneously protected by her free institutions and (strange fable) by the honesty of her administration. Nobody marked the simple fact that the union did not need troops simply because she had no dangerous neighbours.

Unweariedly meanwhile did the German police continue the war of extermination against those demagogues who had not taken refuge abroad. The passport system, which the jacobins had employed as a weapon against their political enemies, now secured its most elaborate development at the hands of the opponents of the revolution. A traveller could not even hire a carriage without showing his papers. Secret agents were everywhere on the watch for suspicious letters; they sought for tricoloured badges; and they would sometimes discover ground for alarm in republican beards. In Bavaria, where the secret police took their instructions from Cabinet

Councillor Grandauer, two men who gave themselves out to be police agents were simultaneously unmasked as common cheats. By a federal decree issued in 1836 the duty was imposed on all the governments to punish as high treason hostile activities against the Federation and to extradite political offenders. The *Neckarzeitung* of Stuttgart, last surviving radical newspaper, was suppressed, and the free city of Frankfort actually forbade the circulation of Schäfer's translation of Sismondi's *Etudes sur les constitutions des peuples libres.*

Amid the anarchy of this federation of states it was inevitable that the censors should be guided by very various principles. By section vii. of the Carlsbad press law, when author and publisher had complied with the prescriptions of the censorship they were "free from all further responsibility." An extremely radical "Petition of German Burghers against the Enslavement of the Press" having been passed by the Hessian censorship, in 1834 Blittersdorff contended in the Bundestag that the meaning of the aforementioned article vii. merely was that the Federation in such cases had no further jurisdiction, but that it was left open to the separate governments to bring the authors of censored writings before the courts. This monstrous interpretation was endorsed by most of the federal envoys, including the Bavarian envoy. With astonishing scrupulousness the presidential envoy declared that such a conclusion ought to be drawn "only after a thorough and far-reaching deduction." The court of Vienna was not satisfied, desiring the formal enactment of a new federal law to impose upon German authors all the terrors of the censorship and of legal prosecution, to subject them to preventive and repressive measures at once. The middle-sized states would not accede to so drastic a measure. The old way out of the difficulty was found; the envoys received no instructions, so that the issue of a federal decree was impossible. In its self-sufficiency the old official state scorned to adopt Otterstedt's recommendation to the Prussian court that liberalism should be fought with the aid of small popular conservative journals. The governments considered that they would do enough by making a vigorous use of the censorship and by continuing the issue of their dull and little read, but highly respectable, official newspaper.[1]

[1] Otterstedt, Personal Impressions from the Time of the Wartburg Festival down to the present Day, sent to the king on April 14, 1833.

Eighteen hundred persons in all were arrested on account of the intrigues of the revolutionary years. The newly established central federal authority was in charge of the investigations, which were entrusted to several distinguished judges, Prussia being admirably represented by Eichmann and subsequently by Mathis and Strampff. But the affair dragged, for many of the governments were inclined to procrastinate, some from temper and others from sloth.[1] After several years (1835) Baden proposed to Berlin that the enquiring authority should be dissolved, contending that as tranquillity had now been restored, its activities could serve only to stimulate unrest. The Prussian court, however, insisted that justice must take its course.[2] At length, in the year 1839, appeared the "Exposition of the main Results" of the political enquiries, a report honourably distinguished from the labours of the old Black Committee, for on this occasion serious offences had been committed. No one could deny that the conspirators of 1833 had had relationships with the emissaries of Lafayette and with the Polish propaganda. Moreover, this secret international communication had persisted, and as late as the year 1839 the Parisian radicals established a correspondence bureau to represent French interests in Germany.[3] But a positively childish timidity was at times displayed. To the Frankfort demagogue hunters it seemed highly suspicious that a cooper should pass among his mates by the name of "Wine-butt," that a chimney sweep should be nicknamed "Black-arts-man," and that a third journeyman should bear the terrible nom de guerre of "Ox."

In Prussia there had been no breach of public order, and the supreme court of appeal, which was conducting the enquiry under the supervision of a ministerial committee, had to confine its energies almost exclusively to dealing with the unhappy students. Kamptz, as Rhenish minister for justice, insisted that no one who had ever belonged to a Burschenschaft should be appointed to judicial office. His manner to those actually under arrest was as before quite friendly, or at least kindlier than that of his colleague Rochow, or that of von Kleist, the strict president of the court of appeal.

[1] Blittersdorff's Reports, May 3 and July 5, 1835.
[2] Frankenberg's Reports, March 26 and April 21, 1835; April 9, 1836.
[3] Strampff, Report to the Prussian ministerial committee, Frankfort, February 26, 1840.

Harshest of all were the notorious Tzschoppe and the examining judge Dambach. Every Burschenschafter who fell into the hands of the Prussian authorities was haled before this tribunal even if he were not a Prussian and had never studied in Prussia. Duncker, superintendent of police in Berlin, dreaded by street arabs as if he had been the very devil, found it somewhat distasteful to be compelled to deal with so many members of the respectable classes. Heinrich Laube spent several months in rigorous imprisonment, not for his literary offences, but because many years before he had been a member of the Halle Burschenschaft. In the year 1836 the court of appeal at length passed sentence upon two hundred and four students. There were one hundred and ninety-two condemnations, quite a number being sentenced to death. No one took the possibility of execution seriously; the king commuted the punishment to thirty years' imprisonment in a fortress and subsequently to eighteen years; very few of the offenders secured a free pardon. Kamptz was accustomed to say, "Burschenschaft is Burschenschaft," and even Max Duncker the young historian, and other members of the Bonn Burschenschaft inspired with sound royalist sentiments, had to serve terms of imprisonment.

Less free from blame were the members of the inner circle of the Jena Germania. There had been audacious speeches here, and an exchange of foolish letters with the refugees. Yet even in this Burschenschaft the majority were harmless young fellows who were quite satisfied could they but sport the colours of united Germany. Fritz Reuter, the Mecklenburger, was among their number. Devoting his time sedulously to student club-life and to pleasure trips, he was so completely ignorant of the reckless designs cherished by the adepts among his comrades that the examining judge at first believed him to be an unusually hardened criminal. By degrees only did Dambach come to take a milder view, saying: "If the man is dangerous, it is as ne'er-do-well rather than as advocate of doctrines dangerous to the state." For seven years the poor man had to suffer in that "the living current" of his life was "dammed up to form a lake." Not till long after his liberation did he make up his mind to publish the reminiscences of his imprisonment under the title *Ut mine Festungstid*, and the leal humour of his frank narrative, humour that smiles through tears, displays the

absurdity of this demagogue hunt yet more strongly if possible than does the religious unction of Silvio Pellico's *Le mie prigioni*. The Prussian demagogues, indeed, were spared such sufferings as Pellico owed to the cruelty of Emperor Francis, but many of these young men were ruined by the aimless uniformity of prison life. Some gave way to drink and sloth; some were permanently embittered. A few only were able to react as splendidly as Max Duncker, who speedily came to recognise that even unreasonable laws must be obeyed, saying with equanimity: "It is right that I should atone, for I have broken the law of the state."

Rarely did these good-natured Germans harbour enduring revolutionary passion, and even in the case of declared radicals, politics did not fill the whole of life. Not one of them resembled Mazzini who, imprisoned in the eyrie at Savona overlooking the Mediterranean, had spent all his days pondering the liberation of his country. How threatening, how rebellious had been the language used by Wilhelm Cornelius in "Constitutional Germany," which he had published in Strasburg.[1] But when after years of imprisonment he was discharged from the fortress of Graudenz, he was a changed man. For the illustrated publication *Artistic and Romantic Germany*, he wrote the text of the volume on the Baltic, simple travel-talk, dealing chiefly with landscape, moonlight, and pretty girls. Those who without timidity could contemplate our average demagogues, genuine and reputed, could not fail to see that the vigour of the Teutonic character does not find successful expression in secret societies, and that the overthrow of the Bundestag by a revolution from beneath was most unlikely.

Persecution raged in Bavaria on this occasion far more fiercely than in Prussia, for King Louis considered that he had been betrayed by the liberals who had once idolised him. Now pitiless, he even had Wirth's wife prosecuted for circulating her husband's defence; he gave the judges written instructions as to their decisions; nor did his mood soften when the tragic death in prison of a Prussian student named Kollig had aroused universal horror in Munich.[2] The monarch was profoundly incensed by a leaflet entitled *A Voice from Prison to King Louis*, issued by Coremans, the radical journalist.

[1] See vol. V, pp. 274 and 281.
[2] Dönhoff's Report, December 17, 1837.

for therein it was set forth that in his own verses the royal poet had "declared himself leader of the Bavarian opposition." Among the one hundred and forty-two demagogues sentenced during the year 1834 was Behr, ex-burgomaster of Würzburg, and sometime confidant of Louis. In a wordy "Urgent Reminder" he had asked the diet of 1831 to propose that the constitution be revised and that an oath of fidelity be exacted from the army; the writing contained much that was foolish, but nothing that could properly be regarded as criminal. Nevertheless this man sixty-two years of age was sentenced to deliver an apology kneeling before the king's portrait (the crowned poet laid especial stress upon this indignity), and subsequently passed many years in duress in the fortress of Passau. Suggestions of pardon were rejected by Louis for the very reason that in former days he had placed so much trust in the condemned man.[1] The like humiliating punishment was inflicted upon the babbler Eisenmann, for the police announced the discovery in his dwelling of a velvet mantle which they believed to have been intended for use as coronation robe of the future duke of Franconia. Both these unfortunates were broken physically and mentally by their imprisonment. The diet vainly begged the political offenders should be amnestied, and the refugees' press, inflamed with comprehensible indignation, railed against the orientalist punishments decreed by the Bavarian sultan. In view of the king's severities, even Oken's dismissal, which was solely due to the natural philosopher's quarrelsome disposition, was regarded as a piece of political tyranny. According to an ode by Schultheiss, the royal poet "dazzled by the radiance of Oken the torchbearer, had inconsiderately driven him forth from the benighted Monk's Town." Merely for making use of the word "dazzled" [lichtscheu] the young poet was sentenced to kneel before the king's portrait and had to spend seven weeks in prison, although his verses had not even been printed, but were discovered in an intercepted letter.

The judicial enquiries lasted longest in the grand duchy of Hesse. In the promised land of particularism encircling Frankfort radicalism had gradually gained a power such as it possessed nowhere else in Germany. The arbitrary attitude of the free city towards its peasants, misgovernment in Electoral

[1] Dönhoff's Report, June 25, 1836.

Hesse and in Nassau, bureaucratic stringency in Darmstadt, in conjunction with the contemptible spectacle of the Bundestag, had inevitably aroused popular indignation. It was obvious in the year 1833 that Büchner and the conspirators in Upper Hesse had aimed at the complete overthrow of the existing order; and it was equally certain that long after the Frankfort rising a League of Men animated by strongly revolutionary sentiments had continued active in Upper Hesse. The Darmstadt court conducted the investigation with passionate zeal. With his own hand Grand Duke Louis subscribed two privy documents promising informers immunity from punishment "and even our personal gratitude." Du Thil, like the Bavarian government, was adroit in the use of his powers as controller of appointments, and was careful to arrange by well-timed transfers that in political trials there should always be a majority of judges on the side of the ministry.[1] Many of the accused had fled, and among the refugees was the higher school teacher Schüler, who in Switzerland became an ardent member of Young Germany. In December, 1838, those who had remained at home were, with five exceptions, sentenced to death, the grand duke commuting the punishment to imprisonment. They had suffered terribly during the prolonged preliminary arrest, and the most notable of them all, Ludwig Weidig the pastor, had committed suicide in prison.

Weidig had been generally respected as an upright man and as an able schoolmaster and preacher. The goal of his political hopes was nothing more formidable than a German emperordom upon a parliamentary basis. Not for naught, however, had he been one of the older members of the League of the Unconditionals, and when there occurred a cleavage between state and people he held that "to promote the victory of truth" all means were permissible. Consequently he did not hesitate to collaborate in writing Büchner's socialistic publication, *The Hessian Messenger*. His principles exercised a corrupting influence upon the minds of young men, whom he charmed by his elemental eloquence. He was continually visited by Polish and French emissaries, and the little town of Butzbach was throughout his headmastership a centre

[1] In this account I avail myself several times of the memoirs of Baron von Lepel, subsequently grand-ducal Hessian envoy. For access to these I have to thank the latter's son, Colonel von Lepel.

of intrigue. The government looked upon him as a deadly enemy, though he had prudently abstained from participation in the hopeless Frankfort rising. There acted as examining judge in his case Councillor Georgi, a very brute, who, according to experts in forensic medicine, suffered from delirium tremens. The accused, a man of nervous temperament, was reduced by the interminable examinations to a condition of morbic excitability. At times he became almost frenzied, uttered impudent untruths, and was altogether so refractory that Georg threatened him with corporal punishment; on one occasion beside himself with fury, Weidig attacked his tormentor with a knife. Thereupon he appears to have been actually flogged, for the stripes discovered on his body after death can hardly be explained in any other way. Shortly afterwards, on February 23, 1837, the warder, on entering Weidig's cell, found the prisoner lying on his bed, drenched with blood, but still alive. In a panic the rough fellow slammed the door and hastened to Georgi. The latter came glanced at the terrible spectacle, ordered that the surgeon should be summoned, and took his departure. Professional help did not arrive for an hour and a half, just as the end came. Weidig, having got possession of a splinter of glass had opened blood vessels in the arms and the feet, and had then cut his throat, and though improbable it is at least conceivable that the last and fatal self-inflicted wound had been made during the final hour and a half.

A cry of horror rang through the country and partisan hatred flamed high. Many liberals insisted that the unhappy man had been murdered, which was simply impossible in the circumstances. Not merely did Weidig's numerous friends and pupils glorify him as victim of judicial barbarism, but they further contended that he had never participated in the conspiracy. These views secured wide credence, for Germans find it difficult to believe that men personally honourable may be scheming and conscienceless in political matters. Wilhelm Schulz and Welcker seized upon the deplorable affair to prove the monstrosity of secret legal procedure. The entire German press took up the agitation. The medical faculty of Zurich, ever ready to probe Germany's sore points, issued an expert opinion to prove that Weidig had been flogged—though none of these wiseacres had thought it needful before thus committing themselves to undertake a personal

examination of the corpse. The members of the Hessian judicial bench felt profoundly shamed. The high court judge Baron von Lepel, no liberal partisan nor yet a believer in Weidig's political innocence, but one who had always been a straightforward advocate of independence in the courts, issued a memorandum demanding strict enquiry into "this blameworthy and barely credible neglect, which cannot fail to shake public confidence in the administration of justice." Georgi rudely rejoined: "Surely no one would expect the judges to act as warders to such a dangerous individual," and Du Thil supported Georgi with all his power. In the unceasing struggle with the liberals this able minister had become so obdurate that he would no longer believe his political opponents. To the Prussian chargé d'affaires he described Georgi as a martyr in the good cause and as a man scandalously calumniated. The two medical experts, he vowed, had been corrupted by the liberal deputies and had been induced to bear false witness regarding Georgi's tendency to drink.[1] Nay, more, when the protégé was brazen enough to stand as candidate for the chamber, through Du Thil's instrumentality he secured the tacit support of the authorities. Georgi was elected. and Gutzkow sang:

Happy land of Germany, where madness sits at the judgment seat,
And where in the parliament hall a drunkard stumbles and stammers!

The inscription on Weidig's tomb was cemented over by order of the authorities, for the deceased was there extolled as a fighter in the good cause. In this matter Du Thil remained unteachable. Many years later, writing his memoirs, he described Weidig's mad attack on Georgi, adding: "We learn to what a length party feeling can go when we know that this monster, this man who killed himself in the end, has been regarded as a martyr, has been almost idolised. A monument has actually been erected to his memory!" But the bleeding phantom could not be exorcised by bureaucratic arrogance and self-righteousness. Rumours multiplied; pens were continually at work concerning the gruesome affair; public opinion peremptorily demanded the complete unravelling of the mystery. In 1839, when behind closed doors the political prosecution of Sylvester Jordan was initiated, at

[1] Sydow's Reports, August 23 and November 7, 1837.

the very time when elsewhere the demagogue hunt was on the wane, people began to tell one another that this popular character would be treated with like cruelty. Discontent was rife. The Weidig trial and the Jordan case were destined to play an important part in German history, for they gave the death blow to secret criminal procedure.

§ 5. THE DIETS OF THE CENTRAL STATES.

How could confidence and peace thrive in this sultry atmosphere? Under Du Thil's able guidance, administrative work in the grand duchy of Hesse was admirably performed. Much was done for education; road construction made excellent progress; the yield from the crown lands increased considerably although a third of the domains had been ceded to the state. The abolition of the burdens on the peasantry was so equitably carried out that even the mediatised, who elsewhere in South Germany invariably complained of the new agrarian laws, were here content; the families of Solms and Erbach used the compensation money to increase their holdings of land, but the peasants on their estates likewise benefited by the reform. Du Thil had always despised particularism, and after the Vienna ministerial conferences he was more than ever convinced that firm handling was essential in this distracted Germany. His private wish was that there should be an emperor to lead the nation. He was to govern without a parliament, but was to be advised by a Reichstag of German princes. Yet this man of exceptional gifts whose horizon was far wider than that of most of the ministers in the lesser states, was dominated with petty suspicion of the liberal party, was unduly sensitive towards candid criticism, and was full of that unapproachable arrogance characteristic of the old officialdom. At the Hofburg he was regarded as the most trustworthy of all the ministers of secondary importance. In 1834, when Metternich established in South Germany a secret bureau to act as centre for the numerous agents maintained by the court of Vienna in Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and the German south, Du Thil was in the secret, and received henceforward regular reports, whereas to the other German courts nothing more was vouchsafed than an occasional confidential communication. In Du Thil's opinion, agents of

lower grade were for the most part adventurers of dubious quality, and it sufficed him that the chief Austrian official who from time to time came to consult in Darmstadt should behave like a man of culture and refuse all gratuities.[1] The co-founder of the customs union could always count upon Prussia's friendship. When du Thil dissolved the diet of 1833, Ancillon expressed his warm approval.[2]

The diet of 1834 proved no more complacent than its predecessor. The opposition had again secured a majority. Led by Heinrich von Gagern, it was so strenuous in its methods that some of the more timid spirits among the ministerial minority declared that they could hardly venture to attend the sittings, for every word they uttered was received with contempt. At this juncture Du Thil was attending the Vienna conferences. He thought that Hofmann and the other ministers were unduly pliable, and begged permission to return. Owing to his deafness it was useless for him to appear personally in the diet. He barely knew his opponents by sight, but thought the worst of them, and advised the grand duke to dissolve the chamber once more. A pretext was soon found. The liberals proposed a measure to ensure the independence of the judiciary, thus touching the weak spot of the governmental system. In an impassioned speech Gagern showed that the courts were packed for the benefit of a party ; this party, he continued, had no understanding of the constitutionalist principle, and was mainly represented by the present ministry. In official circles the word "party" had still an evil connotation, and Councillor Knapp rose in a fury to demand that the speaker should be called to order. When the majority rejected this motion, the governmental commissaries left the hall in a body; and next day (October 25th) the chamber was dissolved. Du Thil was firmly convinced that right was on his side, declaring in a proclamation to the people: "A member of the second chamber permitted himself the use of an expression so offensive and so degrading that the prestige and the respect essential to every government were in the highest degree endangered."

Heinrich von Arnim, Prussian chargé d'affaires, friend of the crown prince and still a whole-hearted supporter of the latter's political views, wrote exultingly that "according to

[1] Ancillon, Instruction to Arnim, November 11, 1833.
[2] Du Thil's Sketches.

the mischievous idea of popular sovereignty" dissolution of the diet signified an appeal to the people, but repeated dissolution had now, he said, served to refute this illusion. Ancillon agreed,[1] and in fact, as Du Thil put it, "the hydra's head had now been struck off." A governmental victory was secured at the new elections, and for fourteen years thereafter the most firmly established of all the German constitutionalist ministers ruled with the aid of a considerable majority. Even the unveiling of Thorwaldsen's Gutenberg memorial in Mainz (1837), a ceremony to which the court had looked forward with much apprehension, passed off peacefully, although many dreaded demagogues were present. For the time being the power of the government seemed so invincible that in the year 1838 two of the opposition leaders, Gagern and Langer, became discouraged and resigned their seats.

Far more serious was the situation in Electoral Hesse. Long before the July days, Motz, rightly guided by knowledge of his native province, had prophesied that the German revolutions would start from Brunswick and Electoral Hesse. In Brunswick the flames had now been extinguished, but Electoral Hesse was still the Germanic Federation's child of sorrow. Even Baron von Canitz, the new Prussian envoy, a member of the talented circle which surrounded the crown prince in Berlin, who as a Hessian by birth had special opportunities for judging, was compelled finally to admit that the country was not ill-disposed and that the opposition was by no means dangerous. The real peril, he said, centred entirely in the person of the prince regent, who displayed far too close a resemblance to Charles of Brunswick, alike in his malicious and mistrustful character and "in his delight in hurting anyone who is defenceless."[2] The unhappy domestic circumstances of the regent's life bore their inevitable fruit. "He is only farming us," was a current saying among the common people. No one ascribed to him a fatherly love for the country he ruled, seeing that it was impossible for him to bequeath dominion to his descendants. The suspicion was confirmed when the electoral prince requested the estates to provide endowments for the children of his morganatic marriage,

[1] Arnim's Reports, October 24 and 27; Ancillon, Instruction to Arnim, November 6, 1834.

[2] Canitz' Reports, October 3, 1836; August 19, 1837.

giving clearly to understand that as a counter-concession he would be prepared to agree to certain reductions in the army estimates.[1] Negotiations came to naught. The Ritterschaft, however, knew how to turn the position to account. The counts von Schaumburg were accepted into the knightly order, and were able henceforward to hold manors in due form of law. In return the members of the Ritterschaft received from the grateful father many privileges in the state service and at court. Meanwhile the electoral prince continued to display petty malice towards his mother. He had the reception room adjoining her box at the theatre dismantled, and when she protested he rejoined that he himself had not entry to this room. Nothing could be more unamiable than his letters to the electress. Depriving her of the services of a chamberlain whom she greatly esteemed, he wrote dryly, "besides, you cannot afford to pay him adequately."[2] Not until the dispute had lasted for years could the proud princess overcome her reluctance, but she acceded at length to the urgent request of the Prussian envoy, and agreed to receive her daughter-in-law. Thenceforward the outward forms, at least, of decency could be observed at court.[3]

Hassenpflug, now the soul of the government, had in former days fought against France as volunteer, and in Göttingen had belonged to an association animated with ideas akin to those that subsequently inspired the Burschenschaft. When still quite young he adopted Haller's doctrines, and his keen legal intelligence did not shrink even from the ultimate consequences of the restorer's system. Talented, and having enjoyed a many-sided education, during the first and best years of his activity he displayed lively zeal on behalf of the blossoming of the sciences in Marburg. In intercourse with his brothers-in-law, the two Grimms, who brought him into contact with Dahlmann as well, he had become accustomed to move in the upper levels of culture. The two great scholars, good-hearted almost to excess, regarded him at this period as a thoroughly upright man, though they considered him "by no means free from bias and mental extravagance," and they thought that he had erred in accepting the position of con-

[1] Canitz' Reports, July 12 and August 23, 1834.

[2] Electoral Prince Frederick William to Electress Augusta, November 30, 1836.

[3] Canitz' Reports, January 28 and February 18, 1837.

stitutionalist minister since he had done so in conflict with his own convictions. Hassenpflug made no secret of the fact that he detested the constitution as "a work of the revolution," and that he was resolved to harmonise it with the monarchical principle by the strictest possible interpretation. During these struggles he became harsher, rougher, and more unconscientious; and in his refined and intelligent countenance it soon became possible to recognise the traits characteristic of fanaticism and love of dominion. When he addressed the chamber, speaking to his infuriated hearers sharply, scornfully, and with challenging arrogance, it seemed as if he aspired to win the reputation of a Hessian Strafford; and the *Berliner Wochenblatt*, to which he contributed through the intermediation of confidants, actually announced that in Hesse the masked warfare between princely prerogative and revolution would at length be fought to a conclusion. It was not long, therefore, before he acquired the nickname of "The Hessenfluch" [the curse of Hesse]. The hatred felt for him by the liberals was all the fiercer since they could not deny his gifts. Affairs came easily to him; he was free from pettiness and pedantry; and he was skilful in the choice of instruments. He found the standing committee of the diet quite insufferable, speaking of it as "the most perverse product of the new constitution"; but this feudalist accessory government, which was incompatible with the unity of the modern state, was solemnly declared by the diet to be "the palladium" of Hessian liberty.

The minister's first thought was to do away with the long-standing evil of the German representative system, the official opposition in the diet. Above all Jordan, the father of the constitution, was to be swept out of the path. When the diet of 1833 was elected, all officials who were in any way tainted with liberalism were inexorably refused permission to take their seats. Jordan represented the university of Marburg, and prepared to resume his seat without requesting the approval of the ministry. He did this in all good faith, for previously, without asking leave, he had represented the university in the diet for sixteen months. When the founders of the constitution had conceded to the government the right of refusing furlough, they had certainly never intended that this right should extend to the representative of the university. No one but a professor was qualified to sit, and he represented a corporation which, in virtue of its prelature, had for three

centuries freely elected its representatives. Should the government be empowered to refuse the university representative permission to attend the diet, the university's ancient right of suffrage would for practical purposes be transferred to the ministry. But this obvious exception to the rule had not been expressly incorporated in the constitution. By article 71 all state servants, whatever their function, had after election to secure the approval of superior authorities. The astute minister was thus able to appeal to the letter of the law when he insisted that the diet must exclude Jordan from its sittings, since the professor had not received permission to attend. The real aim of this demand was plain to all. The diet rejected it, and was promptly dissolved.

Reconciliation had now become impossible. So greatly was the minister detested, that even Canitz, with whom he was on friendly terms, felt at times that for peace' sake Hassenpflug ought to retire.[1] But the minister held his ground, and was able to secure that the diet should be almost completely purged of liberal servants of the state. Little recked this man of many wiles the prescription in the constitution to the effect that furlough must "not be refused without sufficient cause"! After the loss of Jordan, the opposition soon found new and bold leaders. Burgomaster Schomburg became president of the diet, and conducted its stormy debates with dignity. Other opposition chiefs were the lawyers Wippermann and Schwarzenberg, whose demeanour was far more violent. The dispute was unending. Of the four diets that met during Hassenpflug's regime, two were dissolved, one was simply "dismissed" (in forms unknown to the constitution), and one died a natural death. When the estates were not sitting, the minister fought ever more bitterly with their committee. With the art of the finished sophist he obstinately contested every right to which the least objection could possibly be raised. When the budget committee recommended certain elisions from the estimates, the government addressed a formal protest to the chamber, accusing the diet, which had not yet come to any decision, of exceeding its competence. Although the disquiet of the revolutionary years had long ere this subsided, throughout the country every stirring of public life was suppressed by harsh police measures. Here, in the home of Philip the Magnanimous, the government forbade

[1] Canitz' Reports, July 2, 1833, and subsequent dates.

the celebration of the tercentenary of the Schmalkaldian league because this rebellious association, defying constituted authority, had been a discredit to the Hessians. One day the minister appeared formally in the diet to remind the deputies of their patriotic duties and to request their permission to undertake a prosecution for high treason. All waited breathlessly to learn the name of the criminal, until Hassenpflug disclosed that it was Salzmann, the hotel keeper, one of the most respected members of the house. The accusation was that at his skittle alley in Nauheim he had unprotestingly listened to a rebellious speech made by one of Weidig's associates—and in the end proof was not forthcoming that this act of high treason had in fact been committed.

Amid these sterile skirmishes, affairs were at a standstill. Throughout the years we are considering, no more than one important enactment came into operation, the excellent communes' law of 1834. Perpetual disputation made the estates sensitive, irritable, and petty. Having on one occasion at a public ceremony been placed on the regent's left, they complained that their official dignity had been wounded. They chaffered about every aide-de-camp, following the sage counsel of the *State Lexicon*. They actually proposed to refuse payment of the salaries of the customs union plenipotentiaries, but this would have been a manifest breach of agreement, and happily the suggestion was dropped. To crown the confusion, the prince regent vented his spleen upon ministers no less than upon others. It became almost axiomatic that Meisterlin, Motz, Trott, and the other members of the ministry, who were of little importance compared with Hassenpflug, should hold office for very brief periods. They would suddenly be cashiered on inexplicable grounds, and many of them would be reappointed to office after an interval. In Berlin, wonder at this system of government had staled. Ancillon was of opinion that such dismissals meant nothing at all in Hesse, and he sapiently remarked that blind submission was no safeguard against the disfavour of a despotic ruler. In a country thus governed, how fallacious seemed the foolish article 100 of the fundamental law, the article which imposed upon parliament the duty of impeaching ministers who should violate the constitution. The estates recognised, and declared in one of their indictments, that Hassenpflug was " indefatigable in his onslaughts upon the living activity and the legal development

of the constitution." But certain as it was that he endeavoured to destroy the spirit of the constitution, he prudently avoided infringing the letter, and it was impossible to catch him at fault in the legalist sense. Nevertheless the diet arraigned him four times before the supreme court of appeal. One of the acts of impeachment enumerated thirteen alleged breaches of the constitution; the proceedings against Jordan, the refusal of leave to officials elected members of the diet, dissolution of the diet when it should merely have been adjourned, with a number of minor matters, including the retarded calling up of recruits.

Since the new constitutions had come into being, this was the first time on which a German diet had availed itself of the two-edged weapon of impeachment of ministers, and it was momentous for the future of our parliamentary life that the effort was a pitiful failure. Robert Mohl, professor of political science at Tübingen, was counsel for the defence, though he certainly had no love for the minister. In youth his scientific candour had brought upon him the disfavour of the Bundestag, and in his excellent *Textbook of Würtemberg Constitutional Law* he had recently furnished renewed proof of constitutionalist sentiments, but he scorned to follow the capricious moods of public opinion, and he recognised that the German diets were unthinkingly undermining their own prestige by endeavouring to thrash out in the law courts problems of political power and differences in political opinion. In his writing for the defence he took a strong line against the pettifogging methods of the liberals, and adjured the judges "to preserve Hesse's constitution from such absurdities, from such barbarism, and from an interpretation which would make the high offices of state absolutely untenable." The supreme court of appeal, in which many of the judges were liberals, and which had often stoutly resisted princely arbitrariness, displayed on this occasion a no less honourable independence of pressure from beneath. Hassenpflug was acquitted. Wishing to discredit the diet, he published the proceedings, and these sufficed to convince lawyers of his innocence, but were not likely to convince politicians. The Prussian court, following its usual rule to have nothing to do with the internal dissensions of the petty states, held sedulously aloof from this dispute. The electoral prince on one occasion sent his uncle the details of a plan for inducing

the estates to withdraw their charges, but the king made answer that he did not wish his nephew to discuss such matters directly either with himself or with the emperor of Austria. As federal powers the two courts must act jointly, for this would be the safest way of "avoiding any semblance of infringement of the principles of the constitution."[1]

The proceedings against Hassenpflug dragged on until January, 1836 (being then in their fourth year), without arousing much excitement in the country. In the interim, however, a new struggle had begun, one more comprehensible to the people. The avarice of the ruling house involved it once more in a dispute with the country. At the new year of 1835 occurred the extinction of the collateral line of Hesse-Rotenburg, which owned a fourth of the old landgravate, the portion known as the Rotenburg Quart with an annual revenue of 225,000 thalers, exercising there patrimonial jurisdiction and certain lesser governmental powers. For a time if remained dubious whether this extensive possession was really to revert to the electoral house of Hesse, for Landgravine Eleonore, widow of the last Rotenburg, writing from her lonely castle of Zembowitz in Silesia, reported that she expected to become a mother. The suspicious electoral prince promptly conceived the idea that a false heir was to be provided, although the landgravine spontaneously expressed her willingness to come to Rotenburg in Hesse for her confinement. Through his envoy in Berlin he requested the Prussian court to arrange for the usual precautionary measures. By German princely prerogative this unseemly demand was one impossible to refuse. The college of trustees [Pupillen-Kollegium] in Ratibor appointed a Landrat to act as "curator ventris" to the widow, this official having to conduct the landgravine to the castle of Rotenburg. All entrances to the castle save one were walled up by order of the electoral prince, and the sole portal left open was placed under strict guard. The poor landgravine, who had unquestionably acted in good faith, implored the protection of the king of Prussia, saying that to the electoral prince no promise was sacred. In the end, however, it became manifest that Eleonore had been mistaken as to her condition.[2]

[1] Draft for a rescript from the electoral prince to the diet, July 1; Ancillon, Instructions to Canitz, July 16 and 17, 1833.

[2] Landgravine Eleonore of Hesse-Rotenburg to Ancillon, August 12, to Canitz, August, 1835. Cabinet Order to Ancillon, August 28, 1835.

The prince regent having thus displayed his chivalrous disposition, proceeded to annex the Rotenburg Quart to his private estate; the costs of administration and jurisdiction were to be paid by the state, with the aid of a generous contribution of 1,500 thalers per annum from his privy purse. At the same time he illegally attempted to gain possession of the vast Prussian possessions of the house of Rotenburg, the princedoms of Ratibor and Corvey, which the deceased landgrave had bequeathed to his nephews Prince Victor and Prince Clodwig of Hohenlohe. In Prussia his claim was of course rejected, and all the more obstinately therefore did he maintain it in Hesse. Since the constitution declared all the domains to be national property, it was self-evident that the Rotenburg reversionary domains, which were all secularised church property, likewise belonged to the state, and that the utmost the electoral house had any right to demand was a suitable increase in the civil list. At the diet of 1830, when the territorial property had been divided, the governmental representatives had been in complete accord with the estates. The diet now declared by an enormous majority that the Rotenburg Quart was state property. The worthy peasant deputies were especially zealous in the matter, declaring that by this time enough had been paid to the electoral house. Unfortunately, however, the matter in dispute was not covered by any article in the constitution, and consequently the customary dissensions broke out anew. Provisionally the electoral prince remained in possession, and during the negotiations he made use of an extremely suspicious expression. He wrote to the estates (1837) that in the event of his own accession to the throne he reserved the right of making a further special declaration concerning "Our Domains." Did this mean that he proposed on becoming elector to reopen the question that had been settled in the year 1830 and to demand the Electoral Hessian domains for himself? No one could say, but the prospect for the future became ever more gloomy.

Nor was there any improvement when Hassenpflug suffered the inevitable fate of Hessian ministers. His part was played out, and his love of power and his abilities were becoming equally offensive to the prince regent. When the minister appealed to the common welfare in support of a certain proposal, the regent morosely rejoined: "What are you

talking about? Common welfare! One may do as much as one likes without being thanked for it. No one ever thinks of Us, they think the ministers do it all." It soon became plain that the electoral prince was seeking occasion for a breach, and this was speedily forthcoming. A dispute occurred about the minister's salary; subsequently, certain stallions in the territorial stud farm were put up for sale without instructions from the prince regent. This sufficed. Affronted by contumeliously worded reproofs, Hassenpflug twice begged leave to resign. On July 1, 1837, he was instructed to relinquish the ministry for home affairs, but to remain minister for justice, and when he refused, his resignation was ungraciously accepted. Such were the thanks received by the man who had so long, so audaciously, and so arrogantly defended the most intimate ideas of the prince regent. During the last weeks of his tenure of office Hassenpflug, doubtless desiring to secure a new source of support, adopted a somewhat gentler attitude in the diet. For the same reason he felt impelled to compose a lengthy memorial in order to lay before the king of Prussia the true grounds for his resignation. "Never," he wrote, "would I expose myself to the suspicion of having so conducted myself as to give expression to ultra-constitutionalist ideas. No accusation could wound more than this."[1]

Councillor Scheffer replaced Hassenpflug as governmental spokesman. During the years of revolution he had been distinguished for radical presumption, but he now followed in his predecessor's footsteps, though without the latter's genius and skill. The dispute over the Rotenburg Quart continued. In 1838 two diets were dissolved because they had proposed to reckon the returns from the Quart as part of the national revenue. The estates then appealed to Frankfort, to demand the summoning of the federal court of arbitration, but the Bundestag refused on the ground that the Hessian court of arbitration had not yet given its decision. In point of strict legal form the refusal was doubtless justified, but the trouble was that the prince regent had never agreed to the summoning of the Hessian court of arbitration. When, at this juncture, Jordan was imprisoned for demagogic intrigues,

[1] Hassenpflug, Brief Exposition of the Reasons for my leaving the Electoral Hessian State Service. (Transmitted to the king by Heinrich von Arnim, December 11, 1837.)

the Hessians dolorously enquired what had become of the blessings of the most liberal of all the German constitutions.

In Würtemberg, on the other hand, the king and the officialdom almost imperceptibly regained their former power. The ruler who had at one time been detested as leader of liberal "pure Germany" was now, and with better reason, extolled at the great courts as the experienced Nestor of the constitutionalist princes, for it was considered that no one was so skilful as he in quietly gaining mastery over the estates. At the elections following the dissolution of the futile diet of 1823, Councillor Schlayer left no stone unturned. When furlough was refused to liberal officials, Ludwig Uhland sent in his resignation as professor at Tübingen, and the government, in giving the greatest of living Swabians his congé, had the effrontery to add that this was done "with much pleasure." Young Friedrich Römer, a clerk in the war office, likewise resigned his post in order to enter the Stuttgart chamber, and soon proved himself the most efficient of the opposition leaders. The liberals were in a minority and were not slow to recognise that the wearied country had small interest in the struggle against the federal decrees. Uhland once said bitterly: "I deny that the people has the right of being dissatisfied with anything done by the chamber, since the chamber owes its composition to popular election." A motion demanding the restoration of the freedom of the press was indeed accepted, and in this connection Uhland expressed the hope that if all the diets would now do their duty, in time to come a German national assembly would prove a yet more efficient guardian of popular rights. But what was the use of words against the recognised federal decrees? Pfizer attempted more than once to start a discussion upon the relationship between federal law and territorial law. In impassioned language he demanded that without exception the diets should regard joint German concerns as preeminently local concerns; then would the nation know itself as a nation, and would no longer need to blush before foreigners. But he secured little support, and when he brought forward his proposals for the fourth time they were quietly shelved. Similarly, Römer's thoughtful speech against the new and extremely severe criminal code attracted scant attention.

The opposition was in a hopeless impasse, and succumbed by degrees (just like the advocates of the old rights) to

that mood of pessimist obstinacy to which the Swabian mind is prone. In a brilliant monograph upon the right of supply (1836), Pfizer contended that this right must serve the estates as means "to gain influence over the executive and bring about changes in the governmental system." This was the feudalist view of the "power of the purse," a coarsely naturalistic doctrine, utterly incompatible with the unity of the state, seeking as it did the essence of liberty in continuous struggle with the government. The doctrine of hostility to the state which had been the leading star of the ancient diets of Mecklenburg and Würtemberg, was now posited by the leading liberal publicist of Germany as an essential principle of modern constitutionalist politics. Pfizer's moderate liberal friends supported him in this opinion. They all voted against the budget, knowing that in any case it would be passed by the majority, formally explaining that their adverse vote was merely "a protest against a system of government so little accordant with the constitutionalist principle." Yet it was impossible that honest and able men should permanently abide by votes which were not seriously meant. What could have been the feelings of Pfizer when he voted against the customs union, or when he actually defended the nonsensical proposition, "territorial law takes precedence of federal law"? He was under no illusions as to the falsity of a political struggle equally devoid of centre and of aim; he would hear nothing of the dreams expounded in the *Portfolio* by his friend Wurm, for he had recognised all too clearly the egotism of British statecraft. Moreover, personal experience had taught him that those men only whose energies are entirely devoted to parliamentary life gain real power in popular assemblies; such power does not accrue to publicists or thinkers who have won their fame in other fields. Even Uhland, whose political insight was less profound, shamefacedly recognised the weakness of the petty diets, saying: "On this route we stand only on the frontier line of an entity possessing living efficiency. We have not been able to tie our bundle together; our axe has no handle; and our staves, half broken, lie at random." There was no stir in the country, and it sounded almost like mockery when Wurm and his fellows boasted in the *Portfolio* that the court of Stuttgart was prorussian, that the people desired a league with the western powers, and that the opposition alone truly represented popular opinion.

In 1838, the liberal leaders, gloomy and disheartened, resolved to abandon the parliamentary struggle for a time. Pfizer, Uhland, Schott, Römer, and Wolfgang Menzel did not seek reelection. In a letter to his constituents in Geislingen Römer gave fierce expression to the despair and bitterness by which South German liberalism had been overwhelmed. He wrote: "The very obstinacy with which I cling to what I consider right makes me quite unfit for the position of popular representative in Würtemberg. . . . Can it be harmonised with the existing right to refuse supply, that we should vote funds for a government which withholds from the public the means that are alone competent to awaken and to sustain a constitutional order? Can we vote funds for the payment of the censor who refuses to permit the printing of passages relating to the rights of citizens?. Can we vote the salary of the policeman who suppresses a political meeting? Can we vote the livelihood of the judge who punishes resistance to such oppression? . . . Thus do all endeavours to bring about a better state of affairs miscarry through dread of the Federation!"[1]

In political life such self-effacement brings inevitable punishment. The new chamber of 1839 was mainly composed of bailiffs and other obedient public servants. It was popularly known as the "house of officials," and Schlayer could now unconcernedly rule through the instrumentality of his army of scriveners. His administration was able and thrifty, but owing to his sovereign's pride of power he did not venture to suggest a reduction in the excessive number of generals. King William was fond of speaking of himself as a practical man, and was much concerned to promote agricultural progress. Even after the departure of the deserving Schwerz, the agricultural academy at Hohenheim (the king's favourite institution) retained a number of excellent teachers. William was indeed unable to secure the complete enfranchisement of the soil. The government, although Schlayer boasted that it was a "bourgeois ministry," required the support of the upper house against the liberals, and the members of the upper house refused to hear a word of agrarian liberation. With great difficulty, and in return for high compensation, they were induced to agree to the abolition of corvées and "beden"

[1] F. Römer's Manifesto to the electors of Geislingen. November 1, 1838. See Appendix XXVIII.

[petitiones vel precariæ]; tithes remained in force, much to the king's regret. As a sensible man of affairs the monarch did not pursue the demagogue hunt very vigorously. The press, on the other hand was ruthlessly muzzled, and the newspapers were not even permitted to indicate the omissions by dashes. The great drive carried out by the Bundestag had left no more than two political journals alive in Swabia: the *Beobachter*, which endeavoured to carry on the tradition of the radical *Hochwächter*; and the *Schwäbische Merkur*, of moderate views, occasionally employed as a governmental organ. So powerless was the press that the censors were apt to be more indulgent to the opposition journal than to the friendly newspaper, for matter that seemed unworthy of notice in the former might have aroused much attention in the latter. It seemed as if this rigidly bureaucratic regime was destined to be long lived, and ten years before the March revolution Schlayer confidently asked in the diet, "When was Würtemberg's condition better than it is to-day?" Similar self-complacent utterances were voiced from time to time from the ministerial benches of some of the other petty states. Amid the narrows of their professional life these dutiful officials were unable to grasp that the advantages of prolonged peace and orderly administration will not compensate a noble-minded nation for shameful disintegration of its general political life.

Whereas all that happened in Würtemberg was that the old system made itself at home once more, it was not long before there were manifest in Baden the first indications of a dangerous reaction. As long as Winter lived, no serious disturbance of domestic peace was possible. The minister had such a sunny temperament that he was universally beloved, and to the highlanders his blunt candour was irresistible. By order of the Bundestag he had repealed the new press law; he had closed the university of Freiburg and dismissed its liberal professors; and when subsequently the Freiburgers elected Rotteck burgomaster he refused to confirm the appointment. None the less in the little liberal realm he remained almost more popular than were the leaders of the opposition. Even Rotteck and Welcker to whom he had brought so much trouble met him on friendly, nay, almost intimate, terms. No one believed that the aforementioned deeds of oppression had

been done on his own initiative, and he frequently declared, "I dread those in high places more than those beneath." He scorned the petty method of refusing furlough. But whenever an official was elected, Winter did not fail to impress upon the deputy's mind that it was essential for him in his new position to remember his duty to the state service. Failure in this respect, said the minister, would lead to a withdrawal of furlough. In the case of non-official deputies, addressing them by letter, he straightforwardly exhorted them to moderation. He once wrote to Rotteck: "Do you imagine that anyone believes that your opposition to the customs union arises because you think it harmful? No one believes this, for the union per se harmonises with your system. Your opposition is due to your hatred of Prussia. Should it prove successful, you will be able to lift your hand and say: 'You Prussians, you persecuted Councillor von Rotteck, you insulted him, you forbade the publication of his writings; you trampled on him as if he had been a worm; but you have learned that Councillor von Rotteck is after all a power in the land!' Your ambition in this matter is to play the part of O'Connell, but the stage is unfavourable, for you have no Ireland. Despite all this, and although you are not merely an opponent of the government but its declared enemy, you demand considerate treatment! No, friend councillor! But if such weakness is impossible to us, no personal motive or desire for revenge inspires us. Our action is dictated solely by regard for the governmental interest at home and abroad." The language was harsh and even unjust, for Rotteck's prussophobia was not due to personal spite, but to doctrinaire obstinacy. Yet in Winter such outbursts were always forgiven.

A man of this calibre could have no difficulty in splitting the liberal party and in drawing the moderate members to his side. Moreover, the excitement of the years of revolution was already on the wane. At the request of Otterstedt the grand duke spoke personally to his brother-in-law Prince von Fürstenberg, and as a result of this intervention the liberal prince held aloof for a time from parliamentary affairs.[1] Thus in the diets of 1833 and 1835 proceedings were tolerably peaceful. It is true that Rotteck proposed a formal motion of the "videant consules" character, demanding the appointment of a committee "to consider the condition of the father-

[1] Otterstedt's Reports, May 16, 1833; April 22, 1835.

land"—a legal protest against the federal decrees—although the grand duke had given the deputies a kindly assurance that absolutely no infringement of the constitution need be anticipated. The chamber quietly shelved the proposal and Winter forbade its publication; it was to appear only in the minutes, where no one would read it. Next came Welcker with a similar motion, using strong words about "the struggle between popular freedom and unrestricted despotism, a struggle between organic principles, a blood-stained contest, lasting five years." He even called up the shades from the Teutoburger forest, prophesying that if prince and people could but make common cause, the defeat of "the new foes of German freedom" would be as infallible as had been the defeat of Varus and his legions. In so far as any obscure meaning could be extracted from this oration, it seemed that the king of Prussia must be the second Varus. This attempt was likewise fruitless. In 1835, when Rotteck brought forward yet another motion to safeguard the constitution, his hearers were cold, and the matter was not even recorded in the minutes, but the good man, unable to read the signs of the times, persisted in his endeavours. The civic courage of Badenese liberalism was far from being competent to uphold vigorous demands. The liberal towns of Freiburg and Mannheim, realising that the government was displeased, promptly endeavoured to prove their Badenese patriotism by brilliant celebrations of the grand ducal birthday. When the crown prince of Prussia visited Heidelberg, as far away as Handschuhsheim (to his great astonishment) he was met by mounted torchbearers. The civil guard paraded in front of his inn. Envoys from the town and the university vied one with another in assuring him of their devotion. The reason for all these demonstrations was that the Prussian government had recently been so foolish as too forbid Prussian subjects to attend Heidelberg university, and at that time the charming town on the Neckar lived mainly by its "foreign" students, among whom Prussians were the most numerous.[1]

No one could deny that the government was doing excellent work. Abolition of the burdens on the peasantry was effected to the satisfaction of those concerned; elementary education was regulated by a well-planned law; the new polytechnic institute in Carlsruhe was not slow in acquiring

[1] Otterstedt's Report, November 26, 1833.

repute; Mannheim secured its harbour on the Rhine, a gift of inestimable value at this juncture when the town trade was expanding owing to the customs union; improvement of the banks and channel of the Rhine, begun in the previous decade in accordance with the bold plans of Colonel Tulla, was making vigorous progress, although the peasants in the riverine villages were at times actively hostile to the work; even the torrential Black Forest streams, Elz and Dreisam, were tamed. By its perspicacious activities the administration acquired such widespread respect that Winter was actually able to induce the diet to make certain changes in the new communes' law, which was regarded by the government as unduly radical.

But after the autumn of 1835 the fear began to prevail that this truce of parties was not destined to endure. Baron von Türckheim tendered his resignation. He had never failed to prove himself a loyal patriot, and had recently shown his teeth to the Tuileries when during the Swiss troubles the French court had ventured to threaten the court of Carlsruhe; but his disagreeable situation between the Bundestag and the chambers had at length become unbearable. He was succeeded by Blittersdorff, for no one else was available, and Minister Reizenstein, who as years passed had become increasingly estranged from the liberals, desired to furnish the Hofburg with an unambiguous proof of Baden's loyalty to the Federation. Count Münch, Blittersdorff's patron in Frankfort, and General Tettenborn, envoy in Vienna, had been secretly at work in Blittersdorff's interest.[1] Beyond question the grand duke had no thought of hostility to Prussia; he was honestly devoted to the old king, and was moved to tears when appointed chief of a Prussian regiment.[2] But the hidden aims of the new minister soon came to light. His ideal was a strong federal authority, presided over by Austria, and able to keep a tight hand upon the diets. This infidel man of the world was making approaches towards the clericals, who in South Germany were the only pillars of absolutism, and the court of Vienna had already made peace with them. As long as the popular minister for home affairs remained at his post, Blittersdorff necessarily played an inconspicuous part.

In March, 1837, Winter died suddenly while still barely past his prime. Alone among the diplomats the Prussian

[1] Dönhoff's Report, November 9, 1835.
[2] Otterstedt's Report, January 8, 1833.

envoy attended his funeral, for at the other courts the minister had ever been in ill repute as a demagogue. The country mourned his loss, and honoured him by the erection of a memorial. With his name was henceforth associated the remembrance of the happiest days of Badenese parliamentary life, and this though he had so vigorously opposed the liberal leaders. Councillor Nebenius, who succeeded him as minister for home affairs, had ably and actively cooperated in all the reforms of recent years. But he was ill-fitted to occupy the seat of government. To the populace this quiet and brilliant scholar seemed a remote and strange figure, and being of a shy, gentle, and yielding disposition he could not cope with Blittersdorff's fiery ambition. Nebenius drew up the new service regulations, conceding to the officials a certain measure of independence, which ought incontestably to have been more restricted than it was. In the view of Blittersdorff, the imperious diplomatist, as in that of Metternich, that state servants should be independent was the greatest of all evils; he spoke of the officialdom as an inanimate tool, which one should be able to break or discard at will. How could these two men be expected to work harmoniously together? No long time elapsed before it was currently reported that Blittersdorff had impatiently exclaimed: "Either he or I!" His fear was that the liberals would lead Nebenius astray until he became "a second Winter." In view of the grand duke's good-natured weakness, Blittersdorff's aggressive disposition was bound to give him the upper hand at court. As a result of this the Protestant court would be driven into clericalist channels, and the parliamentary struggles, so recently appeased, would be renewed with unexampled violence.

Bavaria's political life, too, was now taking the same disastrous turn. Nowhere else was the change of mood so striking. The diet, which three years before had given King Louis so much concern, was amenable and unassuming when it reassembled in 1834; it appointed one of the ministers as its president, and no journalist now ventured, as Wirth had formerly done, to inflame the minds of the deputies. The king had no intention of exposing himself once more to the offence of such proceedings as had taken place in the previous diet with reference to the royal revenue. He demanded that a private estate should be allotted him from the domains,

but when his own ministers declared this impossible he had to content himself with a permanent civil list. Amid loud acclamations the estates voted the royal house a revenue for all time. With the addition of the apanages this amounted to about three million florins annually, a tenth of the entire national expenditure. Comparatively speaking no other German dynasty was so richly provided with funds, for the Prussian royal house was satisfied with a bare twentieth of the state revenues. With equal willingness the diet approved the extraordinary expenditure upon the Ludwig's canal, upon the splendid library, and upon the Bavarian central fortress of Ingolstadt, this latter to the patriotic Wittelsbach ruler seeming of far greater importance than the fortification of the German Upper Rhine.

The crown and the diet were at one when the law of domicile which had been passed in the year 1825 came up once more for discussion.[1] The restricted freedom of movement which this law accorded had caused much bad blood among the bourgeois classes, and numerous petitions had been sent in. The chamber had as yet no inkling of the threatening social dangers of the time; the arrogance of the well-to-do found rough and callous expression in complaints about "the wretched rabble" of the non-possessing classes. At this very time the same questions were being treated far more humanely and justly in the Brandenburg diet, for the economic culture of the south still lagged greatly behind that of the north. After stormy debates a new law was enacted, prescribing a fairly high property qualification for the right of domicile. In addition the communes were granted the power of imposing "an absolute veto", upon the settlement of new comers, and one of the deputies exultingly exclaimed, "We expect to make a vigorous use of this sharp weapon." No one asked what was now to happen to the homeless poor. The law was in flagrant contradiction with the freedom of intercourse guaranteed to the newly founded customs union, but it was in conformity with the prevailing temper. No agreement could be secured concerning a new industrial law, but the government effected all that it required by the issue of orders in council, imposing such restrictions upon free competition that the development of manufacturing industry in Bavaria remained backward as compared with that of the north.

[1] See vol. IV, p. 116.

During these discussions the smooth and persuasive eloquence of Prince Wallerstein, the new minister, was of great service. King Louis was delighted, and overwhelmed him with favours. It was Wallerstein's way to insist most ardently upon his "enthusiasm for free institutions" precisely when he was advocating some illiberal measure. He was impassioned, fluent, never at a loss, full of schemes, connoisseur of the arts and greatly interested in the improvement of agriculture. It was natural that this distinguished nobleman, whose motto was live and let live, should charm the liberals as long as they failed to see through him. They admired him if only because the ultramontanes detested the frivolous free-thinker, and because he had married beneath him, this being a delight to the liberals of those days, when hostility to the nobles was still intense. His command of the lapidary style of Bavarian self-glorification was hardly less notable than that of the king. How sonorously rang the phrases when he said: "In our state no restricting barriers have been imposed to check the athletic progress of the resurgent human intelligence, that intelligence which, during the momentary arrest of political conflicts, is flowing in wide streams through the domain of exact and technical endeavours."[1] In administrative affairs the prince was active and able, but could not be invariably depended upon to be truthful in his reports. When cholera broke out in Munich, his conduct was courageous, and he would not permit any of the officials to desert their posts. In fine, Louis had good reason to be content with this brief and most peaceful sitting of the diet, and when the time came to dismiss the estates he had a medal struck bearing a garlanded inscription: "The diet of 1834. Honour to whom honour is due." The king took an extravagant view of the importance of his own government. On the average he issued two historical medals every year, to commemorate such incidents as the signing of a commercial treaty, the foundation of a new order of merit, or the discovery of gold in the Danubian basin; every notable Bavarian action, the unveiling of every monument, had to be eternalised upon its appropriate and gracefully designed medal.

King Louis had no inclination to revert to the constitutionalist ideals of his youth. His unfortunate experience

[1] Prince von Oettingen-Wallerstein to the committee of the Bavarian Polytechnic Union, November 18, 1838.

with the diet of 1831 had left a permanent impression. He regarded the constitution as a necessary evil, and so despotic was his temperament that he now hardly respected the formal restrictions of law. Since on one occasion he had sacrificed Minister Schenk to the diet, henceforward all the ministers were to be the blind instruments of his caprice. Everything was now in his hands, and the newspapers were no longer permitted to refer to king and government as two distinct powers. He stubbornly insisted upon curtailing army expenditure, however necessary, for the advantage of his Walhallas and his obelisks. More than half of the staff officers were now past work, and, notwithstanding the urgent representations of the minister for war, a man seventy-eight years of age who for the last twenty years had been unable to mount a horse was retained in supreme command of the artillery, although in General Zoller, Bavaria had at her disposal a distinguished artillery expert who had admirably developed the young arm of horse artillery. No manœuvres had been held for fourteen years, and when the troops were at length assembled in training camp on the plain of the Lech, the occurrence seemed so extraordinary that the good town of Augsburg, stimulated by the king's example, thought it well to strike a medal in everlasting commemoration of the great occasion. After a year's tenure of office, Lerchenfeld was once more removed from the ministry for finance. As in duty bound he had protested when the king, without consulting him, had at the national expense purchased a fine palace to serve as Munich post office. He was despatched as envoy to Vienna, ostensibly to conduct negotiations for a commercial treaty which never came into existence. Commenting on this affair the Prussian envoy wrote that it showed "how the constitutionalist responsibility of ministers is understood in Bavaria.[1]

The king's fondness for the clericalists increased concomitantly with his tendency to arbitrary measures. Whilst he forbade the Protestants to follow the Prussian example of speaking of the "Evangelical church," he permitted Catholic priests, even in Protestant towns, to carry the host through the streets, and he commanded that all traffic should be suspended while the procession was passing. New monasteries were continually founded; in July, 1837, there were eighty-five religious houses in Bavaria; the promise in the concordat

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, September 27, 1834; January 7, 1835.

that "some" of the monasteries and nunneries should be reestablished had long ere this been fulfilled. Even the Protestants esteemed the self-sacrificing and kindly activities of the sisters of charity, but the mendicant friars had frequent disputes with the police when these latter fulfilled their official duty by discouraging begging and vagrancy. In Augsburg the king handed over the gymnasium to the Benedictines, celebrating the incident by a medal upon which Bavaria was represented leading two boys to a monk. Next Wallerstein issued an ordinance that when teachers were appointed to the gymnasia, clerics were to have the preference. In this matter he yielded to the king against his own better judgment, for in his secret heart the pliable minister was firmly convinced of the superiority of secular instruction, and was delighted when in the Palatinate Thiersch, leader of the classicist pedagogues, founded new Latin schools. Where monasticism flourished it was not likely that miracles would be lacking. A woman named Maria Mörl living near Munich acquired celebrity as a stigmatic, and crowds of the devout flocked to the place to see Christ's wounds on the saintly woman's body.

Meanwhile (1832) the pope had issued a brief concerning mixed marriages. The harsh prescriptions of this document were, upon the request of the venerable Baron von Frauenburg, Archbishop of Bamberg, and upon that of other prelates, somewhat modified in an instruction; but henceforward it remained the rule for Catholic priests to insist that all the children of mixed marriages must be brought up as Catholics, and in any case passive assistance was the utmost that could be expected of the church. In the parity districts of Franconia, where of sixteen marriages as many as fourteen would be mixed unions, discontent found lively expression. When the Lutheran consistory, wishing to devise counter measures, requested the government to tender it an official communication concerning the two briefs, the petition was refused, though renewed more than once.[1] The prospect became still gloomier when Count Mercy d'Argenteau was recalled in the spring of 1837, for the nuncio had for ten years done his utmost to preserve the peace of religions.[2] Long ere this Hormayr, the most spiteful and disputatious of all the

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, May 31, 1834; March 20, 1835.
[2] Dönhoff's Reports, October 30, 1834; April 16, 1837.

opponents of the ultramontanes, had lost the king's favour and had perforce to content himself with the innocuous Hanoverian embassy. The king's repeated journeys to Rome, and the frequent visits paid him by his sister the empress dowager Caroline Augusta, could not fail to arouse suspicion in the minds of the Protestants.

Among the clerical professors, Nepomuk Ringseis was distinguished for candour. None could fail to like him, for despite the strictness of his religious views he encountered all comers with humane benevolence, and, notwithstanding his fantastical theories, he did admirable service as practising physician. It was through his instrumentality that the king was induced to admit sisters of charity into Bavaria. Subsequently (1833), as rector of the "Christian and lawfully constituted" Munich university, he delivered a speech "concerning the revolutionary spirit of the universities," wherein he emphatically condemned all restriction of the freedom of teaching and frankly assured the courts that they shared responsibility for the sins of the revolution. It must be admitted that the orator's ideal picture of the feudalist Christo-Germanic state had nothing in common with the democratic society of the new century, and the liberals were justified in asking with concern what was to be expected from those whose most liberal spokesman made use of such language. The ultramontane circle in Munich, which the populace, disregarding all protests, persisted in speaking of as "the Congregation," had meanwhile secured a notable accession of strength in Phillips, the learned historian of jurisprudence, a Königsberger of English descent. Like his friend Jarcke, he was a convert to Rome, and he knew how to mask fanaticism by good manners. Clemens Brentano, too, had pitched his tent beside the Isar; and whilst the diet was sitting, Baron von Moy likewise passed his time at Munich, being member for Würzburg university. Moy was a gentle and amiable professor, but a rigid clericalist.

Some of the bishops still adhered to the tolerant views of the pious Sailer, but since 1836 the ultramontane party had gained the upper hand in the prelacy. The leader of the ultramontane prelates was the new bishop of Eichstadt, Count Reisach, a well-informed Jesuit, accustomed to the exercise of authority, equally experienced in monastic asceticism and in all the arts of the courtier. Reisach had been trained

at the Germanicum, the German college in Rome, and then as director of studies to the Roman propaganda had earned the special favour of Gregory XVI, the new pope. Upon succeeding to the episcopal office he hastened to establish in his diocese a seminary for boys, one of those noxious institutions designed for the enslavement of youthful minds such as had not hitherto existed in any of the parity states of Germany. The altitude now attained by the hopes of the ultramontanes was made especially plain by the moderate and almost diplomatic language used by the old champion Görres, who at this time published a fantastic work upon Christian mysticism, in addition to a number of pamphlets, and many articles in the clericalist periodical *Eos*. His berserker wrath was reserved exclusively for the liberals. Conspicuous was the mildness with which he opposed the Wallerstein ministry on the ground that it was "a system of the juste milieu." Of the king's person he invariably spoke with veneration. This was obviously the language of a party which regarded itself as about to assume the reins of power.

For the time being, however, the thoughts of King Louis were turned towards remote horizons. His long-cherished dream, the design to found a Bavario-Greek state, now seemed on the verge of fulfilment. Since 1827, when the independence of Greece had been made secure, Capodistrias, sometime confidant of Czar Alexander and the only Greek to possess a European reputation, had been leader of the young state; but amid the desolating struggles of the impoverished and greedy factions, the task of the well-meaning president was too difficult. Those who had captained the struggle for freedom combined against him, and since he sought support from Russia they were secretly helped by the envoys of the western powers. In February, 1830, the three protecting powers determined that Greece was to become an independent state under a ruler sprung from one of the royal houses of Europe. Leopold of Coburg, the first selected for the post, declined the honour. Shortly afterwards, 1831, Capodistrias was assassinated, and the terrible anarchy which ensued upon his death sufficed to prove what had been lost in him. When years had passed and passion cooled the Hellenes themselves admitted that they had never had a better ruler than the much-vilified "Baba Jannis."

During this epoch of universal confusion Friedrich Thiersch

visited the country. Being an ardent admirer of the Hellenes, the amiable professor was everywhere well received, and he took advantage of this popular favour to realise the design he had cherished for years, and to recommend Prince Otho of Bavaria, son of the crowned philhellene, for the vacant kingship. The proposal gave satisfaction, the approval of King Louis was a foregone conclusion, and since the protecting powers had nothing better to suggest, on May 7, 1832, the sovereign authority was entrusted to the young prince, his powers being then solemnly confirmed by the uninamous vote of the Greek national assembly. King Louis was in the seventh heaven of delight. How much money had he spent upon the Hellenes; how many poems had he written on their account; how often when on progress through Bavaria had he forbidden formal receptions, commending his subjects to devote to the cause of the Greek warriors the money saved on triumphal arches and garlands. Now the land of his longings was liberated, and at the same time the pride of his house was gratified. He was already dreaming of a Wittelsbach great power which was to extend (though not uninterruptedly) from the Fichtelgebirge to Cape Matapan, and his only trouble in the matter was that his son would have to renounce his rights in the Bavarian succession.[1] Since one medal was obviously inadequate for the commemoration of so great a success, he had three struck. In Bavaria, at first, great enthusiasm was displayed when the three envoys of the Hellenes appeared in their picturesque national dress at the October festival in Munich. Many a worthy brewer adorned his premises with the inscription "to the town of Nauplia." The grenadiers who were leaving for Hellas sang proudly, "A Bavarian I, sprung from a valiant race," and concluded with the words, "Bavarians we, Bavarians shall remain." Since the Prussian song from which this was plagiarised was almost unknown in the south, the poem was regarded as a spontaneous effusion of Bavarian national sentiment.

Germans in other territories were amused at the Bavarian king's marvellous dynastic crochet. As long as the Hellenes were still fighting for freedom, Germany was influenced by their fortunes, for the struggles of the first encounter had a reaction adverse to the system of rigid legitimacy, and the German philhellenes drew from these struggles a reinforcement

[1] Dönhoff's Report, May 19, 1832.

of enthusiasm for the right of national self-government. But after Greece became an apanage of the house of Wittelsbach it was to Germans nothing more than a small and remote country, of importance solely because the Hellenic policy of the crown of Bavaria was of a character that could not fail to strengthen the British, the Russians, and the French in their traditional view that the Germans were of no account in statecraft. For in truth the conduct of the philhellenist monarch accorded ill with the name "land of the wise" which the Greeks, in their eagerness for knowledge, were fond of applying to the learned realm of Germany.

Prince Otho was still under age, a good humoured and well-bred young man, but of small ability, irresolute, shy, and suspicious. His ill-tuned disposition made it impossible for him to attain to that assured self-confidence which more than all else oriental nations demand from their rulers. Pending his majority, a regency was requisite, and King Louis believed himself to be acting with extreme discretion when he nominated for this important task men who stood above Greek party struggles—loyal Bavarians, in a word. He named as regents, Count Armansperg, who had shortly before been dismissed in disfavour from his ministerial post; Maurer, the learned professor of that name; and General Heideck, the philhellene. Heideck alone among the three possessed some knowledge of Greece and the Greek tongue. "What I entrust to your hands," wrote Louis to Armansperg, "is no mere personal matter; it is the interest of the Bavarian house, of the Bavarian nation, and of the world at large." A phalanx of subordinate officials went in the royal train. As commonly happens when there is any sudden upheaval in the official world, while there were among these a few aspiring idealists, the majority was composed of inefficient persons who were not getting on at home. They considered that they would be most successful in bringing happiness to the Hellenes if they could establish a "Eurotas circle" and an "Ilissus circle," precisely modelled after the Rezat circle and the Isar circle at home. There were a few days filled with glad hopes after the young king, on February 3, 1833, had landed on the splendid rock-bound coast at Nauplia. He came, unfortunately, not in a German vessel, but as guest in the fleet of the protecting powers. Yet the landing was a fine spectacle, which Peter Hess, despatched for the purpose, immortalised

on one of his finest canvases. Joy continued while the last of the Turks evacuated the Kastron of Athens and Bavarian soldiers entered the Acropolis in triumph. All too soon, however, was manifest the folly of this union of two countries which had nothing in common but the chance identity of the blue-and-white national colours. The regency found the ground already occupied by the residents of the three protecting powers, who here, just like their more exalted colleagues on the Bosphorus, had not been slow to institute a diplomatic Brocken, and who, once more like their colleagues in Turkey, were involved in interminable quarrels. They had long ago grasped the situation, but the good regents had not yet come to understand that the true motive force of all oriental party struggles is greed, and the consequence was that each of the three envoys drew one of the Bavarian regents into his own orbit. Armansperg was annexed by England, Heideck by Russia, whilst Maurer and his faithful follower, Councillor Abel, became satellites of France. The finishing touch to the dissensions came when Prokesch, the Austrian envoy, likewise took a hand in the game. The Prussian court, as a rule, held aloof from these squabbles. Berlin believed that Armansperg's proenglish policy was the least harmful, for the growth of Russian influence would increase the jealousy of the western powers, whilst the growth of French influence would stimulate revolutionary passion.[1] The diplomatic dissensions were all the more dangerous seeing that the protecting powers were in absolute control of the economic future of the young state, which had been stripped bare during the war. The powers had floated a loan of 60,000,000 francs in favour of Greece; two-thirds only of the sum had as yet been paid over, and, whenever the conduct of the regency displeased any one of the three protectors, the crude threat was not long in coming that payments would have to be discontinued.

Thus hemmed in between the contentious protecting powers and the embittered Greek factions, it was hopeless for the regents to attempt the foundation of an orderly administration. Numerous decrees were issued, all after the Bavarian example; and with the indefatigable industry of the German professor Maurer prepared a number of excellent legal codes. But it was not long before national pride, ever sensitive in half-developed peoples, made the Greeks refuse to have anything

[1] Ancillon, Instruction to Dönhoff, May 28, 1835.

to do with the Bavarians. The hardworking German officials remained so estranged from the land of their adoption that to-day the name even of Armansperg is almost forgotten by the Hellenes. How little the Bavarians knew of those they had come to serve was shown by the long-continued dispute concerning the constitution. Unquestionably an intelligent absolutism would have been the form of government best adapted to the then state of Hellenic civilisation, but an essential element of such a system is that the monarch, either through personal greatness or through incontestable historic right, should tower above his subjects. The nullity of King Otho made it impossible for him to command the respect of those he ruled, whilst his right to the throne, as he himself admitted, was primarily based upon the confidence of the protecting powers, and secondarily upon "the free choice of the Hellenic people." Whatever the cost, a dynasty thus founded could not, in a democratic nation, entirely refuse to grant constitutionalist and consultative rights. King Louis, however, urgently advised his son against any such concession. He had become altogether hostile to anything in the nature of a constitution, and he wrote: "This question of introducing a constitution cannot be too maturely considered. A constitution is the lion's cave, from which there are no backward leading footprints; the granting of it has consequences which cannot be foreseen. It is my prayer that Hellas shall profit by the unfortunate experiences of Bavaria, that the former may avoid the mistakes made by the latter." The advice of Louis was followed, and the incapable young foreigner continued to rule as absolute monarch, the result being yet more intolerable than would have been the sins of premature parliamentarism. A strong liberal opposition came into existence, and since here, as everywhere, Palmerston unfurled the constitutionalist flag, this opposition was secretly supported by the English envoy, whilst the representatives of Russia and Austria were encouraging the young Wittelsbach ruler in his absolute principles.

Even more serious was the manner in which the Bavarian immigrants wounded the religious sentiments of this orthodox nation. Many of the monasteries were abolished (this time contrary to the advice of King Louis), the number of bishops was reduced, and the national church was removed from the supremacy of the patriarch of Constantinople. Yet elementary

considerations of prudence might have suggested that the ancient religious association of the Orthodox in the Balkan peninsula ought to have been sedulously maintained if Greek aspirations towards the imperial crown of Byzantium were ever to be fulfilled. The pacifically minded regents, who had grown up in the land of pinakotheks and glyptotheks, were quite without understanding for these proud national desires. It was plain that the struggle of the Hellenes had not yet attained its goal. The nation could hardly breathe within its narrow frontiers, and must perforce endeavour to extend its sway throughout the southern half of the peninsula, a region where Hellenic civilisation was dominant. But for heroes alone does the distance thus beacon. Created by the sword, by the sword only could the young state be upheld, and national defenders were ready to hand in the war-hardened bands of the palikars. They were savage warriors, adepts in slicing off noses and ears. The loyal braves ardently desired to serve their basileus for moderate pay, and if care were taken not to plague them unduly with the regulations of European parade grounds they might easily be turned into an efficient army. But the regency was afraid of these barbarians, King Otho rejected their request, and thereupon five thousand palikars, armed to the teeth, wrathfully crossed the Turkish frontier, to resume in the mountains the old trade of the klephts. Thus was the pugnacious country disarmed owing to the timidity of its own government. For the time being a corps of 3,500 Bavarians had to maintain order, and the good fellows were hard put to it, now fighting the klephts, now scorched by the sun whilst they superintended the rebuilding of the Piræus road, finding poisonous spirits and resinous wine poor substitutes for the palatable beer they were used to drink at home. After a year's sojourn the Bavarian soldiers returned to their native land. There was now constituted of Greeks and of recruited Bavarians a small regular army of dubious worth. Since a little state lacking money and arms offered no scope for men of courage, the two other leading impulses of the Greek national spirit, the love of trade and the desire for knowledge, now became predominant. With strange rapidity the heroic conquerors of the Turks were transformed into a nation of shopkeepers and scholars. Greece had no longer anything to do with the death-throes of the Turkish empire, and to the misfortune

of the world the prospect of reestablishing the Byzantine emperordom, the only natural solution of the eastern question, was indefinitely postponed.

Bavarian zeal had long cooled; in Munich the land of the Hellenes was currently spoken of as the Bavarian Botany Bay, for Teutons could not possibly live solely upon blue skies and beautiful scenery. King Louis journeyed to the land of his love, and amid deafening cheers laid the foundation stone of the royal palace in Athens. King Otho, in turn, paid a visit to his old home, hospitably received by the muse of Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, who devoted to the hero a play written apropos, and entitled *The Contest of Love.* Herein was given a touching picture of the struggle between Bavaria and Hellas for the possession of the incomparable Otho, but in the end the two bellicose ladies, completely reconciled, fell into one another's arms. It was impossible, however, to rekindle the flames of enthusiasm, and the Bavarian officials hastened to return from Greece. After King Otho had attained his majority, the regency was dissolved, and Armansperg became chancellor at the head of a Greek ministry, but it was not long before, a prey to discouragement, he resigned his post. Armansperg was succeeded by Ignaz Rudhart, the popular liberal parliamentary orator. Of all the Bavarian statesmen who worked in Greece he was the most successful, and on several occasions stoutly resisted the encroachments of the English envoy. But after a year's tenure of office, Rudhart also resigned (1837), and died on the homeward journey. The dream of a Bavarian Hellas had been dreamed, and henceforward King Otho governed only through Greek officials. Bavaria's finances had to pay heavily for the Wittelsbach ruler's ambition. How much? No one knew precisely, for the king disposed of the budgetary surpluses as he pleased. At any rate, in course of time the advances made to Greece amounted to a considerable figure, from three to five million francs. Certain unsecured moneys were honourably repaid by King Louis from his own pocket after his abdication. Kolb, a Palatiner, wrote two impassioned pamphlets censuring this remarkable example of constitutionalist finance, but both writings were promptly suppressed.

In the year 1837 the diet reassembled, and all passed off as peacefully as it had done three years earlier. But when Wirschinger, the new minister for finance, presented his

budget, it was obvious even to the unsuspicious that the revenue was understated. The receipts from the customs union were recorded at a figure which conflicted with the accounts, accurate accounts, presented to the diets by the governments of Saxony, Hesse, and Würtemberg. The chamber therefore resolved to estimate the revenue, with the addition of the favourite "surpluses," at one and a half million florins above the figure suggested by the minister, and they proposed a corresponding increase in expenditure upon schools and upon the scandalously neglected roads. The procedure was unusual, but even the malleable Wallerstein was forced to admit that the deputies had done no more than their duty. The king was greatly affronted, and (as the Prussian envoy learned from a trustworthy source) Metternich encouraged him in his anger.[1] Louis was much out of humour owing to the failure of his Greek enterprise. It seemed to him that he could succeed in nothing, and he regarded himself as universally misunderstood. It is true that the liberal press was at times unjust. When he conceived the happy thought of abolishing the names of "Danubian circle" and "Rezat circle," absurd designations modelled upon those of the French departments, and proposed to reintroduce the traditional appellations of Swabia, Palatinate, and Lower Bavaria—a determination which had again to be commemorated by striking a medal—the newspapers made bantering allusions to the romanticist bent of the Wittelsbach ruler.

His ill-humour waxed when the chambers, the majority of whose members were good Catholics, respectfully besought the crown to put a stop to the multiplication of religious houses, asked that the illegal practice of diverting endowments to monastic uses should cease, and suggested the prohibition of the activities of the mendicant monks. These remonstrances gave vent to the country's hitherto suppressed anger at the growing power of the clericalists, and it was vain for Abel, who had just returned from Greece, to attack the proposals with ultramontane zeal, for Prince Wallerstein gave his subordinate clearly to understand that he himself shared the views of the majority. The king, losing patience, secluded himself from public life. What had become of the enthusiastic sovereign who had boasted in former days of ruling a free people? In the ministerial council Wallerstein was bitterly reproached

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, March 1 and 11, 1838.

by his old opponent Field-Marshal Wrede. On November 1st the minister suddenly received his dismissal, recognition being vouchsafed to "the services rendered *prior* to the diet of 1837." Abel was his successor. The new minister's first step was to prorogue the diet in ungracious terms, saying that the estates had "committed manifold errors within the sphere of royal privileges." Thus did the clericalist party first rise to power in the kingdom of Bavaria, and it proceeded to act in such a way as to make impossible for several decades to come the repetition of a regime whose sins could never be forgotten.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GUELPH COUP D'ÉTAT.

§ I. REPEAL OF THE STATE FUNDAMENTAL LAW. THE SEVEN PROFESSORS OF GÖTTINGEN.

DESPITE the general lethargy and despite its parliamentary reverses, liberalism continued to grow. Its social ideas were quietly spreading, until by degrees they became class prejudices of the cultured bourgeoisie, which now, under the added influence of enhanced prosperity, was inclined to regard itself as the very heart of the nation. The ostensible social equality of the French, and the *code Napoléon*, the law-book of the thorough-going monetary economy, were greatly admired in Germany, not in the south-west alone, but also in Thuringia, Saxony, and the towns of the Old Prussian provinces. In this democratised society, estranged from the traditional ideas of class segregation, there was now effected a new deed of violence which reawakened slumbering political passion and tore the last veils from the odious falsehood of the German federal law. It was a coup d'état so criminal, so inexcusable, its atrocity was so obvious to all, that the vast majority of men of independent minds were overwhelmed with repugnance, and of a sudden new energies were infused into the ranks of the liberal opposition.

King William IV died on June 20, 1837, and since by German law the male line of descent took precedence of the female, there was now severed, and to the welfare of both parties, the unnatural bond which for four generations had united the territory of Electoral Brunswick with Great Britain. Long ere this the union had lost all value for the British. Under the Germanic Federation it was hardly possible to continue the use of Hanoverian troops for English purposes, and in any case since the creation of the Prussian national army the importance of small military forces had ceased to be

what it had been in the previous century. Now that the future of the customs union was assured, Hanover could no longer be of service to the English in the commercio-political field. It might still be possible for the adroit hand of Palmerston to derive a few trifling advantages from the connection with the German dependency, and in Luxemburg recently he had with Hanover's help frustrated federal intervention. As a rule, however, he found the duplex position of the crown most irksome. When the king of Hanover pulled one way and the king of England another, and when, as king of Hanover, the monarch supported the federal policy of the Hofburg, it was inevitable that in the eyes of the world British statecraft should seem even more untrustworthy than it really was. Satiated with the successes of the Napoleonic epoch, the national ambition had for some years been almost exclusively concerned with overseas interests, with the east and with the colonies. Palmerston's interpretation of the principle of non-intervention had been extremely variable, but English public opinion understood the doctrine in its most literal sense. Holding aloof from continental troubles, the English demanded that their country should once more become an island realm, and were it only upon this ground they were prepared to welcome the separation from Hanover.

With the accession of Queen Victoria a complete victory for the policy of reform was assured for a considerable time. The inexperienced young sovereign had no prospect of being able to reinvigorate her shadowy monarchical authority with the energy of an independent will; her only hope was to drift upon the current of the dominant national mood. King William had accepted liberal ideas with considerable reluctance; but Victoria was inclined to them from birth onwards, for her father's house had always lived at feud with the tories. She gladly accepted the guidance of the whig chief, Lord Melbourne, being simultaneously aided with political counsel by her uncle King Leopold. The adroit Coburg ruler had for the past year been at work upon a new matrimonial plan, which was to bring his house a third royal crown, his idea being to secure for his nephew Albert the position of English prince consort which he had once coveted for himself. In preparation for this exalted function, the young prince was to spend a year in Brussels, for in Berlin, said Stockmar, there was nothing to be learned, seeing that Prussia's attitude

towards Germany was "neither politic nor straightforward." The Coburg kinship brought the queen into closer proximity with the court of the Tuileries. The disintegrating alliance of the western powers seemed to have been reknit, and at the coronation the London populace cheered the French envoy to the echo, the post being filled by Marshal Soult, who in Spain had so frequently crossed swords with the British. The reform bill had not completed the transformation of the old aristocratic state system, but had merely begun the work, and it was obvious that great social changes were at hand. This was made plain to all when in the first days of the new reign, Moses Montefiore, sheriff of London and a wealthy philanthropist, was knighted, for no Jew had ever before been granted such a distinction.

Whilst in England, under a supine monarchy, public opinion attained to unrestricted power, the Hanoverian people cherished vague hopes of happiness from the grace of the sovereign who was now to live among them. Unremittingly did the creative forces of modern German history collaborate for the destruction of the alien dominion that had prevailed for more than a century. That which in Pomerania, in Prussia, and in Silesia had been effected by severe sacrifices and arduous struggles, was secured in Hanover by the favour of chance, and it was soon made manifest how little the long union with the foreign world had modified the kernel of Lower Saxon nationality. In truth nothing was left of the exotic system beyond the extensive English colony in the town of Hanover, a few British customs and family connections in the upper circles of society, the warlike memories of the veterans, and a large measure of self-complacency. Unconcernedly did the Hanoverians relinquish the name of German Great Britons, to live henceforward for themselves and for a king who was at length a visible presence.

By good luck, since despite their British leanings they rarely read the English papers, they knew little of their new ruler's evil reputation. With the exception of suicide there was hardly a crime in the calendar which had not been committed by the duke of Cumberland—to quote the words of a radical English newspaper, which merely gave coarse expression to the concentrated hatred this most detested of all English princes had incurred during the six and sixty years of his life. King Ernest Augustus was the ablest of the

seven sons of George III, but he was ill bred, and not merely uncultured, but a declared enemy of science, which he left to "the quilldrivers." To him, as to the Romans of old, the canons of respectability were, to be well born, well dressed, and but moderately learned. At Göttingen university he did not even acquire the German tongue, though he became a famous equestrian. In the Netherland campaigns he commanded a regiment of Hanoverian dragoons, and signalised himself by bravery, but was so rough and cruel that Scharnhorst could hardly conceal his abhorrence. Again and again did the duke forbid his men to make the accursed French republicans prisoners; all were to be cut down. In a savage hand to hand fight he lost one of his eyes. He took no part in the Napoleonic wars except that during the battle of Kulm he was at the allied headquarters for a brief period. Though his campaigning experiences had been thus limited, he was passionately devoted to the soldier's craft, and his delight was indescribable when King Frederick William appointed him chief of the Zieten hussars. Side by side with the stiff pride of the English peer he continued to display something of the elemental vigour of the German cavalry officer.

In the upper house he soon became a dreaded leader of the high tories. Sometimes threatening and blustering, sometimes cunning and mendacious, sometimes gently inciting, he knew how to keep his followers to their work. The ultra-reactionary principles of Lord Eldon were favoured with his approval, but he looked upon the iron duke as a dangerous intriguer, simply because Wellington was not completely deaf to the demands of the time. The revival of tory power in the year 1807, a revival that had a momentous influence upon English politics for many years, was largely the work of Cumberland, and the defeated Whigs did not forget what they owed him. During these years of tory dominion he obstinately resisted every proposal for reform, and above all did he resist Catholic emancipation. Animated like his father with a faith in the letter, he considered that the guilt of perjury would be incurred were the constitutional privileges of the Anglican church to be restricted by constitutional means. He was grand master of the reactionary secret society of the orange lodges, which pursued extremely suspect aims beneath the banner "church and throne," and which, were it only by its secrecy, conflicted with all the best traditions of old England.

Many hotspurs among the conspirators seriously hoped to get rid of King William, who was friendly to reform, and to establish Cumberland on the throne. When these intrigues were made public in parliament and the duke saw that it was necessary to dissolve the lodges (1836), he gave a most solemn assurance, which was perhaps truthful, that he had heard nothing of such plans. But who was likely to believe him when he, field-marshal and grand master, went on to assert that the entry of officers into the lodges had taken place without his knowledge?

The British knew their man. He was sincere only when he was exchanging vulgar jests with his companions, or when he was showering foul abuse upon his opponents. His unsavoury dissipations and his mad extravagance might have been forgiven if amid these futile excesses he had ever shown a trace of kindly humour. But it was his delight to set friend against friend, husband against wife, mistress against lover. Though a one-eyed man and shortsighted to boot, he could note everything disorderly, weak, or ludicrous; and, making a cowardly and unchivalrous use of his high position, he was accustomed in refined tones to torment his victims. Any who might venture a bold rejoinder, such as the great Frederick and all truly witty jesters have loved, was brow-beaten with a thundering curse. His own brothers declared that he trod upon everyone's corns. To keep a weakly old gentleman standing for hours, to summon an epicure from a tasty meal, these were jests to his liking. Or again, seeing an elderly dame in a white dress, he would stand with his back to her to warm himself, pretending he mistook her for a stove. The Reverend Wilkinson, his faithful admirer, who afterwards became court chaplain in Hanover, derived so much enjoyment from the contemplation of these practical jokes that the Germans were naturally led to think that the English held the true function of a prince was to tread on people's corns. It was a magnificent spectacle when the duke, big and strong, with beautifully waxed grey moustache and flowing whiskers, rode by on his fine charger. His hussar's uniform fitted him like a glove, but his clear-cut soldierly features bore an expression of scorn and harshness which made many people describe this undeniably handsome man as positively hideous. How often did Thomas Moore, the whig poet, warn English maidens against the "grim phiz" of the galloping duke;

It luckily happens, the R—y—l Duke
Resembles so much, in air and look,
The head of the Beelzebub family,
That few can any difference see!

During the years preceding his accession it had been his habit to hold his court alternately in Berlin and in London. In Prussia little attention was paid to him, but it was casually reported that he was fond of talking loud in the reactionary circles of the Mecklenburg party. In England, since the return of the whigs to power, his position had become more and more embarrassing. He detested the king, who had compelled him to accept the reform bill without open opposition, and who had chosen to appoint Cambridge, the younger brother, as viceroy in Hanover. Still fiercer was Cumberland's hatred for his young niece, who barred the way to the throne he had long hoped to fill. Moreover, despite his cynical contempt for mankind it rankled in his mind that London society thought him capable of any atrocity, and that abominable and long refuted scandalous stories relating to his youthful days should still be current gossip. Those who knew him intimately could not fail to recognise that Ernest Augustus possessed exceptional gifts as a ruler. When seriously interested, he worked with indefatigable zeal, being alert, confident, and careful. His natural talent for affairs made up for the defects of his education, and where the advantage of his house was not in question he may even be said to have been just. Nor was his emotional nature utterly barren, for his wife Frederika was tenderly loved. The beautiful sister of Queen Louise had twice before been married, to Prince Louis of Prussia and to the Prince of Solms-Braunfels, while during her widowhood she had had love passages not a few. Merry and affectionate, she exercised an irresistible charm, which even King Frederick William, strict moralist as he was, was unable to withstand. In earlier years, when people used to complain to him about the gay doings of his sister-in-law, he would say pettishly, "Don't bother me! She is not the only good-for-nothing!" During the Napoleonic epoch she had ever shown herself an excellent Prussian, and had done her utmost to support the leaders of the patriots. By now she had long settled down, was strictly religious, charitable, and a devoted wife. Her third marriage was consecrated by a great affliction. From the cradle upwards Prince George, the

couple's only son, had been blind of one eye. Twirling a purse he had injured the sound eye so seriously that he seemed hopelessly afflicted with blindness, the family curse of the Guelphs. This misfortune strengthened the father in his religious sentiments. The hard-headed old man had a passion for religious services, and did not attend them merely as a matter of English custom; but he liked the sermon to be short and vigorous, unadorned, and free from unction. After his manner, he had a keen sense of responsibility before God. When about to take a grave political step, he would engage in private prayers, and never failed to derive the consoling conviction that the ways of God were absolutely coincident with the counsels of the house of Guelph.

Such was the strange being who was now to rule a peaceful minor German state, a land almost unknown to him. A born tyrant, he would allow nothing to others though to himself everything was permissible. "Suscipere et finire" was his motto. To the Germans he was a dangerous opponent because they were unable at the outset to understand this strangely mingled and thoroughly English character. In Germany roughness of manner is almost always candid. No one imagined that the blustering old hussar could be false at heart, and it was for this reason that he had been able with such ease to overreach the Hanoverian ministers when he had agreed to accept the state fundamental law and had subsequently retracted this acceptance.[1] Not until the play had been played out did our people understand how much elaborate cunning was masked by this man's rough exterior, but it was not long now before Colonel Canitz, the Prussian envoy, came to recognise that in the case of the Guelph ruler outbursts of wrath were simulated at times in order to intimidate others.

Immediately after his brother's death Ernest Augustus knelt to the new queen, for had he failed in this duty he would have forfeited his princely rights and his apanage of £21,000 a year. He then took his departure, and the great majority of English newspapers accompanied him with the heartfelt wish that he might never set foot in England again. He was now heir to the English throne, and as long as Victoria had no issue he held stubbornly to the hope that through her sudden death he might still become king of

[1] See vol. V, pp. 198 et seq.

England.[1] Parliament had in fact legislated in view of such a contingency. But the lesser throne with which perforce he must temporarily content himself was to be thoroughly independent: independent vis-à-vis the non-German world, so that, though he continued to follow English customs and could speak only broken German, he referred to himself with pride henceforward as a sovereign German prince; and independent likewise within Germany. In his occasional visits to Hanover he had often made mock of the snug bureaucracy, "the regime of the secretaries" as he termed it. He knew that the country needed above all the establishment of a strong monarchical authority, and he believed that his own rule would fulfil this need. It was his idea to provide a different constitution, and to govern in loyal accordance therewith. He termed this "order," insisting that he had always detested arbitrary excesses of governmental power.

The details of the new constitution were not yet clear to his mind, for he had not hitherto troubled himself about the country. For him the one essential was to consolidate the power of the crown. The Guelph sovereign knew of no right beyond the promptings of his own will. He had protested, though in an underhand manner, against the constitutional laws of 1814 and 1819, and he had not formally accepted the state fundamental law. He considered himself, therefore, not bound by the laws of his ancestors, and complacently prepared to carry out a coup d'état for whose impudence no excuse in the way of necessity could be alleged. Had the new king, as in duty bound, sworn to maintain the legally established constitution, he might have carried out nearly all his wishes by lawful methods. The state fundamental law had been in existence for no more than four years, and had not yet struck deep roots. Not merely were the nobles discontented, but the common people took little pleasure in the tedious and sterile proceedings of the diet. The upper house, devoted to the sovereign, and the lower house, which was extremely pliable, could assuredly with little difficulty have been induced to agree to certain changes in the constitution; and had he set to work quietly, the Guelph, as an experienced man of business, would not have been slow to recognise that the amalgamation of the tax treasury with the domain treasury, now odious to him as a demagogic innovation, was, after all,

[1] Frankenberg's Report, March 1, 1838.

advantageous solely to the crown. But passion blinded him. Schele, leader of the nobles' party, had told him wonderful tales about the radicalism of the state fundamental law, although in reality this law safeguarded the rights of the monarchy more scrupulously than any other of the new German constitutions. The king spoke of Cabinet Councillor Rose as the Hanoverian John Russell. Just as he had striven against the English reformer, so likewise did he hope in Hanover "to clip the wings of democracy." Strangely enough, moreover, his crude infringement of law was in part determined by a narrow conscientiousness. Such was his interpretation of the political oath that Ernest Augustus found it impossible to swear to maintain the state fundamental law, for had he done so he would have felt pledged against altering a single letter of it. To salve his conscience he deemed himself justified in constraining the consciences of his subjects. Thus blindly did he enter the path of injustice, stifling any possible uneasiness with the traditional English view that, while the Germans are the best soldiers in the world, they will endure anything at the hands of their rulers.

Three days before his arrival the burghers of Hanover marched as evening fell in a long and silent train to the palace of Montbrillant, to bid farewell to the beloved duke of Cambridge. Their spokesman, Burgomaster Rumann, could hardly speak for emotion, and the good viceroy was in no better case, for everyone felt that the comfortable old days had come to an end. The new king made his entry on the evening of June 28th, responded to the burgomaster's address in curt and almost unfriendly words, retaining possession of the silver key of the town which was handed over to him in due form. Such henceforward was his invariable attitude; the country was to be in his safe keeping. Without vouchsafing a glance at the illuminations of the capital, Ernest Augustus, closeted with Schele, worked far into the night. The name of Schele, a hotspur of reaction, said all that was necessary, and the worst of it was that he could not even be regarded as an honest fanatic. Despite his legitimist sentiments he had in earlier days voluntarily entered King Jerome's council of state, and no one trusted him. The diet met next day, and all expected that the king, in accordance with the prescriptions of the state fundamental law, would issue a patent announcing that he had taken over the govern-

ment, and would swear to maintain the constitution. Instead, a royal rescript proroguing the diet was issued. The upper house obeyed the order promptly, but in the lower house Rumann, the president, obviously taken aback, asked if anyone had an observation to make about the document that had been read. Stüve thereupon rose to his feet. He was still utterly nonplussed, for he had believed a coup d'état impossible, holding with Machiavelli that men are incapable of being either wholly good or wholly bad.[1] In his confusion all he could say was that presumably the king had not taken over the government. He hoped that some of the other deputies would support him. But in their consternation all maintained silence. A valid resolution needed the concurrence of the upper house, and who could tell whether the royal patent had not already been issued while they were sitting there. The lower house, like the upper, quietly broke up.

By this well-planned surprise the cunning Guelph had prevented the estates from formally protesting on behalf of the country's rights. Schele was appointed cabinet minister, and although as privy councillor he had taken an oath of fealty to the constitution, he was content to allow the king to erase with his own hand from the official oath the minister had now to take the clause pledging fidelity to the state fundamental law. For the time being Schele was the Guelph ruler's sole confidential adviser. It was impossible to reckon upon the support of Münster, for though the count may well have been pleased at the humiliation of his old opponents he was too honourable to participate in the coup d'état, and had never taken kindly to Cumberland's dictatorial methods. The new minister advised the king to dissolve the diet forthwith and to revive the old constitution of 1819, for Ernest Augustus would thus acquire a firm legal basis for his actions.[2] But the Guelph could not make up his mind to this course. It seemed to him impossible to throw the entire constitution upon the scrap-heap thus immediately after his arrival. He required time for reflection, and had to familiarise himself with the new conditions. He knew, too, that a fresh loan of three million thalers was in prospect, and that the bonds would not be valid without the signature of the diet committee.

[1] Stüve's Biography.

[2] This is Schele's own account, as given in the marginal notes to his son's reports under dates August 11 and 18, 1837.

He desired, therefore, though not recognising the constitution, to retain the extant diet, with which he hoped after a time to come to an amicable arrangement concerning the needful changes.[1] From the outlook of constitutional law this was a monstrous idea, for if the monarch refused to recognise the state fundamental law how could he summon the estates, which existed solely in virtue of this law? But the old cavalry officer recked little of such legal subtleties. Considering himself to be acting well within his rights, he said in all good faith to the English envoy Lord William Russell who had come from Berlin: "I intend to make a few changes, but slowly, and by legal methods."[2]

On July 5th he signed a patent informing his loyal subjects that in his view he was not bound by the state fundamental law, and that he regarded many of its prescriptions as inadequate. He proposed, therefore, to consider what alterations might be necessary, and would in due course communicate his decision to the diet. There was appended, manifestly as a concession to Schele's original opinion, the ambiguous statement that deliberations were in progress whether it would not be better to return to the excellent territorial constitution which had been handed down from previous generations. Next day the patent was laid by Schele before the other ministers. These demurred to certain passages, demanding in especial an express declaration that the king did not contemplate any changes except such as would be in accordance with the constitution. Ernest Augustus rudely rejoined, "I consider it beneath my dignity to discuss the matter," and the ministers thereupon gave way.[3] Nor did they protest that a minister who had not sworn fidelity to the constitution should be appointed as their colleague, or that the monarch should take council with him alone. Subsequently (July 14th) upon the king's command they issued a further opinion upon the constitutional question, arriving as a matter of course at the conclusion that the state fundamental law, being established in due form, could be changed only by constitutionalist methods.[4] This in

[1] All this is reported by Schele, junior, writing to Bodenhausen on August 18, commissioned by Ernest Augustus.

[2] Frankenberg's Reports, July, 1837.

[3] King Ernest Augustus to Schele, July 7 (see Appendix, XXIX); Schele to the ministry, July 7, 1837.

[4] Opinion of the ministry of state, July 14, 1837, signed by Stralenheim, Alten, Schulte, and Wisch; countersigned by Falcke.

their view was sufficient fulfilment of duty. No complete infringement of the constitution had yet taken place, and why, in defiance of all the canons of Electoral Hanoverian respectability, should they needlessly take umbrage? They remained comfortably in office, consoling themselves with the feeling that they must on no account set a bad example to the discontented. Ompteda, the German minister in London, was the only one to tender his resignation, and was graciously dismissed, for the accession of Ernest Augustus to the throne had ipso facto annulled this post, while for such a man as Ompteda there was no place under the Guelph ruler.[1]

Thereupon the patent was issued unmodified, and the involved sentences gave clear expression to this at least, that the king, without adducing any reason, bluntly declared that he was not bound by the constitutional laws of his predecessors. Were this conceded, the foundations of every German constitution would be undermined. A storm was promptly raised throughout the German press. With the solitary exception of the *Hannoverschen Landesblätter*, a journal of dubious honesty and under Schele's influence, public opinion was unanimous. To the nation it seemed like a blow in the face that this foreigner should arrogate to himself the power of deciding as he pleased whether in a legally ordered German territory the existing constitution should remain in force, or should be replaced by an earlier one, or by a third of unknown antecedents. In a trenchant pamphlet, Wurm of Hamburg condemned the new Guelph constitutionalist doctrine, whilst a number of anonymous booklets and the ever-cautious *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg voiced the same opinion. Even the quiet city of Berlin joined in the agitation. Gans raised the alarm from his professorial chair; Dr. Friedenburg gave tongue in the *Vossische Zeitung*, usually so smooth spoken; and even the *Berliner Wochenblatt*, which was friendly to Schele, ventured merely to commend the Guelph for his "manly candour," and to express a hope that the necessary changes in the constitution might be effected without any infringement of law. The best criticism was penned by Minister von Gersdorff of Weimar, but unfortunately it appeared without the author's name, and no more than twenty-five copies were printed, for the petty courts already went in terror of the

[1] Canitz' Reports, October 15 and November 9, 1837.

savage Guelph.[1] It was written in a quiet and businesslike style, showing irrefutably that the Bundestag had guaranteed the integrity of the Weimar constitution, and had done so without asking the assent of the agnates. The writer further pointed out that on October 15, 1830, during the Frankfort negotiations concerning the Brunswick constitution, Hanover had expressly declared that an extant constitution, one actually in force, did not require the approval of a new ruler, for otherwise it would be left open to such a ruler "to destroy sacred rights whenever he might think fit to do so."

The various diets, too, which had just assembled, were roused to action, feeling that their own rights were threatened. In Carlsruhe, Itzstein, Rotteck, and Duttlinger demanded that a protest should be sent to the Bundestag, and the chamber gave unanimous support to the proposal. Even Blittersdorff did not openly oppose the suggestion, though he contested the competence of the diet. In diplomatic circles he spoke of the Guelph coup d'état by its right name, and prophesied that a disastrous spirit of suspicion would now take possession of the nation.[2] The Saxon diet and the Bavarian diet made common cause with that of Baden. Even in Dresden the ministers merely endeavoured to assuage the trouble in words that betrayed their own perplexity. Nowhere did Ernest Augustus find a defender, and he merely strengthened the general anger by sending to the Saxon court a masterful declaration to the effect that he could not allow "any government and still less any assembly of estates" to interfere in Hanoverian affairs.[3]

The king was more successful in his dealings with foreign importunity. The English elections were imminent, and the whigs hastened to make the most of the sometime tory leader's coup d'état—with brilliant results, as speedily became apparent. Nor would Palmerston remain in the background. He knew that the Parisian press was already talking of a German July revolution, and that the French government was contemplating a joint manifesto from the liberal powers of the west. His first step was to ask Ompteda confidentially what was the

[1] "Survey of the circumstances attending the declaration of his majesty the king of Hanover," etc., Weimar, 1837. Münchhausen, in his report of October 16, 1837, indicates Gersdorff as the author, and is obviously right in this supposition.

[2] Blittersdorff, Instruction to Frankenberg, September 5, 1837.

[3] Schele, junior, Commissioned by the king, to Münchhausen, August 22, 1837.

veritable legal foundation of the state fundamental law. The answer from Hanover was curt, being to the effect that no official information could be given "as to an affair which nowise concerns any nongerman government." The Prussian envoy, meanwhile had made serious representations to Lord Melbourne that intervention was futile and improper. Palmerston took fright, and instructed Fox the under-secretary to convey an apologetic assurance that there had been no wish to affront his majesty.[1] The French ministers likewise dropped their plan, for the bourgeois king was of opinion that the proposed joint manifesto would involve all the governments in embarrassment, and would serve only to encourage radicalism. Besides, the whole affair seemed after all to be no more than a miserable dispute about money.[2]

To the two German great powers Ernest Augustus was extremely courteous. He wished to be sure of their support whatever happened, saying the first time he gave audience to the Prussian envoy: "I shall never forget the many favours the king has shown me, and it will ever be my pride to remain an officer in his army." But even friends were unable to bend the stubborn veteran's will. He had audaciously made up his mind to bring a new legal order into existence by way of plain illegality, and his actions therefore soon became incalculable. Since his ministry of state had declared its opinion that the state fundamental law was legally valid, next day (July 15th) he appointed a special committee to re-examine the legal question. The members of this body were Schele and three other high officials, Wedel, Jacobi, and Bothmer. Within a fortnight this body arrived at its conclusion, which was that the king was empowered to inform the existing estates that under certain conditions he would accept the states fundamental law.[3] This advice was not of much service to the Guelph. In conversation with Schele, who had been outvoted on the committee, the monarch had already thought out a new plan. His idea was to summon the existing estates and then to instruct them to reintroduce

[1] Palmerston to Ompteda, July 17; Schele, junior, Instruction to Privy Councillor Lichtenberg in London, July 25; Lichtenberg's Report, August 8; Metternich to Maltzan, August 6, 1837.

[2] Hügel's Report to Metternich, Paris, August 1; Werther's Instructions to Maltzan, August 3 and September 15, 1837.

[3] Schele to Wedel, Jacobi, and Bothmer, July 15; the Committee's Opinion, July 28, 1837.

the constitution of 1819.[1] This plan was almost more preposterous than the former one, for Ernest Augustus had himself protested, secretly it is true, against the constitution of 1819!

What could be done by peaceful means against the obstinacy and the unfathomable falseness of such a man? Canitz did his best. At the first audience he implored the Guelph "to avoid every semblance of unlawful power." Himself a cavalryman, he illustrated his view by a military image, saying that in a cavalry charge the attacking force must never present its flank to the enemy. Ernest Augustus agreed, and said: "I shall take care what I am about." Canitz was in a difficult position. Believing Schele to be an honest man, and not wishing to lose all influence at court, he desired to retain the minister's confidence. Yet even this ultra-conservative diplomatist could not hide from himself that in Hanover danger was threatening, not from undue yielding to pressure from below, but from the ruler's arbitrary exercise of power. He recognised that in petty states constitutionalist forms possessed a considerable advantage to obviate the pressure of tyranny which is here apt to be peculiarly heavy. He knew, too, that the separation of the treasuries, which the Guelph desired to re-establish, had been injurious to the crown alone. Such were the opinions to which he gave expression,[2] though with great circumspection, for the Prussian court did not yet know Ernest Augustus' real intentions—did not know them for the simple reason that the Guelph ruler did not yet know them himself.[3] But even these cautious hints made the king impatient. It was not long before he showed himself to be out of humour, and was as cool towards the Prussian envoy as was possible in view of the friendly relations between the courts.

During the height of the summer Ernest Augustus journeyed to Carlsbad to drink the waters. It was his hope that he would be able there to converse with Metternich and with one of the Prussian statesmen. To Schele's annoyance, since the king and his faithful minister were at odds, the monarch was accompanied, not by Schele himself, but by the latter's son, upon whom had been bestowed the fine-sounding title, "councillor to legation," with which it was customary in the middle-sized states to distinguish the less competent among

[1] Canitz' Report, July 17, 1837.
[2] Canitz' Reports, July 1 and 11, September 11, 1837, and subsequent dates
[3] Münchhausen's Report, July 13, 1837.

the scions of nobility. Metternich, who had been hardly less distressed than the Berlin court by the tidings from Hanover, had meanwhile met King Frederick William and Minister Werther at Teplitz. The two cabinets had agreed that in this thorny matter they would work hand in hand, but they were unwilling to bind themselves prematurely, deciding to rest content for the present with the interchange of confidential advice.[1] Accordingly, on August 7th, both Metternich and Werther wrote to Schele senior, who had sent them a memorial concerning the patent. The Prussian statesman conveyed a friendly exhortation to the effect that Hanover would do well to avoid anything that might compel the Bundestag to intervene. The Austrian, with equal caution, declared that "every lawful endeavour" to fortify the monarchical principle would be welcome; but, he added, it must not be forgotten that at the Vienna conferences of 1834 the constitutionalist federal governments had given a decisive opinion in favour of the inviolability of the existing constitutions. Metternich concluded with the wish that it might prove possible "to bring about the changes in the constitution by tranquil and peaceful means, and with due regard to all the considerations which it is impossible to ignore."[2]

Such was the mood of the courts when Maltzan, and shortly afterwards Metternich, met the king of Hanover at Carlsbad. Both were agreeably surprised to hear the dreaded Guelph speak so quietly, perspicaciously, and temperately. He definitely promised to act by legal methods only,[3] and since neither of the statesmen knew anything of the earlier negotiations, they could not fail to believe Ernest Augustus when he solemnly assured them that he had from the first protested against the state fundamental law. Who could possibly imagine that a German sovereign could lie thus shamelessly? Metternich, whose knowledge of constitutional law was far from extensive, was now firmly convinced that the king was not bound by the state fundamental law, and he went so far as to consider that the Guelph ruler had behaved most honourably by the chivalrous refusal to pledge himself to this law. . .

But how was it possible to advance further along the

[1] Metternich, Instruction to Trauttmansdorff, July 28, 1837.

[2] Werther to Schele, August 7; Metternich to Schele, August 7, 1837.

[3] Maltzan's Report, August 7; Metternich to Trauttmansdorff, August 12, 1837

path of illegality whilst keeping up the semblance of legality? Immediately after the Carlsbad conversations a lengthy deliberation took place at Metternich's castle of Königswarth (August 11th). In addition to the host, there were present: Münch; Councillor Werner; Maltzan; Schele, junior; and Bodenhausen, Hanoverian envoy in Vienna. The only way out of the labyrinth now seemed impracticable. The patent having been published, it had become impossible for Ernest Augustus to accept the fundamental law and subsequently to see whether certain modifications could be secured through the instrumentality of the lawful diet. Nothing would have induced the proud Guelph to submit to such a humiliation. It was almost ludicrous to note the shifts to which Metternich was put in his attempts to convince the Guelph plenipotentiaries that a lawful state-structure might after all issue from the coup d'état. He showed them that if they wished to revive the old constitution they would have to summon the estates of 1819; but if the existing estates were summoned by proclamation, the only permissible course would be to submit the state fundamental law to them for modification, for it was impossible that two constitutions could simultaneously exist in a single state. The two Hanoverians, who were by no means notable for diplomatic shrewdness, could make nothing of these involved propositions, and misunderstood their meaning so completely that Metternich was subsequently compelled to write a rejoinder to their reports.[1] The deliberation proved fruitless. This much only was plain, that the Austrian regarded the whole affair with disfavour, and that he desired, if at all possible, to keep it out of the hands of the Bundestag. Ernest Augustus, therefore, had no occasion to despair of receiving help from the Hofburg, for Metternich spoke throughout in the tone of the concerned friend, and after the Königswarth conversation the chancellor observed to Maltzan: "The king is within his rights, and is not even going so far as he might; you will understand all that is implied when I bear witness to this, for my tendencies have ever been towards conciliation." Jarcke, the Viennese court publicist, had already been instructed to use his pen in support of the Guelph.[2]

[1] Schele, junior, Notatum, Königswarth, August 11; Bodenhausen's Report, August 14; Metternich to Trauttmansdorff, September 7, with a Memorandum for Bodenhausen, September 11, 1837.

[2] Maltzan's Report, August 16; Bodenhausen's Report, September 1, 1837.

Stralenheim, the federal envoy, was sent to the South German courts to win them over to the side of Hanover. En route he bribed the ultramontane *Neue Würzburger Zeitung* with the gift of one hundred ducats. Robert Peel, however, with whom Stralenheim had a talk in Stuttgart, flatly refused to give him any support in parliament, whilst from the cabinets he could secure nothing but non-committal phrases. From the king of Würtemberg, who was again on bad terms with the diet, Stralenheim indeed believed he had secured a friendly pledge; but this was self-deception, solely explicable by the Guelph diplomat's incapacity.[1] King William had an old grudge against Ernest Augustus. A tiresome dispute about precedence had for years been in progress between the two crowns; and, besides, William was far too prudent to favour a wanton breach of law.

The reserve of the courts was readily comprehensible, for they did not know what the Guelph was aiming at. In Hanover, too, all remained quiet. A feeling of moody oppression prevailed, but even the deputies did nothing. In September, when the Georgia Augusta university celebrated the centenary of its foundation, and when almost every man of note made his way to Göttingen, an opportunity seemed spontaneously to offer for the discussion of joint measures to avert the threatening coup d' état. But the chance was missed. Carousals were held over tombs, as Dahlmann bitterly phrased it. The festival passed off with customary academic splendour; Alexander Humboldt received the homage of all faculties; and the philologians agreed to follow the example of the men of natural science by holding congresses at regular intervals. The king put in an appearance for one day, taking small trouble to conceal his contempt for the professorial world. In front of the new university hall a statue to the king's late brother was unveiled, and at the moment of unveiling Ernest Augustus deliberately turned his back upon the monument.[2] The philosophical faculty of the university was reproved in contumelious terms for having conferred an honorary degree upon Stüve.

The king was not yet clear as to his political plans. The longer he hesitated, the plainer did it become that the existing diet could not be expected to approve any important changes

[1] Stralenheim's Reports October 27 and 31, 1837, and subsequent dates.
[2] From the report of an eye-witness.

in the constitution. But a helper was now forthcoming. Since the opinions of the ministry and of the committee had not been to the monarch's liking, a third examination of the legal question was entrusted to the care of Leist, a learned old imperial jurist who, like Schele, had at one time been in Westphalian service, and who was quite ready to twist the law this way or that in compliance with orders from above. He now demonstrated that the state fundamental law was invalid because the assent of the agnates had been lacking, and because, after the law had been drafted, King William IV had on his own initiative modified certain paragraphs.[1] At length the Guelph began to realise that Schele's original plan had been the right one. On November 1st the state fundamental law was annulled by a second patent; the old constitution of 1819 was reintroduced; the officials (henceforward termed "the royal servants") were absolved of their oath to the constitution; finally, as if the aim was to bribe the loyal populace, an annual sum of 100,000 thalers was remitted from direct taxation.

Thus did the Guelph king, arrogate to himself the right of absolving his officials from an oath that had not been tendered to himself—a right which in the Roman church accrues to the pope alone, whilst in the Protestant churches it accrues to no one. Even after all that had happened none were prepared for such an outrage. Every official in the country was now faced with the problem whether he could constrain his conscience to take the new oath of service and thus break the old oath. Whilst Hanover was still stunned by the blow, on November 18th, seven of the most distinguished professors of Göttingen signed an address to the governing body of the university wherein they declared that in their view they were still bound by their oath of fealty to the constitution. "The success of our activities is dependent just as much upon our personal integrity as upon the scientific work of our teaching. Directly the students can regard us as persons to whom oaths are trifles, the value of our work disappears. What importance could his majesty attach to an oath of loyalty and homage given by men who cannot take this oath unless as a preliminary they have criminally disregarded a pledge previously sworn?" The idea of this protest first occurred to E. Albrecht, an incomparable teacher,

[1] See vol. V, p. 196.

though his legal writings were of small account. Albrecht conveyed the suggestion to Dahlmann,[1] who thereupon composed the declaration which unmistakably reveals profound moral uneasiness. As its composer declared, it was a conscientious protest, which became a political protest solely through force of circumstances. The other signatories were the brothers Grimm, Wilhelm Weber, Ewald, and young Gervinus. Of all the seven, Dahlmann and Gervinus alone had hitherto played any part in political struggles, and by liberals of the Rotteck-Welcker school even these two were regarded with some disfavour as being unduly moderate.

Furious was the rage of the old Guelph sovereign when he heard of this action, though it did not involve any overt act of resistance. Ernest Augustus was quite without understanding for the nobility of his opponent's motives. For five months he had hesitated, and had rejected two other plans before subverting the constitution, but as soon as his decision had been taken he considered everything settled and demanded tacit obedience. He therefore made use of his royal prerogative. On November 28th he recorded in his own clumsy handwriting that he had been informed how "the professors, after the annulment of the state fundamental law, presume to regard it as in a sense still valid, and to desire to maintain it. . . . It is obvious that they are displaying a revolutionary and treasonable tendency, for which they are personally accountable. They would seem to have brought themselves within the grasp of the criminal law." The authorities must "nip this commencing criminality in the bud," and must bring the guilty to punishment.[2] Schele cheerfully concurred. A terrifying example was necessary, lest ill-meaning persons should rally to the declaration of the seven "as to a flag." But the minister recommended shorter work, considering that a criminal prosecution offered small prospect of success. Vainly did Arnswald and Stralenheim, who were curators of the university as well as ministers, ask that the prescriptions of the federal law should be respected, and that the governmental plenipotentiary should first be asked for his report.[3]

A brief rescript drafted by Leist decreed the immediate

[1] Such is Albrecht's definite assertion, made after reading a somewhat different version of the matter given by Springer (Dahlmann, I, 430).

[2] King Ernest Augustus to Schele, November 28, 1837. See Appendix XXIX.

[3] Reports to the king; from Schele, November 29 and 30; from the governing body of the university, December 8, 1837

dismissal of the seven, and the king subsequently added a command that their salaries should be paid to them only up to the day of dismissal.[1] In addition, Dahlmann, Jacob Grimm, and Gervinus, who had communicated their declaration to some friends were ordered to quit the country within three days. The students had long ere this circulated the document very widely. Grasping the fine privilege of youth, they undismayedly espoused the good cause, hailing Dahlmann as "the man of word and deed," and coming into conflict here and there with the armed powers of authority. Nevertheless a few scions of the Hanoverian nobility were not ashamed to send college servants to the ill-used professors with a demand for the return of their fees. During the night before the three banished men departed under the escort of cuirassiers, the students swarmed in the streets—on foot, for by police order cabdrivers had been forbidden to ply for hire—and they took leave of their teachers in Witzenhausen on free Hessian soil. At the inn on the frontier, a little boy, the innkeeper's son, alarmed at the sight of Jacob Grimm's leonine head, hid his face in his mother's apron, but the hostess said compassionately: "Give the gentleman your hand; these are poor exiles."

The rancour of Ernest Augustus was not yet appeased. Directly he learned of the proposal to summon Dahlmann to Rostock, he had reports sent to Schwerin and to Strelitz detailing the Mecklenburger's offences. "His majesty considers it his duty to acquaint the grand-ducal courts with the doings of a man whose occupation of a teaching post at a university cannot fail to exercise an extremely disastrous influence on the minds of the students." The Mecklenburg governments were alarmed by the threatening language of the Guelph. They gave an untruthful assurance to the effect that the negotiations had long since been broken off, and declared that there could now, of course, be no question of any such appointment.[2] When news came that Jacob Grimm was proposing to pay a secret visit to his relatives in Göttingen, orders were immediately issued that should the criminal carry out his intention, a force of dragoons was at once to escort him across the frontier.[3] To demonstrate the manifest illegality

[1] Schele to the governing body, January 31, 1838.

[2] Schele to Minister von Lützow in Schwerin and to Minister von Dewitz in Strelitz, December 7; Replies from both, December 16, 1837.

[3] Report from Prorector Bergmann to the royal cabinet, December 30, 1837; January 2, 1838.

of their dismissal by the only means available, the seven sued for the payment of salary due for the last semester. The king thereupon, through the instrumentality of the ever-ready Leist, issued an order to the department of justice in Hanover that the plaint was to be curtly dismissed. When von Hinüber, the honest chief of the department of justice, resisted this illegal demand, Leist was afraid that the case would go against the royal cabinet, and he even feared that the professors might lodge a plaint with the Bundestag if justice were refused. To avert these dangers it was decided to raise the question of the competence of the courts to deal with the matter. It was true that the committee entitled to decide such questions of competence had been annihilated by the annulment of the state fundamental law,[1] for what legal foundation was left in this distracted state? But it was possible to procrastinate matters until Ernest Augustus had formed a new council of state; and in 1841 this body decided that the court could not receive the plaint, seeing that dismissal and the withholding of salary were within the prerogatives of the sovereign. For long the Guelph continued to hope that the quilldrivers would eat humble pie, and in Alexander Humboldt's presence he remarked: "Professors, whores, and ballet dancers can always be secured at a price." When a false report reached Schele to the effect that Albrecht and Ewald regretted what had happened, the minister hastened to write to Göttingen saying that reinstatement was not impossible provided the repentance of the two delinquents was sincere.[2]

Unfortunately the conduct of the other professors went far to justify the king's opinion concerning the spirit of men of learning. It had always been a point of principle at Georgia Augusta to hold aloof from the struggles of public life, and many of the older councillors considered it derogatory to their official honour that they should now be dragged into the turmoil of politics. A few days after the declaration of the seven had become known, the prorector and the deans made their way to the hunting lodge of Rotenkirchen in Solling to convey a humble assurance to the king that they had "perfect confidence in the paternal intentions of his

[1] Despatch from the department of justice in Hanover to the royal cabinet, November 26; Leist to Schele, December 2, 1838.

[2] Schele to Langenbeck, December 28, 1837.

majesty," and that they would "never cherish aims conflicting with his majesty's."[1] They ventured not a word of remonstrance when the official *Hannoversche Zeitung* subsequently put into the prorector's mouth a speech whose tenour was completely falsified, so that it was made to express absolute condemnation of the doings of the seven. No more than six of the younger professors, nauseated by this monstrous mendacity, were resolute enough, led by Otfried Müller, to make a public declaration to the effect that they did not disapprove of what had been done by their dismissed colleagues. But no one would unreservedly take the side of the seven. The renown of the university, already impaired by Rauschenplatt's revolution, now paled completely, and for many years to come. Students from other German universities shunned this place of ill-repute, and it was impossible to make up for the loss of so many men of light and leading. Ernest Augustus desired above all that the chairs vacated by Dahlmann and Albrecht should be filled by servile professors, so that the students might be officially impressed with the new doctrine of the unrestricted power of the sovereign, but learned men of the desired stamp were not easy to find in Germany. Vollgraff of Marburg, who had expounded "The illusions of the representative systems" in writings which, though confused, were not devoid of spirit, was far from being competent to fulfil the high scientific claims which Heeren, the old historian and the oracle of the governing body, was accustomed to make of the professors at the Georgia Augusta, and this appointment was not ventured upon.[2] Vainly did the university and the town send in repeated petitions demanding the return of the seven. Even G. Zimmermann of Gotha, the only notable German publicist in the service of the Guelph court, considered the reappointment of the seven essential to the tranquillisation of the country and to the appeasement of the profoundly affronted world of learning. But Ernest Augustus remained inexorable. When it was reported in the autumn of 1846 that Dahlmann, Jacob Grimm, and Gervinus wished to pay a visit to Göttingen, the Guelph ruler curtly declared that the former prohibition was still in force.[3]

[1] Memorial of Prorector Bergmann and the four deans, Rotenkirchen, November 30, 1837.

[2] Report of the governing body of the university, March 10, 1838.

[3] Petitions from the town of Göttingen, March 9 and December 8; Petition from the university, March 15; Prorector Gieseler to Schele, March 14; Replies

How utterly had the king been deceived when in the first flush of delight he declared to Canitz: "These fellows have done my cause more good than harm." No long time elapsed before he angrily exclaimed: "Had I known how much trouble the seven devils were going to give me, I would certainly have let them alone." No event since the July revolution had aroused such excitement. The question was so simple, it affected so directly the most sensitive side of the Germanic temperament, namely, fidelity, that homely people were not slow to make up their minds. The nation felt as if an English robber had suddenly broken into its garden. The free-spoken young poet Hoffmann of Fallersleben was merely saying in plain terms what thousands were feeling when he sang: "Wield your cudgels boldly, and give the rascal dogs a good drubbing!" Those who might still harbour any doubts could not fail to be convinced by the defensive writings of the seven. Dahlmann's booklet *An Explanàtion* was a masterpiece of German political literature. The language, though impassioned, never lacked dignity and distinction, and gave expression throughout to the sentiments of the moderate monarchist. "I am fighting," he wrote, "for the undying king, for the lawful will of the government, when by legal methods I resist that which, in a momentary aberration, the mortal king undertakes in defiance of existing laws. . . I trust neither the courage of the loveless nor the love of the cowardly. Germany is here at stake. If a constitution can be broken like a toy under the very eyes of the Federation, a constitution whose existence in recognised efficiency is undeniable, then Germany's fate is sealed, not merely for the immediate future, but for a remoter future as well." Just as Dahlmann demonstrated the political perfidy of the coup d'état, so did Jacob Grimm demonstrate its baseness from the humanist outlook in a writing which opened with the words of the Nibelungs, "what has become of the oaths?" Albrecht threw light upon the legal question in a keen disquisition whose effect was necessarily enhanced because the great jurist did not conceal his opinion that the current liberal doctrines concerning the so-called right of resistance were based upon futile circular arguments. Gervinus and Ewald, likewise,

from the royal cabinet, March 24 and December 22, 1839.—G. Zimmermann to Schele, December 9, 1839.—Cabinet Despatch to the ministry of public worship and education, October 29, 1846.

expressed themselves with much candour. Support was forthcoming from all sides.

Georg Beseler, who had gained Dahlmann's confidence as an associate in the struggle against the Danes and was now a teacher at Rostock university, justified the seven in popular letters. Anastasius Grün dedicated an enthusiastic poem to Jacob Grimm. He wrote expressing the wish "that to Hanover the song may make its way, that it may reach the ear of the duke of Cumberland, now king of Hanover. It may be hard for him to understand this German poem about German honour, but doubtless he can find at his court some one competent to give him a faithful rendering into English." A fable entitled, *Anno 1937*, described how an old woman told her grandson about the wicked king, the torn charter, the seven, and the three, and how the boy answered in amaze, "It is impossible that these things could ever have happened!" The exiles found it everywhere difficult to elude the receipt of addresses and other marks of respect. The movement spread to all parts of Germany, and even to the remotest frontier districts. The men of Kiel sent Dahlmann, the old champion of the rights of Holstein, a letter of thanks. The burghers of Elbing expressed their approval to Albrecht, who was a native of that city, whilst the philosophical faculty of Königsberg sent him a doctor's diploma composed by Lobeck. A Hamburg shipper, launching a vessel at Cuxhaven, christened her "Dahlmann." In the windows of the toy shops were to be seen leaden figures showing forth the parting at Witzenhausen, whilst at fairs china pipe-bowls were on sale bearing the portraits of the seven. Nor did matters stop at writings and pictures. For the first time since the War of Liberation did the Germans collect money for a political aim of their own. During the intervening twenty years this form of voluntary taxation had been devoted solely to the profit of the Greeks and of the Poles. There was founded in Leipzig a Göttingen union, whose ramifications soon spread throughout Germany, to pay the seven their salaries until reinstatement should be secured. Some of the enterprising men who had built the first railway, such as Gustav Harkort and Dufour, were leaders of this movement. Associated with them were Carl Reimer and the young Swiss, Salomon Hirzel, the owners of the Weidmann publishing and bookselling business. In Berlin, Gans was the pioneer; in Baden, Rotteck; in Königs-

berg, Jacoby the radical; in Jena, Frommann, of strict religious views; in Marburg, V. A. Huber, a man of similar inclinations. In this matter all the best energies of the bourgeoisie were united.

In the official world opinions were divided. Hardly anyone ventured to defend the doings of the Guelph ruler; here and there only was to be found an arrogant junker to say like the prince of Noer, "It was a splendid thing to drive those fellows out." Nevertheless, to those who were still influenced by the views of the old official state, the bold action of simple professors, men not holding any authoritative office, seemed dangerous presumption. Even Canitz, who watched the proceedings at the court of Hanover with growing concern and was on friendly terms with his fellow countrymen, the brothers Grimm, was timid enough to hold that the seven ought to have resigned their posts quietly without troubling others' consciences.[1] The Guelph made shrewd use of the pusillanimity of the governments, and his parliamentary experiences had taught him what a power impudence exercises. His envoys acted on the confident assumption that the coup d'état in Hanover entitled that state to special gratitude and to peculiar favours from all the crowns. Upon the publication of Beseler's writing, Ernest Augustus sent Prince Solms to Schwerin to demand that the author should be punished. The good-natured Paul Frederick complied so far as to order an enquiry, but the committee he appointed for the purpose consisted of three men of intelligence who naturally declared that no punishable offence had been committed. When Ernest Augustus was informed that some of the seven purposed to give lectures in Leipzig, the king promptly forbade his subjects to attend Leipzig university, whereon it transpired that there was but a single Hanoverian studying on the Pleisse. Whenever a book was published in favour of the seven or of the state fundamental law, the Guelph diplomats hastened to lodge a complaint. General von Berger, envoy in Berlin, an old gentleman distinguished for stupidity even among the Hanoverian envoys, found it incredible that the censorship should continue to give its "ultimatum" to such products![2]

These systematic attempts at intimidation were not altogether void of effect. To Germany's shame, Dahlmann and

[1] Canitz' Report, November 27, 1837.
[2] Berger's Report, September 29, 1838.

Jacob Grimm had to publish their vindications in Switzerland. The most pliable of all the courts was that of Denmark, for not merely was its policy rigidly conservative, but an old grudge was cherished against Dahlmann. A reproof was administered to the Kiel professors who had written to the seven. The censors of Schleswig-Holstein were instructed to be on the alert, seeing that "inopportune and malevolent expressions of public opinion" might endanger the success of the measures contemplated in Hanover.[1] In Berlin Eichhorn expressed himself with much candour, saying it was his hope that the king would summon the brothers Grimm and perhaps also Dahlmann or Albrecht to a Prussian university. Bettina von Arnim took up the idea with magnanimous zeal, and, assisted by her brother-in-law Savigny, endeavoured to win over the crown prince. Minister Rochow held other views. He, too, disapproved the behaviour of the Guelph court, and was greatly distressed when somewhat later the Guelph order was bestowed on him on account of services done to Queen Frederica's son—for it was by no means his wish to be regarded as an ally of Ernest Augustus.[2] But he considered it dangerous to the state that unqualified persons should interfere in high politics, and in Berlin collections on behalf of the seven had to be made in private. Jacob van Riesen, the merchant, now sent Rochow the address which the men of Elbing had despatched to Albrecht, for the honest Old Prussian liberal hoped in his simplicity that this would induce the minister to favour Albrecht's appointment at a Prussian university. Rochow was greatly incensed; he considered that he had been insulted, and in his wrath he put his signature to a reply whose unmeasured bureaucratic arrogance made the Prussian state a laughing-stock before the world. "It ill becomes a subject," he wrote, "to judge the doings of the supreme head of the state by the measure of a restricted insight; and it ill becomes a subject to presume to pass a public judgment upon the lawfulness of a sovereign ruler's actions." The minister had to pay dearly for his folly. From these sentences rumour composed the winged word "the limited understanding of the subject," and henceforth with Rochow's name there was inseparably associated

[1] Circular Despatch from the Danish minister for foreign affairs to the envoys in Germany, January 16, 1838.

[2] Frankenberg's Report, April 1, 1840.

"the stigma of the ridiculous. The minister was regarded as an utter fool, though at this very time, during the discussions on the railway law, he was showing himself to be a man of intelligence and one accessible to new ideas.

At the constitutionalist courts uneasiness prevailed. Universal was the cry that upon them it now devolved, by the immediate appointment of the seven to professorships, to revive the old renown of German academic hospitality, and to appease the outraged conscience of the nation. Du Thil, indeed, remained deaf to all such exhortations, and, apropos of Gervinus' request for a post in the privy archives at Darmstadt, he wrote in his memoirs, "I dreamed of the devil." Now that clericalism was dominant in Bavaria and Baden, the seven, as declared Protestants, could expect little countenance in those quarters. The amiable King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, on the other hand, in conjunction with his ministers, had a strong desire that the Saxon university, whose progress had of late been arrested, should be strengthened by a splendid accession of teaching forces. But they were afraid of the Guelph's rough methods, and they dreaded to incur the ill-will of the Hofburg. How much diplomatic unpleasantness had Minister Lindenau been compelled to endure three years earlier when the newspapers had attributed to him a largely imaginary radical utterance.[1] Such experiences sufficed to impose caution upon the dependent minor court. Dresden had friendly words for the seven, and beyond question these were honestly meant, but no positive steps were ventured, and Dahlmann wrote angrily in the preface to Albrecht's apologia: "While in political matters we do not possess that which, thanks be to God, we have since the peace of religious possessed in religious matters, a living co-existence of creeds, [while those who might have the best consciences conduct themselves as if they had the worst, while the most cowardly excuse suffices for the rejection of anything which might shake people out of the slothful ease of their armchairs]—while these things continue, there will be no place in Germany where one who stands upright on his feet can pluck the ripe fruits of political culture." The words in brackets were struck out by the Leipzig censor, Professor Bülau, a dull scribbler, a man of petty abilities in

[1] Despatch from the Saxon minister for foreign affairs to von Uechtritz, envoy in Vienna, November 3, 1834; etc.

comparison with the seven, and now in a position to correct their writings as he would correct a schoolboy's theme. Such were the absurdities resulting from the Carlsbad press law.

After prolonged deliberations, Albrecht was tacitly given permission to deliver lectures at Leipzig university. Subsequently he was granted a salary as "privy professor"—so his colleagues banteringly phrased it. Long afterwards, when the air had cleared, he received a formal appointment. To the Electoral Saxons, Dahlmann seemed too dangerous a man. For several years the political leader of the seven lived at Jena without official post, unconcernedly directing from this retreat a paper warfare against the Hanoverian autocrat. Among all the German rulers, William of Würtemberg alone ventured upon open opposition to the Guelph. He summoned Ewald to Tübingen, and Ewald, being the only Hanoverian among the seven, was an especial object of hatred to the Guelph court. It need hardly be said that Ernest Augustus promptly forbade Hanoverians to attend the Swabian university. When the two kings subsequently met in Berlin the Guelph ruler enquired: "Why did you appoint a professor whom I had dismissed?" Whereupon the Würtemberger rejoined: "For that very reason!"[1]

The Guelph coup d'état roused to complete wakefulness that public opinion which had hitherto been half asleep, and compelled the Germans to devote their political passion to home affairs once more. Now that the brand had been affixed upon Germany's own forehead, the press began the serious consideration of the problems of federal law, and discussions concerning the doings of the Paris chambers and concerning the troubles in the east, which had hitherto been favourite topics, now seemed vapid. Unfortunately, however, this well-justified moral indignation served rather to hinder than to advance the process of clarification indispensable to our confused party life. The wild, inflammatory writings of the refugees in France and Switzerland could not fail to convince every thoughtful observer that the German opposition had long consisted of two fundamentally divergent parties, and that permanent co-operation between these was impossible. But now a most natural and humane indignation brought into a single camp all those who were not positively servile, whether they termed themselves radicals, liberals, or moderate

[1] Wangenheim to Hartmann, April 13, 1839.

conservatives. Since in the north, too, there were to be found martyrs on behalf of constitutionalism, the doctrinaire over-valuation of constitutionalist forms became universally diffused throughout Germany. Dahlmann's political acumen made this instantly apparent to him. At the banquets with which he was honoured, he contemplated with small pleasure the presence of radical feuilletonists, "into whose company we have been thrown by chance alone." To his friends he gave the assurance, "I hope before long to be able to demonstrate my aloofness from much with which I feel nowise akin." In a letter of thanks to Johann Jacoby he wrote: "Monarchy and civic freedom are conjoined in the making of the state; profoundly significant and sacred as the state is, it would be a vain and trivial affair were it incompetent to secure this very combination of things which seem irreconcilable to the superficial observer alone." A splendid saying, but addressed unfortunately to the wrong quarter: to a radical who would either fail to understand it or would condemn it as a pitiable half-truth. But how could a severance of these opposites be effected whilst they were held together by a noble wrath? Matters had reached such a pass that the severest and most effective complaints against the existing authorities were now voiced by loyal monarchists.

The expulsion of the seven served not merely to blur the lines of party demarcation, but in addition it established the political power of the German professorial caste, a power that was not to be broken until it was overthrown by the war of 1866. When the dispute began, an English newspaper wrote as follows: "In Germany the universities, too, are political centres, from which impulses radiate throughout the country; the professors rank as magistrates, commissioned to defend the rights of the people and the principles of reason." The judgment was premature, for hitherto the only universities which had for a brief period played a part in politics were those of Jena, Kiel, and Freiburg; but it was speedily to be justified by the facts. The Göttingen coup de main eventuated in a great struggle carried on by the German learned world against a despot who scornfully displayed his contempt for the sciences, and there was not a German university which failed to give the seven a sign of approval. In this struggle, right was incontestably on the side of the

professors, who were led by intrepid, blameless, and persecuted men, whereas the Guelph ruler could rely merely upon the support of servile souls and upon the timidities of the German courts.

If a moral victory was ever secured in a political struggle such a victory was secured now. The professors were in any case not lacking in a good conceit of themselves, which a success of this character could not fail to strengthen. Five of the seven were and remained simple-minded, noble, and amiable; but in Gervinus and in Ewald there was incorporated a large measure of insufferable professorial arrogance. Political passion, once awakened, continued to display its force; the professors began through the instrumentality of writings and speeches to play a direct part in the political education of the Germans; and since they were accustomed to address the nation at large, their utterances secured wider audiences than did the speeches of the parliamentary deputies. The learned assemblies of the ensuing years assumed the aspect of preliminary parliaments wherein the nation discussed the great questions of the day; and when at a later date the real parliament assembled, its benches were filled by troops of professors, since these were almost the only men who knew Germany as a whole. It was a tragic destiny, and one which no human will could have averted, that this idealistic nation, descending slowly to political labours from the heights of literary creation, was compelled to traverse the intermediary stage of professorial politics. Through this preponderance of the professordom, the doctrinaire tendencies which had from the first characterised German liberalism were immediately strengthened, and a false suggestion was conveyed that liberalism represented the cause of culture, whereas in reality the heroes of German art and science, Goethe, Cornelius and Rauch, Niebuhr, Savigny and Ranke, belonged for the most part to the conservative camp.

These professorial politics were unable to realise themselves in the realm of action, for men of vigorous political character are not readily moulded amid the quiet labours of university life. Even among the seven, Dahlmann was the only man of real political talent, and he was rather thinker than man of action; Gervinus' statesmanlike abilities existed solely in his own imagination; and not one of the remaining five cherished political ambitions. But this age of professorial

politics was fertile in great and profoundly conceived ideas. In the studies of German men of learning were first thought out those plans for the unity of the fatherland which were subsequently to materialise beneath the creative touch of men of action. So powerful, so irresistible, was the growth of German science, that its development was nowise impaired owing to the political interests of the professors. Among the majority of the Göttingen professors there were a few who condemned the action of the seven on principle, and not from fear—Herbart, for instance, Hugo, and Gauss. In a posthumous writing, *The Göttingen Catastrophe*, Herbart's reasons for his judgment are given frank expression. He considered that the earnestness, the concentrated quiet, of German academic life would disappear if the universities were to immerse themselves in political struggles. The alarm of this severe philosopher is readily comprehensible, but it was not justified by the event. Investigators pursued their labours with customary vigour, and in this matter the seven set an excellent example. It may even be said that historical science gained from the political activities of the professors. During ensuing years very few worthless and biased historical works were issued from the press, fewer certainly than during the dominance of Rotteck's and Welcker's liberalism, but there were published a number of excellent books giving the Germans a scientific account of their past. The blossoming of political historiography during the forties and fifties, the increasing depth of our historical self-knowledge, became possible only because historians had drawn so near, and sometimes too near, to the world of political facts.

§ 2. SELF-ANNIHILATION OF THE BUNDESTAG.

The deed of the seven could be helpful to the Hanoverians in their constitutionalist campaign only if it found imitators, if the majority of officials refused to take the unconstitutional oath, if the elections to the illegally constituted diet did not take place, and if after the due legal interval the payment of taxes were suspended. But the necessary conditions were lacking for such unanimity of passive resistance. The Guelph coup d'état was destined to bring to light almost all the

defects of the existing order, the absurdities of the censorship as well as the moral infirmities of the old official state. Disapproval extended into court circles. Malortie, court marshal to Ernest Augustus, sorrowfully explained his inability here to follow his beloved master, and the Guelph, who could not do without this faithful servant, accepted the rebuke. The supreme court of appeal in Celle took the new oath whilst expressly reserving its obligations to the state fundamental law. Several of the intermediate courts and many individual officials followed the same course. Schele, who had been warned by the Göttingen experiences, quietly shelved the provisos, and those who had entered protests were satisfied with having salved their consciences in private. Deplorable and humiliating was the conduct of the cabinet ministers; they retained their positions, though degraded to the level of departmental ministers, with Schele, their old opponent, placed over them as sole cabinet minister.

The great majority of the officials proved equally subservient. They were ready, as Dahlmann put it, "to waive all that could minister to their self-respect if only they and theirs could continue to eat the bitter bread of mortification." One of them said despairingly, "I will agree to anything, for we are but dogs after all." Nor were convinced absolutists lacking. Mühlenbruch, the learned jurist of Göttingen, expressed his opinion freely concerning "the seven fools," whereupon the incensed students broke his windows for him. Many of the older officials were still of the belief that obedience to the crown was the prime duty. Hoppenstedt, the man who had done so much for the Georgia Augusta, came to terms with himself over the question of conscience by saying: "Into my former oath the king introduced the pledge of fealty to the state fundamental law; he is consequently entitled to delete that pledge; I remain his faithful servant." Even Rose, the chief originator of the state fundamental law, was influenced by like considerations. But the Guelph detested the man "who had introduced liberalism into the ministry," and his humility did not save him from the wrath of his sovereign. After a few months he was given his congé. The dismissal was effected in honourable form, for Rose courageously offered to justify all he had done in a personal interview with the king, but he was expressly forbidden to enter the diet, and when some years later he desired to return home from

Brunswick he learned to his astonishment that the Guelph had temporarily banished him from the kingdom.

Still less was a spirit of resistance manifest among the people at large. How often of old had the estates of Germany, in Prussia and Brandenburg, in Magdeburg, Mecklenburg, and Würtemberg, bravely and tenaciously defended their existing liberties. Even now the estates of East Frisia, which as yet had hardly come to recognise the existence of the Hanoverian state, endeavoured to take advantage of the confusions in the Guelph land in order to regain the distinctive rights they had formerly possessed under Prussian rule. A modern representative constitution, one which gave no exclusive privileges to any particular estate, could hardly count upon such loyalty, and least of all here, where it was still almost unknown to the masses. The nobles, who in the days of feudalism had ever been distinguished by unshaken courage, now took the side of the sovereign, hoping that the crown would restore their ancient power. The electors to the lower house were faced with the perplexing problem how a new legalised position could issue from the destruction of all law. Were they to proceed to exercise their electoral rights, and thus seemingly condone the coup d'état, or were they without a struggle to abandon the field to the obsequious servants of authority? Parties did not as yet exist, the electors in their simplicity had omitted to discuss the situation, and it was therefore natural that the constituencies should come to divergent decisions. Of the seventy-eight electoral bodies, sixty-one in the end proceeded to exercise their functions, in most cases because this course seemed the lesser evil, but some because they were unwilling to renounce the use of their electoral rights, or because they feared the withdrawal of a garrison, or of a lawcourt. Some constituences made use of the suffrage with express reserves as to their constitutional rights.

When the diet was opened in February, 1838, forty-eight deputies appeared in the second chamber. There was therefore a quorum in the house, but it soon became apparent that the king had no straightforward intention of maintaining the legal basis of the year 1819, which he had ostensibly desired to restore. He had summoned the diet of 1819, but had not summoned the treasury board, a body inseparable from the old constitution—for Stüve was a member of the board and

at all costs this dangerous man must be kept away from the diet. Moreover, the draft constitution submitted to the estates differed in many respects from the old constitution. Boundless arbitrariness prevailed on all hands, whilst undignified violations of law, actions repulsive to every honest man, were committed by Leist, the governmental representative. Canitz reported with disgust that the father of the country had set a snare for his people. If the deputies appealed to the state fundamental law they were bluntly told that by their appearance at the diet they had recognised the legal foundation of 1819.[1] The diet could find no way out of the difficulty; attempts at mediation made by Lang the syndic served only to increase the general perplexity; and the leaderless opposition was far from deserving the praises lavished by liberal newspapers. The people learned nothing about the sittings, which were private. For a time the chamber was without a quorum, for in their despair many of the members ceased to attend. In the end, however, discussions concerning the constitution were begun, and the demand was immediately put forward that the new constitution should be submitted to the diet that still lawfully existed in virtue of the state fundamental law. This proviso, of course, was refused by Leist; and Jacobi, the servile president, declared: "We must have courage to disregard the legal difficulty." But Jacobi's attempts were fruitless. The chamber expressly declared "that no action of the deputies now assembled can effect anything of legal validity," and thereupon promptly adjourned. It seemed as if the only possible course would be to address a representation to the Bundestag, but only twenty-eight members were agreed (June 28th), and this minority was incompetent to speak in the name of the chamber.

Throughout the country, meanwhile, things were warming up. The towns of Osnabrück, Hanover, Stade, Lüneburg, Hildesheim, Harburg, Celle, and Münden entered protests, and sent in addresses declaring the legal validity of the state fundamental law. Stüve, now burgomaster of Osnabrück, was leader of this popular movement, and how hopeless must be the confusion of a country in which such a man felt it essential to have recourse to demagogic activities. In conjunction with the town councillors he had, after fruitless objections, accepted the oath invalidating the previous oath

[1] Canitz' Report, August 2, 1838.

of fealty to the constitution, but had at the same time protested before a notary and witnesses against the repeal of the state fundamental law. Since the government continually found fresh excuses for his exclusion from the diet, he induced Osnabrück to lodge a complaint with the Federation. Other towns and constituencies followed suit. In his *Defence of the State Fundamental Law,* which was edited by Dahlmann, Stüve convincingly proved that this maligned constitution had in reality confirmed the rights of the government and increased the powers of the crown. In the *Hannoversche Portfolio,* aided by Detmold the advocate, he collected all the documents which could enlighten the nation concerning the legal question. He and his friends likewise sent contributions to the *Deutsche Staatsarchiv* of Leipzig; whilst the newly founded *Deutsche Curier* of Stuttgart devoted nearly half its columns to the Hanoverian affair. The Würtemberg censorship was peculiarly indulgent to this liberal weekly, for the paper had little to say about Swabia. It is probable that A. Weil, its able editor, was secretly supplied with funds by the French government, but this was unknown to the Hanoverians.

Since the date for the constitutionally permissible approval of taxation expired at the new year of 1839, Stüve addressed to many of the juristic faculties the enquiry, whether after that date the Osnabrück municipal council would be justified in levying the unapproved national taxes. The Berlin faculty declined to answer, for Prussian legal experts were forbidden to concern themselves with political questions. But comprehensive opinions were sent in from Jena, Heidelberg, and Tübingen, the unanimous decision being that the constitution of 1833 was still valid. The opinion from Tübingen, drafted by Reyscher, the young Teutonist, gave detailed consideration to the question of refusal of taxes, and contained many apt phrases. In essence, however, it remained impossible to demonstrate by doctrinaire legal considerations what was legal when the law had been disregarded. Thus the detested professors were once more in arms against the Guelph, and all Germany approved their argumentation. Ernest Augustus was in dispute even with his capital city. Its deputy having been excluded from the diet, it refused to proceed to a fresh election, and sent a protest to the Bundestag. The king thereupon had Rumann deprived of his post as burgomaster,

and initiated a prosecution against the municipal council, which was vigorously defended by Stüve. A state official was illegally appointed to preside over the municipal administration. But the burghers threatened to throw the intruder out of the window, and on a sultry evening in July, 1839, they assembled in crowds before the palace. When the old Guelph ruler saw that it would be no light matter to deal with these desperate people, he was wise enough to give way, entrusting the syndic with the conduct of municipal affairs, and declaring that he had been ignorant of the relevant paragraphs in the town charter. Nowhere, now, had he any sympathisers. Even his old friends the English tories were disgusted at his utterly needless and arbitrary coup. In addition to Zimmermann, whose arrogant language served to embitter rather than to convince, only one writer was still to be found willing to splinter a lance on behalf of the Guelph court, and this was the fanatical and half insane legitimist, Count Corberon, who imagined Dahlmann and Stüve to be emissaries of the internationalist propaganda. Among the more important German newspapers, the *Berliner Wochenblatt* alone espoused the Guelph's cause, for this newspaper seemed to have forgotten the urgent warnings it had recently issued against any illegal tamperings with constitutions.

Nevertheless Ernest Augustus continued on his course. He had constructed a council of state upon the Prussian model, and upon the opening of this body his stepson, Prince Bernhard zu Solms, announced that under the glorious rule of King Ernest Augustus, in the patriarchal Christo-Germanic monarchy, "equal protection would be given to the rights of the king by God's grace and to those of the noble, the burgher, and the peasant, and that these rights, organically inter-connected though preserving their respective spheres, would strike root, blossom, and thrive." The confidence was well grounded. A passionate movement of popular conviction, such as might have alarmed the Guelph, was nowhere manifested. As soon as the legal opinions of the three faculties had been delivered, about one hundred Osnabrück burghers refused to pay taxes, and thereafter submitted unresistingly to distraint. Everything was tranquil. In his progresses through the country the king was universally received with acclamations, and the deputations he summoned from the provincial estates were overflowing with assurances of

servility. When he reduced the garrison of Hildesheim, and upon a subsequent journey rested for the night outside the gates without visiting the town, the common people assembled before the house of Lüntzel the liberal burgomaster and sent the angry monarch an address assuring him of their devotion. The *Hildesheimer Zeitung* extolled Ernest Augustus as "the one true bourgeois king," and even Canitz could not refrain from the observation that "the commendation was somewhat unhappily chosen."[1]

Little was to be dreaded from civilians of this calibre, and it was now to be seen that the old Guelph was not merely a tyrant. In all other matters than the constitutional question he proved far-seeing and conscientious. He was unpretentious in daily life, and his court was conducted in a brilliant but orderly manner, which Malortie's book, *The Court Marshal,* has made well known throughout Europe. Notwithstanding their political grievances, the burghers of Hanover could not deny that their good town had gained much through the presence of the king, and that it was now beginning to rival the other royal capitals of Germany. Etiquette was, indeed, inexorably strict, and Ernest Augustus did not rest until Hormayr, the Bavarian envoy, whose malicious tongue had been making trouble in Hanover also, had been transferred to the Hansa towns. The troops had hitherto displayed English colours, just as of old the Electoral Saxons had exhibited Polish insignia. But now the new white-and-yellow national colours were introduced, the combination being utterly unhistorical and opposed to all the laws of heraldry. At the same time the use of the British red tape for the tying up of official documents was discontinued. In the infantry uniform, blue Prussian tunics replaced the English red, whilst the artillery lost its position of honour upon the right wing. Great was the distress at these innovations, almost greater than that concerning the state fundamental law. Even Sir Julius Hartmann, the able old general, found it difficult to break the associations which time had endeared, whilst King Louis of Bavaria gave vent to a poetic lamentation, writing:

> How can we think of the Hanoverian
> Apart from his familiar red tunic?

[1] Canitz' Report, December 16, 1838.

They did not realise that the old Guelph was unconsciously enlisted in the service of the national idea. Ernest Augustus was expelling foreign ways and encouraging a Hanoverian particularism, but from this it might well happen that German sentiments would one day emerge. The abolition of the red tunics was therefore the most notable action of the opening years of his reign.

The Hanoverian people, half indifferent, half helpless, was incompetent to secure its rights by spontaneous action. Stüve, who felt this very strongly, placed all his hopes in the Germanic Federation, and by the petition of the town of Osnabrück he secured what Austria and Prussia had been so anxious to prevent. The completed coup d'état took the two great powers by surprise. At Carlsbad, Ernest Augustus had used such conciliatory language that it had been impossible for them to foresee the course of events. In the Bohemian spa, Sir Frederick Lamb, the English envoy, had been completely outwitted by the worthy Guelph, and now felt that his incompetence had been exposed to his own court.[1] After the event, Canitz honestly did his best to warn the king against further violence, and urged him to come to a speedy understanding with the diet. The Prussian envoy recognised that discontent would continue to increase as long as uncertainty persisted; that Leist could inspire neither respect nor confidence as governmental plenipotentiary; that the diet would inevitably be compelled to demand really effective rights, and above all the right of legislation, for the future representative assembly; and that "autocracy" could nowhere be more dangerous than in this country, where there was no successor competent to assume the reins of power.[2] But he could not give any definite advice, for Ernest Augustus' obstinacy was well known in Berlin. Canitz therefore tended more and more to become a persona ingrata to the Guelph. "Such," said the Badenese envoy, "is the fate of all who talk reason to his majesty."[3]

How impossible did it seem to expect moderation in manifest illegality from a sovereign whose whole attitude was blameworthy? To Ernest Augustus, too, could be applied the excellent words employed by Dahlmann to the opposition:

[1] Maltzan's Reports, November 16, 1837, and subsequent dates.

[2] Canitz' Reports, November 17 and December 19, 1837; April 4, May 12, and July 28, 1838.

[3] Frankenberg's Report, August 28, 1838.

"All moderation depends upon refraining from the complete utilisation of powers which could without breach of law be used to the utmost. If the force of territorial constitutions be dissipated in mere phrase-making, talk of moderation becomes unmeaning." Consternation was general at the lesser courts. Even Pechlin, envoy from Holstein, the most ardent reactionary in the Bundestag, adjured the Guelph to come to terms with his diet as expeditiously as possible, for should he fail to do so the Federation would be compelled to act.[1] Of all the rulers of Europe two only approved the coup d'état: the electoral prince of Hesse, who delightedly said to Canitz, "I, too, will now alter my constitution," but who promptly received from Prussia a hint to keep quiet;[2] and—Czar Nicholas. In the summer of 1838 the czar, meeting Ernest Augustus at the Prussian manœuvres, overwhelmed him with expressions of gratitude. But Nicholas gained no real influence, for what could affect the boundless Guelph arrogance of the old sovereign?

Despite all delays the dispute had now been brought before the Bundestag, and as regards the legal aspect of the question honest differences of opinion were hardly possible. It was undeniable that the constitution of 1833 had existed in recognised efficiency, and the Federation was therefore compelled to protect it in accordance with article 56 of the final act. Against Charles of Brunswick the Prussian government had expressly maintained the view that a successor to a throne is bound by the lawful acts of his predecessor. Could Prussia now repudiate her own doctrine? In point of constitutional law Ernest Augustus was far more blameworthy than Charles. He had carried out the coup d'état which Charles had merely designed, and moreover, the deliberate baseness of the experienced elderly parliamentarian was more serious than had been the stupidly boyish tricks of his nephew. Yet King Frederick William hesitated. His conscience would not allow him to furnish his brother-in-law with direct support, but he wished to spare the Guelph at all hazards, and Minister Werther, though knowing better, lacked courage to run counter to the desires of his sovereign.

Unquestionably the king's momentous decision was partly determined by personal motives. He had little liking for

[1] Canitz' Report, August 2, 1838.
[2] Canitz' Report, July 23, 1838.

Ernest Augustus, but the thought of sacrificing his beloved sister-in-law Frederica was dreadful to him. Further, Schele's brother-in-law, General Müffling, and the other members of the Mecklenburg party used their influence to the utmost. In any case the decision involved serious political considerations. If the Bundestag were to command the Hanoverian court to reestablish the state fundamental law, it was certain that the old Guelph ruler would refuse to comply. He would resist the federal executive decree by force of arms (and he had already turned this plan over in his mind), or else would abdicate and return to England. But what would then happen to Hanover? Who would act as regent for the blind boy, Ernest Augustus' successor? It was certain that neither of his uncles would undertake the task, for although the duke of Cambridge and the duke of Sussex disapproved the coup d'état, they were both very much afraid of their brother's violent temper. The duke of Brunswick, who did not feel firmly seated on his own throne, would likewise stand aside. In the course of this dispute he had shown himself a thorough Guelph, and nothing would induce him to sacrifice his Hanoverian uncle.[1] In the event, therefore of right prevailing, Hanover was indisputably threatened with serious confusions. Apart from this, were the foundations of the monarchical federal law to be undermined, was a sovereign German king to be compelled to abdicate? The court of Vienna, though it did not approve the Guelph's action, judged that action less severely than the court of Prussia, and extreme measures would have involved a breach of the express understanding between the two courts. There was no reason to apprehend in Hanover the outbreak of disturbances like those which had occurred in Brunswick—disturbances which must be suppressed by any means available.

Such were the considerations that determined Frederick William's decision. How futile do they seem in comparison with the irrefutable demand of justice! The matter was as clear as daylight, and the nation could not but despair of the Federation should the latter side with the party of brute force. Were the Prussian court to support manifest injustice, it would at one blow lose the well-deserved prestige which had been secured by the wise policy of the last ten years. What Prussia had done for the Brunswickers was buried

[1] Canitz' Report, February 11, 1838.

in the archives, but it was impossible that the Hanoverian dispute should remain hidden. The admirers of the German trias were not yet defunct; were they to be allowed to renew their siren song, and to assure the nation that only from the middle-sized states could the Germans secure protection for law and liberty? Berlin was well-informed regarding the sentiments of the constitutionalist courts. Count Dönhoff did not fail to report the saying generally current among the South Germans, that in Hanover the king of to-day was fighting the king of yesterday and the monarchical principle was at war with itself.[1]

In all the parliaments, in Cassel, Dresden, Darmstadt, Stuttgart, and Brunswick, indignation on account of the coup d'état was rife. Especial attention was aroused by a speech of Glaubrech, the Darmstadt deputy, who aptly pointed out that if Ernest Augustus could suspend a territorial constitution, he could also without punishment break away from the Germanic Federation. In the German diets, for two years in succession, the Hanoverian dispute played a part similar to that played by the Polish debates in the Paris chambers. They had no direct effect, but the speeches in the Saxon diet were published by a patriot, who wrote proudly in his preface, "Saxony was not backward, and from the halls of the popular representatives there resounded through Germany's valleys the titan tones of keen and profound sympathy."

This much at least was true, the resonance of the titan tones was so powerful that hardly any choice was left to the constitutionalist princes. With the exception of the electoral prince of Hesse and the Brunswick Guelph they all came to the conclusion that the scandal could not possibly be tolerated. King Louis did not hesitate for an instant. Greatly as his political views had changed concerning the inviolability of the state fundamental law, the king thought now as the crown prince had thought in earlier years. For the very reason that he himself found it difficult to observe the Bavarian constitution, of which he was by no means fond, he demanded from other German sovereigns the like act of self-restraint. The views of Würtemberg statesmen were divided. Count Bismarck, envoy in Carlsruhe, wrote very affectionately to his old friend Schele, and the Hanoverian thanked him for

[1] Dönhoff's Report, February 4, 1839.

his "participation in our good and holy cause."[1] But King William's healthy understanding would not be led astray. The monarch said half angrily to Du Thil, "To himself, everyone comes first, and there is only one course open to me." His resolution once taken, he acted on it vigorously. The king of Saxony, too, strongly condemned the breach of law, and took a sudden journey to Dalmatia to avoid meeting the Guelph at the Prussian manœuvres. Blittersdorff felt very strongly that no amount of Hambach speeches could do nearly so much harm to the governments as this Hanoverian business, and such was the opinion he expressed unambiguously in a circular despatch to the Badenese embassies. Frankenberg, newly appointed envoy from Baden to Hanover, had to suffer in consequence "a blow of the paw" from the Guelph. When he came over from Berlin he was kept waiting in Hanover several days before being allowed to present his credentials.[2] Even Du Thil, despite his hearty detestation of the liberal professors, found himself unable wholly to approve the coup d'état. Thus the states which supported the customs union were practically agreed about the matter, and had Prussia resolved to resist the federal policy of the Hofburg and the Guelph as resolutely as she resisted their commercial policy, a brilliant success must have been secured. But the king had decided otherwise: the Guelph sovereign was to be protected.

Directly the Osnabrück plaint was laid before the Bundestag, the Hanoverian court endeavoured to induce the members of the special committee to reject the petition unceremoniously, and requested the Hofburg to support Hanover in these secret designs. Even for Metternich this demand seemed too shameless, and he bluntly refused to accede to it, if only because he desired to keep his hands free for the negotiations in the inner council.[3] In various memorials and declarations Stralenheim now displayed sophistical skill which betrayed the cunning hand of old Leist. He attempted to prove that the king had not infringed article 56 of the final act, and turned the tables by showing that this article was in actual fact carried out by the Hanoverian coup d'état! He proved in the first

[1] Bismarck to Schele, January 22; Reply, January 29, 1838.

[2] Blittersdorff, Instructions to Frankenberg, January, 1838; Frankenberg's Report, March 1, 1838.

[3] Metternich, Instructions to Kuefstein in Hanover, April 23; to Trauttmansdorff, May 5, 1838.

place that at the time of the Vienna final act the old constitution of 1819 had been in existence, and that to-day that constitution had been recalled to life; he proved in the second place that, inasmuch as a diet had assembled, the old constitution now existed in recognised efficiency; and he proved in the third place that the suspension of the old constitution by the state fundamental law had been illegal, and that it was now therefore legal to reestablish the constitution of 1819. Even in the Bundestag, which had had ample experience of juristic audacity, these legalist artifices were unprecedented. They aroused general indignation, and the patrons of Hanover could do nothing more than attempt to postpone the decision, always in the tacit hope that in the interim Ernest Augustus would come to terms with his diet and would thus put an end to the dispute.

When the vote was at length taken in July, 1838, the repressed irritation broke violently forth, recriminations and protests, and even personal insults, being exchanged. The Guelph's brutality seemed contagious. But upon cool reflection it was mutually agreed that the acrimonious remarks should be withdrawn, and no record of the stormy scenes is to be found in the protocols.[1] On September 6th it was decided by nine votes against seven that the plaint of the Osnabrück town council was to be rejected on the ground that the plaintiff had no legal status. Electoral Hesse abstained, for the prince regent and his minister Lepel held divergent views. Hanover, although not personally interested, audaciously recorded a vote. But the matter did not end here. Stüve, being an able lawyer, had hardly expected any other decision, for it might well be doubted whether a single city was entitled to plead before the Bundestag in the name of an entire country. The Guelph had unchivalrously disarmed his own subjects (such was Canitz' bitter phrase); by destroying the lawfully constituted diet he had annihilated the only corporation which was unquestionably competent to demand of the Bundestag the reestablishment of the state fundamental law. But it was impossible that so serious a dispute should be settled by mere considerations of form. If the Hanoverian people had no voice, it was still the manifest duty of the Federation to maintain article 56 of the final act.

The Bundestag, therefore, whilst rejecting the Osnabrückers'

[1] Schöler's Report, August 31, 1838.

plaint, expressed the hope that Hanover would make a further declaration regarding constitutional affairs, and Stralenheim promised that this wish should be gratified within from four to six weeks. The decisive vote, therefore, had still to be taken. But the pledged period expired, for Ernest Augustus continued to hope that matters could be procrastinated until he could push the federal assembly aside by the accomplished fact of a new Hanoverian constitution. Not until November 29th, when the Bundestag was about to suspend its sittings for several months, did Stralenheim announce to the federated governments that the promised declaration was now forthcoming. While the federal envoys were actually sitting he sent this declaration to the chamber, and the envoys, since they had not perused the document and had received no instructions from home, were not in a position to protest against the contempt thus shown for the Bundestag. It was impossible to find worse means for the defence of a bad cause.

Thus taken by surprise, the assembly broke up without a vote, the general ill-feeling finding its sole outlet in angry talk. Even General Schöler, who was becoming more and more disgusted by the Guelph intrigues, ventured no more than the dolorous expression of an urgent wish "that this procedure may not serve to increase among the great public the sentiment of disrespect for the Bundestag which is already widely prevalent"; he dreaded the worst consequences for Germany unless Ernest Augustus should speedily come to terms with his country.[1] The Hanoverian declaration was not addressed to the Bundestag but to the individual governments. Consequently it could not be incorporated in the federal protocols, and even Zeschau, the Saxon minister, habitually circumspect, found this piece of ill-breeding quite intolerable.[2] The declaration consisted of two memorials, one of which reiterated the contention that the constitution of 1819 was in lawful existence seeing that the old diet had met. Thus, as Canitz had foreseen, the good-natured pliability of the Guelph's subjects had been turned into a snare for their undoing. The second memorial attempted to prove that the state fundamental law was invalid owing to its defects of form and its radical tenour. A sharp attack was made in addition upon the South German constitutions, which were

[1] Schöler's Reports, November 30, and December 5, 1838.
[2] Jordan's Report, January 24, 1839.

said to conflict with the German system of class divisions and to infringe the monarchical principle. The implication obviously was that the constitutionalist crowns would never think of venturing an attack upon the Guelph court, the only true embodiment of monarchy.

During the prolonged recess, the governments had ample time to ponder these astonishing documents. Schöler reopened the session on February 28, 1839. Münch had not yet arrived, and it was plain to all that Austria, like Hanover, desired to postpone the decision, or perhaps evade it completely.[1] During the prolonged pause that ensued King Frederick William seized the opportunity to address another serious remonstrance to the Guelph. He wrote: "Let me urge your majesty to remember that Prussia's position as a federal state imposes duties and prescribes considerations which cannot be disregarded without departure from the principles which the German sovereigns have unanimously accepted."[2] This sounded almost as if Prussia had now determined to maintain the unambiguous prescriptions of the final act. But these gentle and conciliatory exhortations could make no impression on the Guelph. He believed, with good reason, alas! that in the last resort his amiable brother-in-law would not leave him in the lurch.

When Münch at length arrived, Bavaria, supported by all the South German courts and by both lines of the Saxon house, proposed on April 26th, that Hanover should be summoned, in accordance with article 56 of the final act, to uphold the legal status and to carry out by constitutionalist methods any changes that might be deemed desirable. The proposal demanded nothing more than ought long ere this to have been insisted upon, but a further respite was extended to the Hanoverian court.[3] The latter, following its usual practice, exceeded the prescribed term, but at length, on June 27th, sent in a memorial which put all its previous performances in the shade. This writing was composed by Privy Councillor Falcke, a dandified old bachelor, celebrated as a dog fancier. In the year 1831 he had negotiated with Ernest Augustus concerning the state fundamental law,[4] and subsequently for

[1] Schöler's Report, March 1, 1839.
[2] King Frederick William to King Ernest Augustus, April, 1839.
[3] Schöler's Report, April 27, 1839.
[4] See vol. V, p. 198.

several years, in conjunction with Rose, had represented the duke of Cambridge in the diet. These past incidents had proved no obstacle to a subservient attitude towards the new sovereign, and now the very man who had conducted the negotiations was impudent enough to assure the Bundestag that Ernest Augustus had not been duly informed concerning the state fundamental law. The federal governments were not in a position to recognise the utter mendacity of these Guelph fables, but they had an inkling that Hanover was paltering with the truth. Besides, the reiterated invectives against "the constitutionalist humbug of the day" could not fail to rouse the ire of the South German courts. Stüve confuted Falcke's memorial in an admirable essay in the *Hannoversche Portfolio.*

But of what account were reasons in this matter? The majority had determined not to sacrifice the Guelph, since this would make his position untenable. On September 5th, when the question was put, it was decided by ten votes against six "to take no action" upon the Bavarian proposal. At the same time, however, the expectation was voiced that King Ernest Augustus would still come to an understanding with his estates. In addition to the two great powers and the two Guelph courts, Electoral Hesse, Holstein, Luxemburg, and Mecklenburg voted with the majority, and also the two curias of the petty states, which, guided by the faithful Leonhardi, usually followed the Austrian lead. The minority consisted of Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, Baden, the Ernestines, and the free cities. Hesse-Darmstadt alone attempted to pursue a middle course, and advocated a proposal to mediate. The proceedings were little flattering to Hanover. Even the Austrian envoy was compelled to admit that "very respectable opinions" could be quoted in favour of the state fundamental law. The wording of the resolution was as non-committal as possible, and no expression of approval of the Guelph's action was vouchsafed, for none of the envoys would have agreed to anything of the kind.

But despite all twists and turns, the terrible fact remained that the Bundestag had failed to fulfil its duty, had refused to protect the incontestable rights of a German land. The German central authority, long ere this profoundly discredited, could not possibly recover from such a stigma. Henceforward the favourite topic of all malcontents was what the newspapers

spoke of as "the Bundestag's Declaration of Incompetence." The Prussian government shared responsibility for this grave injustice. Repudiating its own principles and disregarding Prussia's natural allies, that government had co-operated with the old enemies of Prussian commercial policy, thus missing a precious opportunity for the consolidation of "that genuine league of Germany" whose development Motz had foreshadowed in the customs union, and whose existence might now have been justified before the nation. Minister Werther's intense dissatisfaction, his serious thoughts of resignation, were of little avail to counteract the unfortunate consequences of this momentous error.

The Guelph court did not hesitate to turn the federal decision to account, acting here with its habitual disingenuousness. On September 10th, a proclamation was issued stating that the Bundestag had recognised the constitution of 1819 as legally valid. Bavaria and the other states of the minority entered strongly worded protests against this falsehood.[1] Thereupon the Guelph demanded that the legal opinions of the three faculties should be suppressed by the federal authority. The majority agreed, but Bavaria again protested, and the upshot was that the forbidden document circulated freely almost everywhere in Germany. The Hanoverian court sedulously endeavoured to maintain the impression that its relationships with the court of Prussia were close and cordial, though such was by no means the case. When the commercial treaty between Hanover and Prussia had been signed, Ernest Augustus asked in set terms that a Prussian order should be bestowed on his minister Schele. In view of the circumstances the demand could not well be refused, and the king was able to enjoy the satisfaction of finding that the petty press discussed the granting of this distinction with nearly as much zest as had formerly been aroused by the topic of Professor Schmalz's famous red eagle. The interminable dispute dragged on for many months. Again and again the indefatigable Dr. Hessenberg submitted statements of grievance from Hanoverian towns; and it was a hard matter to maintain a semblance of unity among the contentious parties in the Bundestag.[2]

In reality, however, the Hanoverian constitutional struggle

[1] Schöler's Report, October 1, 1839.
[2] Schöler's Report, March 5, 1840.

was over. As Stüve had long foreseen, the weak and widely dispersed opposition could not possibly hope to achieve success without the help of the Bundestag. The populace was weary of the quarrel. The government used all possible means to secure the reassembling of a full chamber, going so far as to declare valid elections undertaken by dissentient minorities in the constituencies, a step to which even Count Münster, marshal of the diet, found it impossible to give his approval. Christiani and other liberal deputies were cited by the police to appear in the chamber, being told that the penalty for default would be expulsion from the town of Hanover. Thus was Germany regaled with the wonderful spectacle of seeing popular representatives shepherded to the chamber by the executive authority. By such means a quorum was ultimately secured, and in the summer of 1840 the diet pronounced itself ready to consider a new constitutional proposal from the government. Ernest Augustus now received his loyal estates in friendly fashion, saying: "It will lift a load from my heart to hear what you have to say." When he could get his way, the king was not a bad fellow.

The constitutional law was enacted on August 6, 1840. By the new constitution the Guelph secured all he wanted. The ministry was not responsible to the estates; the legislative competence of the diet was rigidly restricted; above all, the long desired separation of the treasuries was effected. Even more important was the provision that exclusion from the succession was to take place only for mental disorder, for the blind crown prince would now be enabled to ascend the throne in due course—though he would have been excluded by the old custom of the Guelph house. Thus, as if by miracle, a sovereign who at first had not himself been sure of what he wanted, unsupported by any statesman of note, had maintained his power in defiance of law and public opinion. But the victory was dearly bought. Profound tranquillity had prevailed under the ægis of the state fundamental law. The new diet brought into being by Ernest Augustus was continually at variance with the government, and the Guelph sovereign was soon to learn, greatly to his discomfiture, that his new, independent royal treasury was to prove an inadequate source of supply.

For Germany these Hanoverian troubles were to have little significance henceforward. But the nation could never

forget the federal decision of September 5, 1839. Even men of moderate views now began to feel that right was not secure under the Germanic federation; and as time passed the hope became ever more widely diffused that a forcible transformation would occur, that the miseries of Germany would be ended at a single blow.

CHAPTER X.

THE COLOGNE EPISCOPAL DISPUTE.

§ 1. ARCHBISHOP DROSTE-VISCHERING.

SINCE the days when Baron von Stein had censured the sultanism of the kings by Napoleon's grace, the disorganisation of public law and the undisciplined characteristics of sovereign princely authority in emperorless Germany had never been so shamefully displayed as in the time of the Guelph coup d'état. There was no one in Germany to pass judgment on a crime for which there could not be pleaded, as for the arbitrary acts of the Rhenish confederate princes, that it had been dictated by the need for self-preservation. In a fit of cowardice the supreme German authority had refused to do its duty. What the courts termed "order" was in reality the perpetuation of anarchy; and the demand for a strong national centralised authority, one able to control the arbitrary inclinations of the petty rulers, sprang not from revolutionary passion but from a respect for law. Those who still had the audacity to defend the incompetent Bundestag could no longer remain on terms with any that despaired of the peaceful development of this dishonoured federation. The dispute between the political parties became as irreconcilable as the literary warfare between Heine and the Swabians, between Schlosser and Hurter, between Strauss and the defenders of orthodoxy. Even such courageous spirits as Heinrich Leo had a nightmare feeling when they contemplated the sinister ferment, the terrible oppositions, of German life. And now, in this storm-tossed world, there flamed up an ecclesiastical dispute which threatened to reawaken all the passions of the Thirty Years War, which menaced the destruction of the nation's most cherished possession, the dearly bought peace of religions.

For the first time the Prussian state was at open feud with the reinvigorated papacy, and was forced to retreat after a brief passage at arms. In accordance with the genius of its history Prussia fought on behalf of the idea of parity, but she employed the weapons of police coercion and an outworn ecclesiastical policy, so that to the world at large she seemed an oppressor of freedom of conscience, whilst through the maladroitness of her diplomatists she incurred a reputation for duplicity. The official regime was no longer equal to its tasks. At the very time when in its plans for railway development it had once more manifested its old business efficiency, it displayed timidity in face of the Guelph coup d'état, and proved utterly resourceless vis-à-vis the Roman church. At the close of a decade which owed so much to the peace policy and to the customs union plans of the crown of Prussia, among the friends of Prussia concern began once more to prevail lest the foundations of this state should prove insecure. Her enemies, on the other hand, consolidated their forces in order to question the viability of all that the living energies of German history had created during the previous two centuries.

Gregory XVI had entered upon his tenure of the holy see during the confusions of the rising of 1831. Throughout his papal career he was forced to depend upon the aid of foreign mercenaries, upon the levies of the clericalists, and upon the Centurioni (an offspring of the earlier Sanfedisti), for in no other way could he safeguard the heritage of Peter from the onslaughts of the patriot conspirators. The papal dominions had long been regarded as the worst-governed of all European states, and never was this ill-repute more general than at the period with which we are now concerned, when the hot-blooded Romagnese were ready to revive the old Gueux war-cry, "Rather Turkish than papist." After elevation to the papal dignity, just as formerly when general of the Camaldolenses, Gregory led the life of a distinguished monk; at board among his spiritual colleagues the hideous man with blubber lips and a huge fistulous ulcer on his red nose, would appear almost amiable when he gave free rein to his satirical humour. His general outlook remained monastic, and more crudely and harshly than his two predecessors did he display his opposition to secular authority. During his first years as pope he was guided to some extent by the cautious advice

of Bernetti, the secretary of state, who belonged to the experienced political school of Consalvi. But in January, 1836, Bernetti was dismissed, to be succeeded by Cardinal Lambruschini, chief of the "zealots," the Genoese party in the college of cardinals, a priest of austere habits, dictatorial, passionate, inexorable, rigid in his adhesion to the principles of the harsh papal system. As nuncio in Paris he had participated in the coup d'état of Charles X, and even the fall of the Bourbons had taught him nothing. Roothaan, a Netherlander, had now become general of the Jesuits, the most capable man who had filled that position since the days of Aquaviva, being notable for astuteness, for knowledge of the world and of men, for unresting activity. Henceforward the subterranean machinations of the Jesuits could be traced everywhere. Nor was even Prussia exempt, for although since 1827 Prussian subjects had been forbidden to attend Jesuit schools in other lands, every well-informed person on the Rhine and in Posen was aware that many of the Prussian divinity students who made their way to Munich university would suddenly vanish to reappear in the scarlet cassocks of the Germanicum, the German college in Rome. Should they subsequently return to their native land, their leaving certificates from Munich were always in perfect order, thanks to unspecified Bavarian well-wishers.

Owing to the brilliant victory which the Roman see had won in Belgium, that old battlefield of the creeds, the self-confidence of the clericalists had on all hands mightily increased. They now spoke of themselves as the ultramontane party, and by this name they have since been generally known. What an enormous advantage was it to be able to point henceforward triumphantly to the land which short-sighted liberals continued to extol as a model state, and to show that the unchallenged dominion of the Roman church was not incompatible with constitutionalist freedom. The Belgian clerics did not fail to do justice to their Spanish schooling, and the language they used about the Protestant church became ever more arrogant and menacing. One of the Flemish bishops, van der Velde by name, issued a pastoral letter, warning the faithful among his flock against the seducers who tempted Catholics to indulge during Lent in the pleasures of the dance, to attend lewd theatrical representations, and to read the sacred books in the vernacular tongue. These

had been the means employed by the Bible societies to befool consciences; "their worthy prototypes in the sixteenth century employed like methods with deplorable results!" As long as the French revolution had oppressed and pillaged the clergy, the curia had made common cause with the conservative courts, but now there had arisen a number of revolutionary powers favourable to the church, and it promptly became apparent that the policy of Rome was concerned solely with ecclesiastical ends, and that political parties, whatever their character, were to be used simply as means to these ends. In Belgium the clericalist party was in the front rank of the rebellion, and as soon as the partition of the Netherlands had been effected, the Belgian clerics were conspicuously clever in turning to account all the constitutionalist liberties which the Roman see had so often condemned—free speech in parliament, freedom of the press, and the right of free association. Alike in Poland and in Ireland the ultramontanes fanned the flames of revolt. In France, too, they were ever ready to walk hand in hand with the radical opposition, for notwithstanding the pliability Louis Philippe displayed towards them they thoroughly understood the unecclesiastical character of the bourgeois monarchy. As regards the old "priests' alley" of the German realm, this least of all would they relinquish to the state which they justly regarded as the leader of continental Protestantism. Every Rhinelander knew that countless spies despatched by the Roman see and the Belgian ultramontanes were watching the conduct of the Rhenish clergy, and were turning to account all the blunders of the government. Many hotspurs recommended a union between Rhineland and Catholic Belgium; whilst some desired to recall to the Rhine the pious house of Wittelsbach, which for two centuries erstwhile had held sway in Düsseldorf and in Cologne.

Whilst these ultramontane intrigues were disquieting the Rhenish province, in any case somewhat disaffected, the crown of Prussia was endeavouring to put an end to the only controversy between Prussia and the pope. Upon Bunsen's advice Prussia had been foolish enough to treat with the Roman see concerning the question of mixed marriages, this being, in fact, to discuss the validity of her own laws. As a result of these negotiations there was issued on March 25, 1830, a brief penned by Cardinal Cappellari, afterwards Pope

Gregory XVI.[1] Bunsen's vanity led him to flatter himself into the belief that he had secured a brilliant victory over the curia, and he complacently permitted Archbishop Spiegel to congratulate him upon the triumph of his negotiations. But when Berlin came to look into the matter more closely, it soon became obvious that the brief was far from being an unambiguous concession to the laws of the parity state. The curia can never abandon a principle, being willing at most *temporum ratione habita* to concede tacitly a mild interpretation of its inalterable laws. Two passages in the brief, above all, seemed inadmissible to the king. He regarded it as unchristian and as derogatory to the dignity of the Protestant church that before contracting marriage the Catholic bride should be solemnly warned that a mixed union was a deadly sin; and whilst he was willing as a last resort to content himself with the tendering of passive assistance by the Roman Catholic priest, he nevertheless demanded that the religious consecration of mixed marriages should not be positively forbidden. In February, 1831, he had the brief sent back to Rome, and Bunsen again attempted in protracted negotiations to induce the curia to modify its decision. The effort was fruitless. Rome had spoken, and a mitigation was all the less to be anticipated seeing that Gregory, the new pope, had been the actual compiler of the brief.

But the envoy, ever sanguiné, did not despair. In the name of the European powers he had summoned the pope to institute reforms in the papal states,[2] and since then had regarded himself as the leader of Roman diplomacy. So great was now his self-confidence that nothing seemed unattainable. He advised the crown to come to a private understanding with the bishops of the western provinces as to a mild interpretation and utilisation of the brief. To evade the decisions of the Roman see with the assistance of the native episcopate seemed a natural means of self-defence. The state authorities had frequently availed themselves of it in order to harmonise the immutable utterances of the theocracy with the eternal flux of secular affairs. But such attempts were always dangerous, and success had hitherto been secured only by Catholic rulers who could rely on the unconditional support of their bishops. Even in the case of Catholic rulers the successes belonged to the old days before the secularisation,

[1] See vol. IV, p. 200. [2] See vol. V, p. 81.

when the church was still wealthy, when the higher clergy were still nationalist in sentiment, and when cabinet secrets could still be closely guarded. How could the Protestant king of Prussia expect the Catholic bishops of his realm to display this inviolable loyalty, when all possibility of a national church had vanished, and when the monarchical authority of the pope over the episcopate had become almost unrestricted? Only one as frivolous-minded as Bunsen could hope that in this epoch of anonymous journalism and ultramontane machinations the understanding with the bishops could be kept permanently secret—an understanding which would manifestly lose all its force as soon as it became publicly known.

Early in 1834 the resourceful diplomatist was summoned to Berlin, and although the older ministers shook their heads over his bold designs, the king and the crown prince gave him their unrestricted confidence. He was commissioned to treat first with Archbishop Spiegel and found his elderly well-wisher ready to concede everything. The gentle prelate, a man of wide experience, foresaw how much dissension the demand for the Catholic education of the children would arouse in the motley diocese of Cologne. He knew that the demand did not merely involve an affront to the Protestant church. Spiegel recognised further that the personal honour of every Protestant bridegroom would be touched should he be asked to give a binding pledge to the priest of an alien faith in matters concerning his own most intimate and most sacred affairs. But how were these reasonable views to be reconciled with the papal brief? From its purposely involved phraseology this much only could be deduced with certainty, that if the bride and bridegroom would not bind themselves to the Catholic education of all their children, the utmost that was to be granted was the priest's passive assistance. The archbishop hesitated long, and his conscience was very uneasy. But there was now forthcoming a spiritual conjuror to support Bunsen's audacious dialectic. This was Canon München, an expert in ecclesiastical law, who had of late years acquired extensive (and in the opinion of Lord Lieutenant Vincke at times undesirable) influence over the aging prince of the church.[1] In a cumbrously learned opinion München proved—for what cannot Catholic hermeneutics prove?—that the brief permitted everything which it did not expressly forbid.

[1] Vincke to Altenstein, December 12, 1835.

Spiegel's conscience was now set at rest, and, after short negotiations, on June 19, 1834, he signed a secret understanding with Bunsen, conceding everything the state could desire on behalf of the religious peace of the western provinces, though his concessions were in accord neither with the pope's recent brief nor with the prescriptions of the old canon law. Church consecration of mixed marriages was to be the rule henceforward, regardless of the question how the children of the marriage were to be brought up, and only when the Catholic bride manifested a wanton and censurable levity was the priest to restrict his participation to passive assistance. "It may reasonably be hoped," wrote Bunsen exultingly, "that this last eventuality will never arise." Such extensive concessions had not before been made to any state, and the crown responded with a pledge which could hardly be regarded as a counter-concession, seeing that king and pope had come to terms about the matter several years earlier. Prussia agreed that civil marriage, which had long been an offence to the monarch, was to be abolished on the left bank of the Rhine. In the spring of 1837 a legislative proposal to this effect was actually laid before the Rhenish provincial diet, but to Frederick William's profound distress the estates demurred to it on the ground that civil and ecclesiastical marriage legislation had not yet been harmonised. The archbishop undertook to win over his suffragans to the secret understanding. He spent two days in Paderborn and three in Münster overcoming the scruples of the respective bishops. The venerable bishop Hommer of Treves likewise agreed, and in accordance with the understanding the four prelates thereupon issued identical instructions to their vicars general. Spiegel put his trust in the conciliatory effect of time. He wished the new and gentler practice to become peacefully established, and proposed after a while, when a favourable moment came, to ask the pope's approval. But the archbishop died on August 2, 1835, and only if his successor were a man of similar sentiments could there be any hope of maintaining peace between state and church, a peace secured by such arduous effort and by such ambiguous means.

The ministry of public worship and education had absolutely no conception of the serious features in the situation. Privy Councillor Schmedding, referendary for Catholic ecclesiastical affairs, was indubitably a Prussian patriot. During Napoleonic

days he had refused alluring invitations from the Berg government, and, preferring to remain in the king's service, had removed from the Ems to the Pregel, a step by no means easy to the Westphalian. He never doubted that the state authority was sovereign; he was convinced that pure dualism of state and church was impossible; and he zealously endeavoured to secure that the clergy should give religious consecration to all mixed marriages.[1] Nevertheless, with the lapse of years he drew ever closer to the rising ultramontane party. He detested the distinguished worldly ecclesiastics of the earlier generation, speaking of them as "a rabble of secularised priests"; the Hermoesians soon became suspect to him; only in the doctrines of the Tübingen Catholic school, which had just produced its ripest work in Möhler's *Symbolik*, could he discern unadulterated Christian truth. The king did not entirely trust him, and passed him over when granting the customary distinctions.[2] But all the more firmly did he become established in the minister's favour. He was the soul of Altenstein's ecclesiastical policy, that policy which aimed at keeping the Roman church in leading strings by the state, but always in accordance with strict Catholic principles. Schmedding did not get on well with Archbishop Spiegel, regarding his ideas as too worldly; and it was natural that the referendary should detest Bunsen as an unauthorised rival.

He endeavoured by repeated journeys to inform himself regarding the life of the Catholic church in Germany. On one of these journeys he visited Bamberg, where he learned to esteem the gentle Archbishop Frauenburg as a friend to Prussia, and as one who maintained the peace of religions;[3] and he also revisited Münster, his old home. Here he was quite bewitched by Clemens August Droste-Vischering, sometime vicar general, the blindest of all the ultramontane zealots, and the only one of the Prussian prelates who had hitherto ventured open resistance to the state authority.[4] Some years earlier, during the contest between Droste and the government, Schmedding had been of the opinion that the authorities

[1] Schmedding, Memorial Concerning Mixed Marriages, May 12, 1830.
[2] Schmedding to Altenstein, December 5, 1819; May 23, 1821; January 22, 1826.
[3] Schmedding to Altenstein, Bamberg, September 29, 1828.
[4] See vol. III, pp. 554 et seq.

had gone too far.[1] When he now saw the pious priest praying among the sisters of charity, when he discussed with Droste-Vischering "the great theme of our day, the reciprocal influence of state and church," invariably meeting with unctuous responses, he considered that a grave injustice had been done to the dismissed vicar general, and was delighted to be able to secure for him at least the position of a suffragan bishop. When the archiepiscopal see of Gnesen fell vacant in 1826, he unreflectingly recommended Droste to the succession, and the only reason why the suggestion was not adopted was that Altenstein desired to appoint a Pole.[2]

As soon as he received tidings that the archbishop of Cologne was dying, on July 25, 1835, before Count Spiegel had closed his eyes, Schmedding with indecent haste drafted a memorial recommending the suffragan bishop of Münster as the only possible successor. The Prussian bishops, he said, were all either disinclined or unsuitable. There could be no question of any of the other German prelates. Droste's devout sentiments, the purity of his life, the quality of his mental and emotional culture, the richness of his pastoral experience, received their due meed of praise, and especial stress was laid upon the fact that in recent years his whole energy had been devoted to active Christianity, for he had wrought "as an angel of peace and to the best advantage of the state."[3] Thus at a moment when the issues were extremely complicated there was to be appointed to the premier spiritual position in the monarchy the very man of whom it could most certainly be predicted that he would obstinately resist every claim put forward by the state, be that claim justified or unjustified. Altenstein, however, made Schmedding's proposal his own, adopting it almost word for word, merely thinking it advisable to strike out the phrase about the angel of peace and a few similar commendations which seemed fulsome. Privy Councillor Nicolovius ventured diffident objections on account of the monkish mode of life "of this noble-minded and earnest man, for if he were appointed to succeed Count Spiegel the contrast would be somewhat striking," but soon allowed himself to be over-ruled. When

[1] Schmedding to Altenstein, May 5, 1818.
[2] Schmedding to Altenstein, October 2, 1826.
[3] Schmedding, Privy Memorial Concerning the Illness of the Archbishop of Cologne, July 25, 1835.

Vincke, who had not forgotten his earlier struggles with Droste, suggested that there were grave objections to the appointment, Altenstein rejoined that he knew of no other suitable candidate, cheerfully adding: "Fortune has smiled on us so far, and will I trust continue to do so."[1]

Beyond question, neither the minister nor his leading adviser would have dared to make so preposterous a proposal without exalted support. The king was failing, and the coming government was already casting its shadow across the present. The crown prince and Prince William the elder, with the latter's pious spouse, Maria Anna, had recently visited Münster. They had been greatly edified at the sight of Droste's Clemens hospital; they had admired the austerity of his life; they had graciously approved his *Introduction to Meditation* written for the sisters of charity. Like so many Protestants of the north-east they innocently believed that this Catholic life of penance was akin to Protestant orthodoxy. Only to a priest of such exemplary piety did the crown prince wish to entrust the see of Cologne. Moreover, it seemed to him the honourable duty of the Prussian crown to compensate the old chapter families which had of yore ruled the Germany of the prince bishops, by appointing their sons to the great prélatures of the west.[2] This settled the point for Altenstein, who in matters ecclesiastical invariably yielded to the desires of the heir to the throne.

The minister, wishing to be sure of his ground, enquired through the intermediation of one of the Münster canons whether Droste would be willing to carry out the agreement made with Spiegel. The answer showed that despite his sanctity and his contempt for the world, this contemplative son of the red earth was by no means disinclined to grasp the episcopal crosier. On September 5 Droste conveyed an assurance to the effect that he desired to live at peace with all, and to continue during the closing years of his life to devote his energies to good works. Should he be appointed to episcopal office, he would be careful to avoid any breach of the understanding that had been made in accordance with the brief, and would administer the brief in the spirit of love

[1] Nicolovius' Opinion, August 11; Altenstein's Reply, August 14; Altenstein to Vincke, November 30, 1835.

[2] Apart from other sources of information, this is recounted by Minister Du Thil, who was invariably well informed concerning Catholic affairs.

and peace. Altenstein's mind was set at rest. He assured Frederick William that Clemens August was a man of far gentler disposition than his elder brother Caspar Max, Bishop of Münster,[1] and the monarch sanctioned the appointment But Cardinal Lambruschini, who knew his man, said to Bunsen in the first involuntary ebullition of astonishment: "Is your government mad?" When the chapter had completed the election, Lord Lieutenant Bodelschwingh, though invariably well-disposed towards the clergy, expressed the opinion that a most disastrous and inexcusable error had been made.

As stubbornly and intractably as Ernest Augustus, absolutely permeated like the king of Hanover with the belief in his own divine right, did Droste-Vischering march towards his goal. For him the secular authority simply did not exist. Even if he could not rival the Guelph in mendacity or cunning he was no less unscrupulous in the choice of means. How abrupt was the transformation in the archiepiscopal palace of St. Gereon when the new archbishop was installed in May, 1836. Cloistral tranquillity prevailed in the halls where Spiegel had been wont to give his cheerful but ever dignified banquets. The minor clergy, who had always been sure of a courteous and friendly reception from Spiegel, encountered from Droste strict and forbidding treatment, and were not slow to complain that this harshness was an infringement of canonical prescriptions. His old Westphalian manservant had general orders to admit no visitors. Spiegel had bequeathed his fine library to the chapter, and Droste hastened to pack it out of the house. He would have nothing to do with such pagan knowledge. Except for the tobacco-pipe he knew naught of earthly needs. The archbishop held aloof from the higher clerics, who almost all belonged to Spiegel's school. Michelis, the young chaplain, was his most trusted adviser, and with the aid of this ultramontane hotspur he succeeded in bringing his active career as archbishop to a close within eighteen months.

The Belgian newspapers, led by the ultramontane *Journal de Liége*, hailed the appointment of the new archbishop with glee. Immediately after Spiegel's death *The Red Book* was published, a work composed by the clergy of Aix-la-Chapelle, stuffed with false accusations against the Prussian

[1] In a marginal note written in January, 1838, the king referred to this assurance with some acrimony.

crown. Ambitious designs were attributed to the Berlinese statesmen, designs which unfortunately they were far from cherishing, for it was asserted "Prussia and Germany already seem to them identical." When *The Red Book* was suppressed in Prussia, a printing office was established in the little Belgian town of Sittard, close to the frontier, and here the forbidden work was printed, in addition to a number of inflammatory pamphlets which were circulated in the Rhine provinces.[1] *Winter Evening Fireside Talks* described how the Rhinelanders were all slaves, all befooled by Prussia, and declared that in Rhineland five and twenty years before there had been more crown thalers than there were silbergroschen to-day; if a Protestant referred to the faith of his fathers, this was as much as if a rascal should excuse himself by saying, "My parents, too, were a bad lot." The Protestant king, who by negotiations in the soul-market had estranged his daughter-in-law from the true faith, was contrasted with the good Catholic, "Kaiser Fränzel," of Austria.

The Hermesians offered a welcome target for the fierce clericalist hatred which found expression in such writings. Revenge was now taken for the way in which Spiegel, to Altenstein's regret, had unduly favoured the disciples of Hermes. The opposing party, long kept in the shade, thirsted for vengeance, and its members were aware that the new archbishop had been at enmity with both Spiegel and Hermes. Droste estimated the number of Hermesians among the clergy of his archbishopric at more than five thousand, and these included nearly all the older priests, those submissive to the state authority. Nevertheless this powerful school was already on the decline, just as was the old rationalism within the Protestant church. The Hermesians showed no understanding of the new ideas which the romanticist movement had awakened in the Catholic world, and the more vigorous the revival of religious consciousness, the less possible was it that Catholics should rest content with a theology which attempted to base the articles of the Roman creed upon the purely Protestant teaching of Kant. Many years earlier, Fonk, the ultramontane vicar general of Aix-la-Chapelle, had warned the Bonn theologians against the philosopher of Königsberg, and Altenstein had censured this action as an unwarrantable intrusion into the

[1] Rochow, Report to the king, May 24, 1837.

domain of secular science.[1] The *Aschaffenburger Kirchenzeitung* had recently been conducting a vigorous paper war against the compromises of the Hermesians, and after Hermes' death in 1831 his opponents endeavoured to induce the Roman see to issue an authoritative condemnation of the deceased. In Vienna, Jarcke carried on the work of denunciation with all a convert's fanaticism, and the Viennese Redemptorists hastened to cull a number of heretical propositions from Hermes' writings. Jarcke now visited Rhineland to gather fresh proofs against the Bonn school of theologians, and pursuaded his patron Metternich, acting through the envoy Count Lützow (another member of the clericalist troop of renegades from Protestantism), to give secret support in Rome to the campaign against the Hermesians. The influence of the Viennese court publicist could be traced everywhere. During these years he was giving political instruction to the hereditary prince of Nassau, and so great was Jarcke's success that for a long time henceforward the home of the Protestant Orange family was a prey to clericalist influences. Windischmann, the Bonn physician, and a number of German theologians were now commissioned to draft opinions for the holy see.[2]

Count Reisach in Rome, and Perrone the Jesuit, drew up the final report, and in September, 1835, shortly after Spiegel's death, the main Hermesian propositions were condemned, being declared suspect of heresy (haeresin sapientes) in a papal brief composed by Gregory XVI in person. The king of Prussia shrank from giving his sovereign approval, but in this age of publicity the sword of the placet had long since been blunted. The papal ordinance was published in the *Aschaffenburger Kirchenzeitung*, and friend and foe alike had to reckon with the accomplished fact. The moderates among the clergy were greatly alarmed. Bishop Bausch of Limburg sent Braun of Bonn (for Braun and his colleague Achterfeldt were considered chiefs of the Hermesians) a letter of condolence, declaring that in his diocese Hermes' disciples showed themselves to be thoroughly religious and good Catholics, "distinguished, indeed, and commendable for the excellence of their moral conduct." Even louder were the complaints

[1] Fonk to Professor Seber in Bonn, July 18; Altenstein to Rehfues, August 22, 1823.

[2] All these facts were disclosed by the investigations made by Schmedding among the Bonn professors (Altenstein to Rehfues, June 3, 1836; Schmedding o Rehfues, February 11; Rehfues' Report, February 21, 1837).

against the judgment uttered by Pabst, the Viennese theologian, who declared, "It will annihilate the scientific supremacy we seemed likely to gain over Protestantism, and will cause grave affliction to the majority of the Catholic clergy in Germany.[1] But Metternich unceasingly exhorted the pope to stand his ground against the Hermesians.[2] To convince Gregory of the deceased master's innocence, Braun and his friend Elvenich went to Rome, but there they were referred to the general of the Jesuits, and, as might have been foreseen, their errand proved fruitless. Powerful now, in the strengthening Roman church, had become the movement towards unconditional unity, whilst the members of that well-meaning school which desired to reconcile irreconcilables possessed but little moral energy. After a brief interval all the Hermesians submitted, excepting only Braun and Achterfeldt. A word from the pontifex sufficed, and the teacher who in the German west had so long been regarded as one of the pillars of the church was excluded from the flock of the faithful.

From the first the minister for public worship and education was convinced that the crown could not intervene in this controversy, which related solely to questions of dogma. He declared, it is true, that such disputes were manifestations of the hatred which the Roman see had cherished towards the German universities since the days of Luther, but his one desire was that the struggle should be quietly conducted and should "die a natural death"; for, he said, "the question whether a theological proposition is true or false cannot be determined by state decree." On no account would he tolerate "an encroachment on the part of the state authority into the sacred domain of faith, or any interference with the orderly proceedings of the constituted spiritual authorities."[3] His faithful adherent Schmedding went so far as to regard the dispute with scarce-concealed pleasure, and banteringly counselled a Hermesian theologian "to await with equanimity the development of the tragicomedy."[4] Although the brief had not yet been published in Prussia, Altenstein instructed Rehfues, curator of the university of Bonn, to summon those

[1] Bishop Bausch to Braun, November 10; Dr. Pabst to Braun, October 9, 1835.

[2] Metternich, Instruction to Lützow, May 10, 1837.

[3] Altenstein to Rehfues, June 29 and October 27, 1836, February 8, 1837.

[4] Schmedding, March 8, 1836, to a Hermesian cleric, whose name is unknown to me.

professors who were concerned in the matter and to exact from them a pledge to abstain in their lectures from all references to Hermes and his doctrines.

It was impossible for the state to go further in its pliability. The archbishop was entitled to regulate the whole domestic life of the Catholic theological school at Bonn, which was officially regarded as part of the Cologne seminary, and were he to wield this power as vigorously as his predecessor, Hermesian teaching could be absolutely excluded from the system of theological instruction. But Droste wished to go further, and to get rid of the detested Hermesians as well as to suppress their doctrines, "I have not yet fully decided upon a course of action," wrote the archbishop to Rehfues on April 6, 1837. "But this much is certain, that I shall not tolerate the introduction into the church of that demagogy which has already caused so much disquiet to the states, and further, that from all the Catholic priests of my diocese, whatever their position, I shall demand strict obedience in religious matters, for it is my duty to demand it and theirs to tender it." When Altenstein took him to task for a Belgian newspaper article which could only have emanated from the Cologne chancellery he churlishly replied: "Chaplain Michelis has enemies, but his only enemies are the Hermesians, whose arrogance harmonises ill with his modesty." He seemed to be spoiling for a fight, and the easy-tempered minister's comment on the despatch was: "This tone may lead to very unpleasant eventualities, and the question arises what had better be done."[1]

It was manifestly the archbishop's intention to destroy the theological school of Bonn university, by which the divinity students were to some extent brought into contact with secular science. "Formerly," he wrote to the minister, "theology was taught here in the Cologne seminary. It is true that the alumni did not then learn so much about ratiocination but they learned dogmatics, ethics, etc., learned theology, learned things really useful to them, and I thank God that I still have in my arch-diocese priests belonging to those days."[2] He would not personally interrogate the Bonn theologians, as Rehfues recommended, nor would he send a commissary to their colleges, for they would only play the

[1] Droste to Altenstein, December 16, 1836.
[2] Droste to Altenstein, December 22, 1836.

hypocrite; nor would the rigidly Catholic compendium compiled by Liebermann serve as an outline guide for their lectures, since the professors, though given a text, could discourse as they pleased. Whilst thus sedulously abstaining from the exercise of his incontestable right of supervision, as if wishing to show his contempt for the state authority, he had recourse to illegal means. First of all, he forbade the publication of one of the issues of the *Theologische Zeitschrift*, edited by the Bonn Hermesians, though he must have been aware that the episcopal censorship extended only to devotional works. Next he ordered the deans of the chapter to issue instructions to the Bonn clergy that these should forbid their penitents to read Hermesian writings or attend Hermesian lectures. The papal prohibition was in force, he said, and no one could excuse himself on the ground that it had not yet been published. "If such an excuse were to be admitted as valid, it would always be within the competence of the secular authorities to obstruct the working of the centrum unitatis ordained by the Saviour—and this would be quite agreeable to the Hermesians, as to all sectaries, who ever depend upon the support of the secular power, which can never (since it is an interested party) be entitled to act as judge in matters of the kind." The style of his letters never failed to correspond to their rough and quarrelsome tenour and to the badness of Droste's handwriting. The natural outcome of the above-mentioned orders was that all discipline was at an end in the theological school. The students split up into factions, and denounced their teachers to the archbishop, who was not slow to act on hints from such sources. In the summer of 1837, when the syllabus for the ensuing term was submitted to him, he deleted from the document all the theological lectures, the clericalist professor Klee being alone allowed to hold classes. Thus the royal foundation that had been established for the benefit of the Rhenish church was destroyed, most of the students leaving the Bonn theological school and applying for admission to the Cologne seminary. Finally Droste submitted for signature to the younger clergy eighteen propositions. The last of these implied a blunt denial of any supervisory right on the part of the state. In the event of a dispute with the archbishop, the clergy were asked to pledge themselves to appeal only to the pope. So manifestly did this conflict with Prussian law that even Walter, the

clerical jurist, when officially asked for an opinion, declared the stipulation objectionable.

Nevertheless the long-suffering government desired to spare the refractory prelate, and it was only the recurrence of the more serious dispute about mixed marriages which forced a rupture on the authorities. Shortly before Droste entered upon his office, a clericalist newspaper in Belgium published the gist of the privy instructions sent by the bishops to the vicar general. The data were right in the main, the anonymous contributor's only mistake being that he believed the document to have been an instruction from Spiegel to his suffragans. What a delight was this for the Roman see. In almost all her diplomatic negotiations Rome cherished, and could not fail to cherish, arrières pensées, and she therefore always found peculiar pleasure when she could detect the secular authority in underhand practices. With immense moral indignation Cardinal Lambruschini enquired of the Prussian envoy on March 15, 1836, whether this instruction did not plainly conflict with the prescriptions of the brief. At the same time he expressed the hope that the reception of a papal nuncio in Berlin might readily prevent the recurrence of such mistakes. This last suggestion was promptly and decisively rejected. On no account would the king tolerate in his capital the presence of a Roman prelate, whose person might readily have become a rallying centre for the opposition parties of the Polish and the Westphalian nobility. Ancillon went so far as to maintain that no sovereign state ought to receive such a diplomatic representative from an ecclesiastical corporation. The Prussian court, had it taken a sensible view of the matter, would have met the first enquiry, that regarding the instruction, with equal frankness. The secret had been disclosed, and nothing now remained but to tell the pope straightforwardly that since he had failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the enigmatic brief, the crown had been compelled to come to an understanding with its territorial bishops. Bunsen, however, still believed that his favourite petty methods would prove successful, and had recourse to sophistry which was as undignified as it was foolish.

In his reply of April 16th he gave a solemn assurance that Spiegel had never issued such an instruction as had been alleged. The statement was true in the letter, but utterly

false in the spirit, and it was not ennobled by the flux of pious and virtuous phrases that followed. In such arts of diplomatic eloquence the German theologian could vie with the cardinal. The inevitable ensued. The curia made private enquiries among the faithful on the Rhine, and in November the venerable bishop of Treves, then on his death-bed, influenced probably by the clerics of his entourage, wrote a penitent letter to the holy father begging forgiveness on account of the issue of the privy instruction. It was not long before the Roman see became acquainted with the full wording of the understanding between Spiegel and Bunsen. The crown of Prussia now appeared in odious light. Thanks to the blunders of its envoy in Rome, a government which with all its weaknesses was fundamentally honest, acquired a reputation for deceit, and nowhere was such a stigma more dangerous than on the Rhine, where every toper had long been in the habit of cracking silly jokes concerning Prussian wiles. The Rhinelanders now waxed abusive about "Bunsen the cheat," saying, "When he sheds tears you may be sure that he is lying!"

After such experiences who could have restrained the archbishop on his downward path? In Cologne, as formerly in Münster, he did not hesitate to command his priests to refuse to celebrate any mixed marriages unless a promise were given to educate all the children as Catholics, and as early as September, 1836, he pledged himself to the pope that the brief should be inviolably observed. When the government pointed out to him that he had given a solemn undertaking to carry out the instruction in the spirit of love, he returned the unexpected answer that he had known nothing whatever about this instruction. Ludicrous as the assurance would have been in another's mouth, its accuracy was not questioned by the government, for to this blind fanatic much was possible which more sensible men would not have dreamed of venturing. Droste lived wholly amid ecclesiastical ideas and had an utter contempt for the state authority of the Protestant king; it was therefore quite conceivable that he had never thought it worth while to glance at the instruction which he had solemnly pledged himself to observe. By the ordinary criterion of justice it was his obvious duty to resign his office if he felt himself unable to carry out the conditions under which it had been entrusted to him.

But how could such secular notions of honour disturb his prelatic arrogance? As he saw the matter, he owed his office solely to the grace of God and the holy see; it was a monstrous usurpation that the secular authority should have had a word to say. His dry answer to Minister Rochow was to the effect that the church was coordinate with the state, and that for the state to exercise a supervisionary right was needless and improper. It was for the bishop alone, he said, to decide concerning the training, the appointment, and the dismissal alike of priests and of theological professors. The theological school must be removed to Cologne, and an archiepiscopal seminary for boys must likewise be established in that city. All this was asserted in the name of the freedom of the Catholic church.

Thus unhesitatingly did he throw on to the scrap-heap all the ecclesiastical laws of the monarchy, and in the spring of 1837 the Prussian court informed the curia that it might prove necessary to deprive this unteachable man of his office (which he owed, indeed, solely to the government's own folly). The summer was spent in vain attempts at mediation. Cardinal Capaccini, a man of moderate views, though unlikely to be a trustworthy ally of the Protestant crown, paid a fruitless visit to Cologne. Subsequently, in September, Bunsen, who had been summoned from Rome, and Count Anton Stolberg, attempted an appeal to the conscience of "the petrified prelate," endeavouring to convince him that he ought either to resign his post or to obey the state laws to which he had given a formal assent.[1] But all was unavailing. On October 31st Droste wrote to the minister saying that he did not feel bound by the instruction in so far as it conflicted with the brief. The state could not tolerate such refractory conduct. It was true that the Rhinelanders had no wish for a revolution, for, despite all their invectives they were only too well aware how much they owed to Prussia. Nevertheless there was considerable reason to apprehend serious disturbances. An appeal was posted on the door of the cathedral exhorting Rhenish Catholics to throw off the Protestant yoke; Belgian emissaries were everywhere at work; Droste did not shrink from letting the inhabitants of Cologne know through the mouths of the priests that he would defend the rights of

[1] Reports to the king, from Bunsen, September 15 and 23, from Stolberg, September 20, 1837.

the church against the onslaughts of the secular authority. Was it desirable to wait until all these incitements bore fruit? Lord Lieutenant Bodelschwingh, much concerned, reported that Droste's intention was to have himself arrested in full canonicals before the high altar of the cathedral, thus consummating with due religious pomp one of those scenes of martyrdom which have ever been advantageous to the church.

On November 14th a great ministerial council was held under the king's presidency. Bunsen attended the deliberations. Like his patron the crown prince he was prepared for every possible concession, and had just induced the king to annul the unjust old ordinance by which it was made incumbent upon all soldiers to attend Protestant church parades. But after all that had happened he was of opinion that nothing more could be done in Rome unless the state were first to maintain its prestige by deeds. Even Anton Stolberg, the crown prince's friend, said it had come to this: "It is simply a question whether the king or the archbishop is to hold the reins of government."[1] The ministers consequently decided to deport the archbishop from his diocese unless he would voluntarily resign his office; he might be removed to his native Münster, but should he prove obstinate would have to be confined in a fortress.[2] The command was on November 20th enforced by Bodelschwingh and General Pfuel, tactfully and without undue asperity. As Droste did not wish to return home he was sent for the time being to the fortress of Minden. Indisputably the crown was within its rights. Since Old Prussian legislation concerning political offences was valid also in Rhineland, the king was just as much entitled to render the refractory archbishop harmless by the issue of a writ of attachment as Frederick the Great had been legally entitled to remove the prince bishops Sinzendorf and Schaffgotsch from Breslau. But times were changed. This right of the absolute crown no longer survived in the legal consciousness of the people; its exercise seemed tyrannical and, what was still worse, the general opinion naturally was that the state wished to use its powers to compel Catholic priests to administer the sacrament of marriage, a sacrament which the church must grant or withhold at its own discretion.

The curia was naturally prompt to seize its advantage,

[1] Stolberg to Cuny, December 16, 1837.
[2] Cabinet Order to Bodelschwingh, November 15, 1837.

and in following the dictates of diplomatic prudence it was able simultaneously to satisfy its inextinguishable hatred. First of all the Protestant powers, Prussia had been just in her dealings with the Roman church. None the less, to the papacy Prussia was the deadly enemy, the centre and mainstay of Protestantism; the Prussian throne was founded upon secularised church lands; now that opportunity offered to attack Martin Luther's fatherland in its political vitals, the long concealed sentiments of the Vatican could not fail to be revealed. Immediately on receipt of the first tidings from Cologne, and without awaiting the detailed reports promised from Berlin, Gregory summoned the cardinals, and on December 10th declared to them in a fierce allocution: "A thing which no one could have foreseen or conceived, a thing the mere thought of which would have been a crime, has been done by deliberate design on the part of the secular authority." He raised his voice, "to utter a public complaint, to demand the restoration of the infringed religious liberties, of the insulted episcopal dignity, of the rights of the Catholic church and of the holy see which had now been trampled upon." A tone of elemental zest pervaded these fulminations, and everyone felt that the Christian pontifex was speaking from the heart. This was the first time since the reestablishment of the papal state that the curia had ventured to hold such language towards a powerful country, and since the futile emotionalism of allocutions had not yet lost all influence through incessant repetitions, as happened under Gregory's successor, the pope's invectives resounded far and wide through the Catholic world.

There should have been but one answer to such abusive language. The crown of Prussia should have recalled its envoy from Rome, and, without vouchsafing a word to the Vatican, should have promptly introduced civil marriage—a shrewd blow for which Rome was not in the least prepared. There was little difficulty about the situation of the orphaned bishopric. Most members of the Cologne chapter held Hermesian views, and followed the advice of München, one of their number, the man responsible for the ingenious interpretation of the brief. Upon the citation of the state authority the chapter did not hesitate to undertake the temporary administration of the diocese, electing Hüsgen vicar general, and addressing a complaint to the curia, accompanied by the

usual lamentations concerning the harshness of the captive archbishop. A rebuke from the pope had no appreciable consequences. When Spinelli, nuncio in Brussels, attempted to declare Hüsgen's election uncanonical, his lenten indulgences null, the king intervened with a curt prohibition, and the curia made an embarrassed answer to the effect that Spinelli had acted without authority.[1] Moreover, it was possible to resume lectures at the Bonn theological school, with the permission of the chapter, for the Hermesians submitted to the pope's decisions in matters of dogma.[2] Thus affairs in the archdiocese might have remained in suspense for a considerable time had it only been possible to get rid of the original stumbling block, the dispute about mixed marriages.

The rule of ecclesiastical marriage became absolutely impracticable in a parity state when there no longer existed concord between pope and crown. If the state continued to demand the religious celebration of marriage, it would in the circumstances have to choose between tyrannical constraint of the consciences of Catholic priests or the subordination of its own laws to the caprice of the territorial bishops. To the Prussian court and to the adherents of the doctrine of the Christian state, as that doctrine was held in Berlin, the idea of civil marriage was alien, for the notion still lay outside the mental scope of the age. Not one among the countless writers who discussed the Cologne episcopal dispute dealt with the significance of civil marriage with penetrating knowledge. To the king the continuance of ecclesiastical marriage seemed a matter of course. But it now became evident to him that his Catholic subjects were afflicted with serious conscientious scruples, and he could not fail to recognise that, despite the strong feeling which had been aroused, especially among women, in the Rhenish territories there had been practically no disturbance of civil order. He had never dreamed of constraining any man's conscience, and had merely desired to fulfil his royal duty in preventing an insolent disregard of the state laws. To set people's minds at rest therefore, on January 28, 1838, he signed a cabinet order which explained in gentle terms that priests were merely forbidden "to extract a formal promise that children should be brought up in the Catholic faith"; discreet enquiries

[1] Rochow's Report to the king, April 5; Cabinet Order of April 9, 1838.
[2] Protocol of the chapter, November 27, 1837.

were permissible, and in doubtful cases the bishops were to decide "without recourse to the state authorities." This decree, obviously well-intentioned, was nothing else than a complete withdrawal on the part of the state authority, and its issue showed how little understanding as yet existed in Berlin regarding the significance of the dispute between the sovereign state and the church greedy for power. Henceforward the ultimate decision concerning mixed marriages was left to the bishops. Even Droste asked for nothing more. Why then was the ultramontane hotspur still held captive?

Even more than by this retreat was the prestige of the Prussian crown injured through the incredible folly of its diplomats in Rome. Lambruschini did not shrink from sending the allocution to von Buch, secretary of legation, and chargé in Bunsen's absence. This was a new and deliberate affront, for the pope's ferocious speech had not been directly addressed to the Prussian court. Buch was a good nobleman from Brandenburg, so transparently honest that the wily monsignori of the Vatican regarded "quello barone tedesco" as one of the wonders of Rome. Like most of his fellow-countrymen of the Mark he had absolutely no understanding of the Catholic nature. Misled by the ludicrous weakness of the papal states he was unable to recognise the titanic moral force of the world-wide church. In his reply to the cardinal secretary of state (December 12th), he courteously expressed his regret that the pope had acted with such precipitancy, and added a hope that the Roman court, when better informed of the circumstances, would "revise its judgment upon the controversy, comply with the desires of the royal government, and lend its support to the establishment of an orderly administration in the bishopric of Cologne." On thinking the matter over he conceived misgivings about this reply. Sending a copy of it to Berlin, he naïvely added: "My rejoinder will perhaps appear somewhat lacking in strength, but the honour of the royal government can hardly suffer therefrom, for the conduct of Prussia vis-à-vis so pitiful an opponent as the papal court, can never be regarded as a sign of fear or weakness, but will be taken as proof of wise moderation." Of what avail, now that the mischief had been done, for Minister Werther to reprimand the good-natured chargé d'affaires.[1]

[1] Buch to Lambruschini, December 12; Buch's Report to Werther, December 14; Werther, Instruction to Bunsen, December 29, 1837.

The cardinals triumphantly assured one another that Prussia had responded to gross insults with courtesies, and even with a request.

Bunsen was now on his way back to Rome. So little did the ministers know of the Vatican that they really had no idea how the Roman see would be affected by the arrest of the archbishop, and since the envoy continued to display his customary self-confidence they never realised that after the revelations of recent months Bunsen had become impossible in Rome. He was ordered to inform the curia about the king's procedure and to treat with that body concerning a new appointment to the see of Cologne. It was expressly determined that on no account was there to be any compromise with the archbishop, and that Droste's restoration to the exercise of his archiepiscopal powers was utterly inadmissible.[1] Bunsen travelled by way of Vienna. In that city he had several lengthy interviews with Metternich, and with his usual conceit felt assured that he had practically won over the prince to his side. The Austrian's position was in fact somewhat perplexing, for the Prussian envoy declared in the most definite terms that Droste would never again see the cathedral of Cologne. In view of the friendly relations between the two crowns Metternich did not venture to act in open defiance of the king's plainly expressed will. But those intimately acquainted with the Viennese court, and with the dominance there of clericalist sentiment, could not fail to note that all the chancellor's wishes leaned towards the side of the curia. His wife Melanie, Archduchess Sophia, and the two empresses broke forth in lamentations over the sorrows of the martyr of Cologne. O'Sullivan, the Belgian envoy, who had hitherto been treated with contempt, suddenly found himself in high favour at the proud imperial court, for Belgium was the stronghold of the clericalist party.[2]

Shortly after Bunsen's departure from Vienna, Metternich sent Maltzan a long despatch dealing with the Cologne dispute. The document was couched in the oracular tone of which the chancellor always availed himself when he wished to conceal his thoughts. "Where war in the genuine sense of the word is possible, the complexion of affairs is ever less disastrous

[1] Bunsen's Memorial concerning the ministerial conferences of November 9 and 10, 1837.

[2] Maltzan's Report, December 21, 1837.

than when powers fall out which are not in a position to have recourse to the battlefield, I mean the material battlefield. War may, of course, always issue from such a quarrel, but the war then involves some third party. . . . I sense—if you will allow me to say so—I sense the future in the present, and I concern myself with the latter only in so far as it bears directly on the former. This is what I am doing on the present occasion, and since passionate feelings relate only to the affairs of the present, all tinge of passion is ever alien to me, and I never look to secure even the most trifling advantage for myself." And so on, and so on—self-complacent generalisations, but never a definite pledge.[1] When Maltzan besought the chancellor that Austria should vigorously support the endeavours of the Prussian envoy in Rome, Metternich replied that this was impossible, for Austria desired to remain neutral, so that later she might assume the role of mediator.[2] He spoke more plainly in a subsequent report to the emperor. The ecclesiastical policy and the commercial policy of the Berlin court were, he said, closely connected. By means of the Evangelical union and the customs union Prussia hoped to acquire supremacy within the Germanic Federation.

Nevertheless his opposition was not unconditional, and, being a man of peaceful inclinations, he had no wish that a formal breach should occur. He therefore gave Bunsen the friendly counsel not to return to Rome at present—for Vienna was better informed than Berlin as to the atmosphere prevailing in the Vatican. But Bunsen, bold and eager for action, would not be restrained. He continued his journey, and on reaching Ancona received tidings of the pope's allocution. This turn of affairs was utterly unexpected by the Prussian envoy and upset all his calculations. Had he done his duty in modest fashion he would now have asked Berlin what course to take in view of the complete change in the situation. Such self-denial was not to his mind, and yet he was intimidated by the challenging language of the curia. On December 17th, writing from Ancona, he addressed to Lambruschini a note which put the innocent follies of Buch quite into the shade. Pretending that he was not at present fully informed regarding the allocution, though this might now be read in every coffee-house, he ventured the hope that it did not express the pope's

[1] Metternich to Maltzan, December 19, 1837.
[2] Maltzan to Bunsen, January 6, 1838.

definitive judgment, and that further negotiations were possible. He went on to say, in flat defiance of his instructions, that the king had removed the archbishop from Cologne for a time merely (temporairement), and desired as plaintiff (parti plaignante) to submit the matter to the pope's canonical judgment. How shameful would have been the position of Prussia had the curia entertained this offer! Fortunately Lambruschini's arrogance was too great. It may be, moreover, that he had little faith in the unexpected humility of the envoy, who had previously been so full of confidence. However, this may be, the cardinal bluntly answered that Droste must be reinstated before there could be any question of fresh negotiations.

Immediately on arrival in Rome the envoy was informed that the pope would not receive him, tidings which came as a surprise to no one but himself. At first this seemed a crushing blow, but pulling himself together with his usual easy optimism, he again made approaches to Lambruschini, and he gave the Prussian government unasked advice as to its ecclesiastical policy. But his rule in Rome was finished. He was spared none of the pinpricks which can be inflicted upon a diplomatist who is out of favour. The pope and the cardinals proved irreconcilable, and even Capaccini fell into disgrace because he had endeavoured to mediate in the Cologne dispute.[1] In Berlin the eyes of the ministers were at length opened. They knew that Metternich made no secret of his delight at the humiliation of the learned Prussian diplomatist. Bunsen was first instructed to refrain from any further declaration, was then sharply rebuked for having exceeded his instructions,[2] and was finally given strict orders to withdraw (rétracter) the offers made in his Ancona note. He failed even to discharge this commission with the good grace of a man who frankly admits that he has made a serious mistake, and he merely informed the cardinal secretary of state that his previous proposals had now been cancelled by the rejoinders of the Roman see.[3] Thus from first to last was his conduct disingenuous. He was recalled in April, 1838. The few prelates who still gratefully remembered their acceptance of the brilliant hospitalities of the Palazzo Caffarelli did not dare to pay a

[1] Bunsen's Report, January 10, 1838.
[2] Werther to Bunsen, January 19, March 23, and May 31, 1838.
[3] Bunsen to Lambruschini, April 24, 1838.

farewell visit to the departing envoy,[1] for they dreaded the pope's displeasure.

Such was the fruit of appointing to this difficult post, instead of a cool-headed man of the world, a Protestant theologian who was unable to regard simply as politician the harsh struggle for power between state and church, and who for this very reason was suspect to the curia. Theological passion flamed up in Bunsen as soon as he foresaw his fall, and so measureless was his conceit that at the very moment when after defeats for which he had no one but himself to thank he was compelled to evacuate the diplomatic field, he penned verses showing that he looked upon himself as a second Luther. When he first returned to Berlin he was refused official reception, and even his patron Wittgenstein could only give him the fatherly advice that he should forget Rome and all its insults.[2] But his wonderful luck did not desert him. The king and the crown prince continued to show him their old favour, and forgave him blunders which would have ruined any other statesman. Before long, to the amazement of the diplomatic world, he was appointed envoy to Switzerland.

§ 2. THE ULTRAMONTANE PARTY.

Uneasiness was general at the court of Berlin, for it was manifest that the bankruptcy of the old system of ecclesiastical policy was imminent. The king had put absolute faith in the confident counsels of Bunsen. But all had gone awry, and he had to learn that in these tranquil days the removal of the archbishop had aroused a more violent storm than had been aroused by the capture of the pope in the troublous times of Napoleon. He was profoundly distressed that his Catholic subjects should regard him as intolerant, as a ruler who played the tyrant over conscience. He was sufficiently well acquainted with the curia to know that from that body it was vain to expect the sacrifice of a principle, to expect anything more than the tacit acceptance of events. Again and again he impressed this fact on the minds of the ministers. But his knowledge of Roman affairs went little further. Taking

[1] Monsignor Mariano to Bunsen, April 22, 1838.

[2] Werther to Bunsen, May 22; Wittgenstein to Bunsen, April 1, May 27, and June 10, 1838.

the ecclesiastical dispute much to heart, he issued a command that the minister for home affairs, the minister for foreign affairs, and the minister for public worship and education, should always report to him jointly on this matter.[1] Unfortunately not one of the three was equal to the occasion. Rochow, whose traditions were those of old Brandenburg, looked upon the question as simply one of bureaucratic order. Werther, too, though he had more knowledge of the world, could see only the diplomatic aspects of the problem. As for Altenstein, whose voice had most influence here, he had long been ailing, and could derive no encouragement from the advice of Schmedding, himself deeply concerned by the situation of the church.

It soon became plain that Altenstein's natural timidity was enhanced owing to his unexpressed dread of the heir to the throne. Whilst the crown prince had long exercised a perceptible influence over the government of the Protestant church, he was as a rule left unconsulted upon matters of Catholic ecclesiastical policy—especially now, when his recommendation of Droste-Vischering had proved so unfortunate. When at this date General Gröben and Colonel Gerlach were transferred from Berlin, it was generally believed that the old sovereign desired to remove the romanticists from his son's environment.[2] Far from approving the conduct of his protégé, the heir to the throne (in a letter to a Rhenish priest, which was speedily published) incisively declared that the question was merely one of fulfilling a solemn undertaking. So greatly was he affronted by the unseemly language of the papal allocution, that in his first displeasure he recommended that the king should temporarily suspend the payment of the endowments of the Catholic church.[3] Nevertheless he spoke contemptuously of the behaviour of the government, describing it as "bad, wretched, and stupid." No one as yet knew what he really wanted, himself least of all; and this much only was certain, that he was willing to go far to meet the claims of the clergy. The fact was enough to make the aging Altenstein extremely anxious, and the consequence was that this difficult question was treated with a slackness unexampled in Prussia. The king, who commonly made a sparing use

[1] The king's Decision upon Rochow's Report of January 23, 1838.
[2] Berger's Report, April 6, 1838.
[3] Crown Prince Frederick William to Lottum, February 2, 1838.

of marginal notes, would now angrily write beside almost every report: "Ought to have been done long ago"; or "Why did no one think of this earlier"; or, again, "Much to be regretted that this arrangement was not made previously." On one occasion he went so far as to write to the minister for public worship and education: "This affair, in any case complicated and disagreeable, is being treated in such a way as to suggest that there is a positive intention to increase its complications."[1]

As early as February 2, 1838, Werther proposed the recall of Bunsen, which had become inevitable, and the king agreed to this step three weeks later.[2] Several months, however, elapsed before the impossible diplomatist, whose presence in Rome could now do nothing but harm, quitted the eternal city. The same cumbrous hesitation was displayed in the treatment of the captive archbishop. Droste was now under custody in a private house at Minden, dividing his time between devotional exercises and musings over his tobacco pipe. His reinstatement was unthinkable, but no less unthinkable was it that the stubborn prelate would give way. What was to be done? Was it really possible to accuse him of high treason? At first Altenstein felt assured of this. In a letter to the Cologne chapter he wrote that Droste's actions had been the issue of the hostile influence of two revolutionary parties; and in a despatch to Lord Lieutenant Bodelschwingh, forthwith published for the edification of the Rhinelanders, the minister renewed the charge. It was impossible to prove the accusation. All important correspondence had been burned by Michelis, the trusty chaplain, immediately before the archbishop's arrest. A few letters were subsequently discovered which afforded unmistakable evidence of treasonable inclinations and were therefore made public by the government. Still, no definite proof of high treason was forthcoming, and no one had any right to assume that Droste's holy simplicity, however much it might have been misused by others, had been a mask for political designs. Droste came in the end to recognise that it would be impossible for him to resume office, but he never even asked himself whether he had not infringed his sworn duty to the state.

[1] Cabinet Order to Altenstein, February 29, 1840.

[2] Werther's Report to the king, February 2; Cabinet Order to the three ministers, February 27, 1838.

Without a trace of penitence he wrote to the king in August, 1838, to complain of his captivity. "May it please your majesty graciously to consider, with God's assistance, whether it be right in the sight of God and whether it can lead to good, that your majesty should continue to make use of the coercive powers with which God entrusted your majesty above all for the protection of every right and therefore also for the protection of the Catholic church, its episcopate, and its members—in order to prevent my return to Cologne, and in order further to hinder the association (God-given like that of conjugal union) between shepherd and flock, between father and children." When President Richter, acting on the king's instruction, explained to Droste that his captivity was justified by the law, and that his return was out of the question, the archbishop rejoined that he had vainly hoped Prince Metternich would induce the king to change his mind; nothing now remained for him (the archbishop) but to lay aside an office which he could no longer fill with satisfaction; he desired merely to return to Cologne for four-and-twenty hours, that there, with the approval of the holy see, he might formally lay aside his dignities.[1] This was his last word. The crown was to humble itself before him, and by permitting his return to Cologne was to make a solemn acknowledgment that it had acted unjustly.

Not one of the ministers had any idea of acceding to this request. Indeed, they debated whether the prelate ought not to be deprived of office in due form of law. Unquestionably he had performed "actions deliberately opposed to the regulations of his office," and should therefore, in accordance with the stipulations of the civil code (Part II, Cap. 20, § 333), "be immediately cashiered." But was the archbishop in reality nothing more than a state servant? Had he not believed himself to be fulfilling the regulations of his office in complying with the papal brief? Would it be right to punish him because, however arbitrarily and by whatever breach of pledge, he had desired to bring about a state of affairs which had just been substantially recognised by the cabinet order of January 28, 1838? It became manifest that the prescriptions of the civil code were no longer in

[1] Droste-Vischering, Petition to the king, August 24; Despatch from the three ministers to President Richter in Minden, August 31; Report from the three ministers to the king, October 18, 1838.

conformity with the popular sense of justice nor even with the mentality of the bench of judges. Kamptz felt certain that any Prussian court would condemn the archbishop as a state servant who had failed in his duty; Mühler was dubious. Having secured these opinions from their colleagues, the three ministers came to the conclusion that legal proceedings, though admissible, were undesirable, unless Droste should himself demand them.[1] After prolonged discussions Droste was at length sent to his old home at Darfeld near Münster, where he quietly led his customary monastic life. The net upshot of these happenings was that the Catholic populace came to suspect that the crown doubted the justice of its own actions. Soon after Droste's removal, the Westphalian nobles sent emissaries to the capital, and the Rhenish nobles speedily followed suit. No doors were opened to them, not even that of the crown prince, whilst the king let them know in express terms that it was his desire they should set their minds at rest now that they had full cognisance of the facts.[2] Count Galen, envoy in Brussels, resigned his office, feeling that he could no longer represent the views of the government. Wilhelm von Ketteler, the young referendary, who as yet had no inkling of his ecclesiastical mission, quitted the state service. Baron Werner von Haxthausen, a man widely respected, left the country, to become one of the fiercest opponents of Prussia. A more serious matter was that in January, 1838, the bishops of Paderborn and Münster declared themselves unable, after the issue of the pope's allocution, to remain bound by the privy understanding concerning mixed marriages. They subsequently ventured to intercede on behalf of Droste, and encountered a sharp rebuff from the king.[3]

The clericalist movement soon spread to the eastern provinces, where the law of the year 1803 had heretofore been unreflectingly observed. On the Rhine most of the clergy were animated with Hermesian sentiments, and had little sympathy with the archbishop's illegal behaviour. It was otherwise in Posen. Archbishop Martin von Dunin was a weak, rather stupid, pliable man, who had hitherto displayed

[1] Report from the three ministers, May 8, with legal opinion from Kamptz, February 26, and legal opinion from Mühler, March 18, 1839.

[2] Cabinet Orders of January 9, 1838, in rejoinder to the petitions from Count Spee, Baron von Mirbach, and others, under date December 26, 1837.

[3] Petition from the bishops of Münster and Paderborn to the king, December 15, 1838; Response, January 8, 1839.

cringing servility towards the king. Carried away, now, by the feeling among the lesser clergy, he floated with the current when the Polish nobles and the parish priests availed themselves of the pope's allocution as a weapon in the attack upon the detested Germandom. In profound secrecy, assisted only by the advice of Brodziszewski, his official, and that of a few Polish laymen, in January, 1838, Dunin composed a pastoral letter forbidding the clergy under pain of suspension to celebrate mixed marriages unless a pledge were given that the children should be brought up as Catholics. In Berlin the obsequious prelate was regarded with scant respect, but since Dunin had hitherto been of quiet disposition a mild view was taken of this wanton and unprovoked infringement of the peace of religions. The government decided to prosecute him for an offence against the laws of the state and to declare his ordinance null.[1] As a preliminary measure Lord Lieutenant Flottwell was to do his best to induce the archbishop to recall the pastoral letter voluntarily. The slippery Pole seemed ready enough at first, but subsequently withdrew his concessions, being manifestly spurred on to this course by his aristocratic backers. Flottwell, an impetuous and straightforward East Prussian, could not endure such trickery, and exclaimed: "I regard you with the utmost contempt; you have deceived me."[2] Friendly representations were made on several occasions by Judge von Frankenberg, but without avail. Dunin went so far as to challenge the judicial supremacy of the state, and to declare that he would answer for his conduct before a criminal court alone. The Posen court of appeal had now to issue its judgment, which was that the archbishop must be deprived of his office and be imprisoned for six months in a fortress.

Meanwhile, in April, 1839, Dunin had been summoned to Berlin. Since in the capital he remained equally obdurate, the judgment was at length formally announced to him, and he was given the option of suing the king's clemency. The archbishop thereupon wrote an extremely subservient letter, but one which committed him to very little. The king was gracious enough to look upon this as a petition for pardon, and remitted the imprisonment. Dunin was to remain in Berlin without any restraint upon his personal liberty, until

[1] Report from the three ministers, March 29; Cabinet Order, April 12, 1838.
[2] Flottwell's Reports, April 19, 21, and 23, 1839.

the affairs of his diocese had been set in order.[1] Upon the basis of the existing laws it would have been impossible to treat him with greater lenity. But this trifling mishap to their archbishop did not suffice the Polish nobles. Stimulated by the Rhenish example they desired a religious martyr, so that they might be able to stir up the countryfolk against the Protestant king, and with their customary dramatic talent they prepared a shattering counterstroke. On October 3rd the archbishop disappeared from Berlin. With relays of horses, supplied by his patrician friends, he made a bee-line for Posen. He was welcomed by Count Kwilecki and other nobles, and was promptly conducted to the cathedral, where he prayed fervently, much to the edification of the ladies of the Sacré Cœur. In a wordy letter to the king he appealed to "the example of the holy prince-apostle Peter, of the great secular apostle Paul, and of numerous other holy bishops of the first Christian centuries." The succeeding acts of the comedy were played strictly in accordance with the designs of the Sarmatian dramaturges. Early in the morning of October 6th the authorities came to effect the inevitable arrest. The archiepiscopal palace, adjoining the cathedral on the quiet island, was barred and shuttered, and had to be opened with much noise. Dunin's sister Scholastica received the intruders with the shrill cries of distress of which none but Polish lungs are capable; but the archbishop cried out, "Fetch the gendarmes! The world shall know that I leave here only by force." Turning to Captain Hacke, who had laid a hand lightly on Dunin's shoulder, the archbishop said, "You are too gentle!" When the chief of police offered him an arm to assist him downstairs, Dunin once more exclaimed, "This is an act of courtesy, this is not force. Why don't you seize hold of me?"[2]

He was now removed to Colberg, and promptly wrote thence to the king in the most servile phraseology, to the effect that he regarded his arrest as a just dispensation of providence, and would merely beg that he might be transferred to another fortress, "one where there is a Catholic church, so that I may at least have the consolation of praying daily

[1] Dunin, Petition to the king, April 23; Cabinet Order to Dunin, May 20, 1839.

[2] Protocol concerning the archbishop's arrest, by Police Superintendent Bauer and others, October 6, 1839.

and fervently for your majesty's welfare and for my orphaned flock in a house consecrated to God, in accordance with the Catholic ritual." But when the king asked him to make proposals concerning the temporary administration of the archbishopric, since the authorities would like to give all due attention to the matter, he waxed obstinate once more and replied, "My suggestions are that I should return to Posen, and that my official, Brodziszewski, who has likewise been removed, should return to Gnesen."[1] How odious seemed the Pole's behaviour, alternately cringing and defiant, when contrasted with the straightforward resoluteness of the stiff-necked Westphalian. After Dunin's removal, the diocese put on public mourning and nearly all the deans of the archdiocese informed the ministry in a humble memorial that they were compelled to follow the instructions of their archbishop. But among the Germans Dunin's fate could arouse little sympathy, all the more since he was waging in the South German journals a most unseemly war against the government, whilst the Polish counts Raczynski, Grabowski, and Lubinski now visited the capital (as individuals, of course, with no thought of acting in concert) to beg for the archbishop's liberation. His official brethren, Bishop Hatten of Ermeland, and Bishop Sedlag of Culm, were in a difficult position. They were both good Prussians, and continued their upright endeavours to maintain religious peace, whilst the blindly credulous countryfolk of the Marienburg region, egged on by the parish priests, were looking for the reestablishment of Poland on the coming Good Friday. But after the pope had given such clear expression to his views, and after the archbishop of Posen had led the way, it was impossible for them to hold back, seeing that a duplex marriage law in the Prussian monarchy was manifestly out of the question. Both prelates issued circulars to their clergy, telling them that the consecration of mixed marriages must conform to the instructions of the papal brief, and the government had no choice but to declare that these pastoral letters, too, were not binding.[2]

Among all the bishops of the monarchy but one was

[1] Dunin's Petitions to the king, October 8 and 25; Cabinet Order to Dunin, October 19, 1839.

[2] Altenstein to Bishop Hatten, July 5, 1838; Schön's Reports, April 13, May 5, July 26, and October 30, 1838, April 19, 1839.

found willing to continue the recognition of the law of 1803 and the moderate practice which had prevailed since its enactment. This was Count Sedlnitzky, prince bishop of Breslau, a man of fine character, with gentle and distinguished manners, highly cultured, philanthropic and benevolent, in all respects a model of Christian love, but far from strong enough to enter upon a struggle with the Roman see. His views already approximated so closely to those of the Protestant church that the stricter Catholics would hardly count him any longer as one of themselves. As soon as he refused to follow the example of the other bishops, he was secretly calumniated to the curia. The pope thereupon, evading the royal placet, sent the bishop an extremely ungracious despatch through the instrumentality of two eminent ladies in the province. Gregory censured the prince bishop severely for his backwardness in the defence of the rights of the church, and ordered him to atone for the injury his error had inflicted on the believing populace. Peace-loving and unambitious as ever, Sedlnitzky now wished to lay aside his dignity, and only upon the king's express command did he postpone this step[1] and endeavour to justify his conduct before the holy see (July, 1839). There came in answer, in May, 1840, a second and yet more strongly worded despatch from the pope wherein the prince bishop was curtly instructed to resign, on the ground that he had completely alienated the feelings of the faithful. The good-humoured prelate did not venture to resist such a command, and his retirement was only a question of time. The ultramontane party attacked him with unconcealed hatred; and episcopal authority, which had long been weakened, could no longer rely upon the support of the flock. Thus extensive and unexpected had been the change of mood among the Catholic populace during recent decades. Those who continued to believe firmly in the church were unconditional adherents of the holy father.

Whereas Bunsen had hoped to coerce the curia with the aid of the territorial bishops, not merely had his plan failed, but the tables had been turned. The curia now led the entire Prussian episcopate into the field against the crown, and so intricately involved had the dispute become that even zealous Protestants could no longer give whole-hearted support to the king. Indisputably every loyal Prussian must approve

[1] Cabinet Order to Sedlnitzky, July 7, 1839.

the crown's refusal to tolerate open defiance of the laws of the state. But since the cabinet order of January 28, 1838, there no longer existed any conflict about matters of detail. The curia demanded that, in every case, prior to the religious consecration of marriage, a pledge should be given to bring the children up as Catholics; the church permitted the priests of the western provinces to use modest efforts of persuasion concerning this matter of the education of the children, and left the final decision to the bishops. Was there any notable distinction? In Rhineland the state authority had conceded the demands of the Roman church, and the state could itself hardly desire that there should permanently prevail in the east a practice differing from that which obtained in the west.

But the leading spirits of the government were able men of the second rank; there was not among them a single first-class intelligence. How, then, could a way be found out of the difficulty? Rome seized every opportunity to irritate the Prussian crown anew. When the king first took action against Dunin, Cardinal Lambruschini hastened to complain of this abuse of temporal power.[1] On September 13, 1838, the pope issued a second allocution whose wording was even more offensive than that of the first. He commended Dunin's "unconquered steadfastness." as an example to all the Prussian bishops, and went so far as to contest the long-established right of the royal placet. In July, 1839, appeared a third allocution of similar tenour. All these hostile utterances were sent by Lambruschini to the Prussian chargé d'affaires. In the end Buch was given instructions that for the future he should refuse to accept despatches of this character, but diplomatic intercourse was not broken off, for Altenstein considered that an open "declaration of war" would be inadvisable, and the king agreed with him, though the other ministers differed. Buch,[2] therefore, had to make the best of his difficulties, although negotiations had now become practically impossible; and only because the pope had great personal esteem for the chargé could the latter endure his painful position for a time.

The king was extremely unhappy, and endeavoured to pacify his Posen subjects by an earnest address. He had

[1] Lambruschini to Buch, July 25; Buch's Report, July 25, 1838.
[2] Reports from the three ministers, November 10, 1838, and November 3, 1839.

an indefinite feeling that something must be done, and felt that his ministers were "groping in the dark." In February, 1838, he appointed a commission "for the legislative regulation of the relationships between church and state in religious matters, which have become unstable." Among other high officials C. F. Eichhorn, the legal historian, was a member of this body.[1] The results of its deliberations were submitted for comment to the council of state and to the ministry of state. In addition, six of the lords lieutenant were summoned to Berlin (for two only of the eight provinces, Brandenburg and Pomerania, had remained unaffected by the ecclesiastical dispute). When a year had elapsed, six legislative proposals had been drafted, among which were two penal enactments against priests who might misuse the pulpit or disturb the public peace, and an extremely strict law concerning mixed marriages. Not merely did this last follow the law of 1803 in commanding the education of all children in the father's faith, but it unconditionally forbade any departure from the rule. Not even a free agreement between the parents was to make any difference—a terribly severe prescription, which could not fail in many cases to lead to grave constraint of conscience.[2] The leading idea of the proposals was to unify ecclesiastical law throughout the monarchy.

Nor did unity of mind by any means prevail even among the high officials. Old Stägemann and most of the lords lieutenant, notably Schön, Flottwell, and Merckel, were still entirely dominated by the ideas of the extinct territorial system, and urgently demanded the immediate enactment of the six laws. Flottwell, who had been embittered by his long struggle with the Poles, went so far as to demand the partition of the archbishopric of Gnesen, though this was impossible without the assent of the Roman see. In a memorial, obviously composed by Schön, the lords lieutenant expressed their profound disapproval that the state had negotiated with the pope at all, and referred to "Dr. Bunsen's notorious despatch from Ancona." They saw in the episcopal dispute "the struggle between light and darkness, a struggle whose glorious leadership, as formerly, so now, is entrusted to your majesty's sublime charge." Frederick William wrote

[1] Cabinet Order of February 17, 1838.

[2] Legislative proposals concerning mixed marriages, supplementary to the civil code, Part II, Cap. 11, § 66, Part II, Cap. 20 §§ 151 and 272, etc.

in the margin: "This is to say, I am to overstep the mark—with due caution but with no specific limits." For the rest, he thanked them for their "praiseworthy candour."[1] He recognised obscurely that the position was unfortunately less simple than was suggested, and that the state authority would not really be fighting for the light if it were without further ado to prohibit Catholic fathers from having their children brought up as Protestants. But other noted officials took a view opposite to that of these rigid territorialists, Privy Councillor Göschel, for instance, the ultra-conservative Hegelian, and Schmedding, the semi-clerical. It was hard to ascertain what was Schmedding's real opinion. The Rhenish ultramontanes did not trust him in the least. Chaplain Michelis, in one of those private letters which had fallen into the hands of the authorities, had written: "Under the semblance of a good Catholic, he has ever been the pest of our religious freedom." But Schmedding had by no means approved of the treatment of the two archbishops. He considered Dunin's arrest and removal equally unjustifiable, and did not wish to take any part in the deliberations regarding the carrying out of the Posen sentence. He considered it a mischievous practice to escape from a momentary difficulty by the enactment of laws ad hoc, writing, "Laws should rarely be brought down out of the pure and lofty atmosphere which properly belongs to legislation, that they may descend into the lower levels of the atmosphere and serve as weapons of warfare."[2]

Since opinions were so widely divergent in the official world, and since Altenstein could form no effective decision, the king became increasingly dubious and postponed the signing of the six laws. Wishing to secure fuller information, he had enquiries made of the friendly German courts concerning the ecclesiastical policy they severally pursued. These well-meant queries were long to have disastrous results for Prussia. King William of Würtemberg, who as a Voltairian would have been glad to see this tiresome dispute with priests brought to a close, was not slow to answer the questions addressed him by Rochow, the Prussian envoy, and said: "It is a mistake to quarrel with such a power as the papacy, which has so many secret allies; every Catholic inhabitant is more

[1] Memorial of the six lords lieutenant under date November 26, 1838.

[2] Schmedding's Memorials, March 2 and April 25; Schmedding to Altenstein, July 20, 1839.

or less an agent of this foreign power." Above all, therefore, the mistrust felt by the Catholic populace towards the Protestant dynasty must be overcome. The only way of doing this was that adopted in Würtemberg and Baden, namely, to entrust the supervision of the Roman church to a special ecclesiastical council, whose members were exclusively Catholics. Schlayer, King William's experienced minister, was in full agreement with his master. The able Würtemberger was perfectly right when he said to the Prussian: "In South Germany we know Rome better than you do."[1] Unfortunately, however, he himself knew little of Prussian affairs. The proposal to entrust to a religious authority the purely political right of church supremacy was in itself mistaken; and even though such extreme pliability might prove conciliatory in its effects amid the petty conditions of the South German middle-sized states, matters were very different in Prussia. What was to prevent the Polish, Rhenish, and Westphalian nobles from packing the Berlin ecclesiastical council and then making an utterly improper use of what should have been the nonpartisan power of state supremacy over the church? To King Frederick William, however, the advice of the Swabian king seemed sound, unprejudiced, and well worthy to be followed; he commended it to his ministers; and by the spring of 1839 it had already been decided to form a Catholic section in the ministry for public worship and education. To Schmedding's despair, the leadership of this department was to be entrusted to the under secretary of state, Duesberg, a Catholic Westphalian.

Meanwhile the king was earnestly endeavouring to induce the other Protestant princes of Germany to undertake joint action in Rome. It was this that the curia chiefly dreaded. It desired above all to isolate the Prussian state. The most capable of its German partisans, Bishop Reisach of Eichstätt, wrote as early as January, 1838, confidentially to his friend Geissel in Spires that a turning point had come for the church in Germany, and that it was therefore urgently necessary that no other governments should participate in the Prussian war. In the lesser states, in fact, the clergy remained perfectly quiet, unhesitatingly observing the laws which were found so tyrannical in Prussia. Who therefore could expect that the weak would needlessly seek occasion to come to the help

[1] Rochow's Reports, Stuttgart, April 27, November 18, and December 6 1839.

of the strong? Most of the Protestant princes approved the conduct of the Berlin court, and the grand duke of Baden expressed cordial thanks to the Prussian envoy in the name of political order and of the Protestant church.[1] But no one thought of giving any active help. Even King Ernest Augustus, who at this time was least of all able to dispense with his brother-in-law's goodwill, gave the following instructions to his minister: "I am willing to give all possible information and to make all possible explanations to the court of Prussia, but only on condition that they remain private, and must not be made publicly known or appear in the press." In answer to a renewed enquiry, Schele wrote to Canitz that the greatest care was necessary, lest feeling should be disturbed in those states which had hitherto continued to enjoy religious peace.[2]

The attempt to induce the lesser crowns to participate had utterly failed, and failure was inevitable, for since the congress of Vienna ecclesiastical policy in Germany had been a prey to unashamed particularism. During the three and a half years that intervened before the king's death nothing more was done in the way of the proposed ecclesiastical legislation. The two archbishops were not allowed to return, and yet in the dispute concerning mixed marriages the crown had conceded almost everything demanded by the Roman see. There was no notable disturbance of public order. A few trifling riots in Münster, and elsewhere in the Catholic provinces, served merely to show that the clergy had succeeded in persuading some of the poor and ignorant that the king wished to make them Lutherans. The confusion was none the less intolerable. It was universally felt that the conduct of the government was simultaneously too harsh and too lenient; it was felt that the authorities had failed to keep a hand on the tiller of ecclesiastical policy.

Both the courts, that of Rome as well as that of Berlin, considered it necessary to issue official writings to justify their conduct before the tribunal of public opinion. As far as Prussia was concerned, the result of these publications was not altogether favourable, for Bunsen's policy of subterfuge was inexcusable. Nor could either party boast a complete victory in the general literary struggle which now ensued. The

[1] Otterstedt's Report January 2, 1838.
[2] Schele to Canitz, April 18, 1838; January 8, 1839.

combatants were extremely numerous. Within a few years about two hundred writings, pro and con, were issued from the press, for the nation did not as yet possess any other means of public discussion, and the feeling was widespread that to endanger the peace of religions was to threaten the foundations of German civilisation. The veteran Görres opened the campaign, with his *Athanasius*, the wildest of all his books, whose jacobin violence exceeded that of his youthful writings. What had happened to the patriot of the *Rheinische Merkur*? He heaped savage invectives upon the Protestant church, using language which in a parity nation sounded almost like an appeal to civil war. He could see nothing in Protestantism but the narcotic poison of pietism and the corrosive poison of rationalism. No less arrogantly did he endeavour to inflame the tribal antagonisms of the Rhinelanders against the Old Prussians, his long-cherished hatred for "the Lithuanians" of the right bank of the Elbe finding renewed expression. He described the measures of the Prussian government as "the rude and barbarous outbursts of that stiff skeleton to which we do too much honour if we speak of it as a spirit," and made a sneering allusion to the struggles between Frederick William I and the crown prince Frederick. Of the spirit of *suum cuique*, which filled the history of this state and was not repudiated even during those tragic dissensions in the royal house, Görres would not say a word, for he considered that the order of the modern world depended wholly upon the Roman church, and that the priest of that church consequently required no excuse when he opposed the state authority.

An army of clericalist writers, anonymous for the most part, blew the same trumpet, Lieber of Nassau, who wrote under the pseudonym of "A Practical Jurist," distinguishing himself among them at once by perspicacity and roughness. Görres returned to the charge with several additional pamphlets. Supreme, however, in the art of calumny was Zander, editor of the *Neue Würzburger Zeitung*, a Jewish renegade from the north, the man who had allowed King Ernest Augustus to bribe him.[1] His journal was packed with abuse of the Hohenzollerns; its columns were an arsenal of antiprussian invectives, and the ultramontane party was supplied with ammunition for half a century to come. For the time being this literature was brought to a close by a comprehen-

[1] Vide supra, p. 201.

sive book entitled *De la Prusse et sa domiation* (Paris, 1842), the work of Cazalès, a French legitimist, who had long lived in Görres' circle at Munich. Here we read that the Prussian governmental system is "an absurd catafalque of misdeeds, decrees, and tyrannical or impossible commands," and we are told that "the Cologne episcopal dispute is an uprising of the pure Germanic race against the slavery imposed by the north-east." The Frenchman did not hesitate to propose an alliance between the church and democracy, and after the manner of Montalembert but without that writer's genius he praised Catholicism as the mainstay of liberty! The publishing houses of Hurter in Schaffhausen and Manz in Ratisbon, and smaller firms in Würzburg and Freiburg, issued almost every week fresh inflammatory writings for circulation in Rhineland A "Rhenish Prussian Red Book," published in Würzburg, contained an awe-inspiring description of the rabid behaviour of the Prussians on the Rhine, adding as supplement the declarations of Dunin, archbishop of Posen.

It was obvious that the party had as its ultimate aim the detachment of the old lands of the crosier from the realm of the Protestant dynasty. Böhmer, the Frankfort historian, who had taken the foundation of the customs union as a personal insult, could not find words sufficiently moving for the description of the manner in which "these foreigners" had installed themselves "in the conquered province." He spoke of Ehrenbreitstein, the German border fortress, as "the Zwing Uri of Rhineland," and sang fiercely: "The foreign wooer takes the maid, the lad must learn war's evil trade!" The Belgian press almost unanimously supported these endeavours, and recommended the formation of a Rhenish-Belgian confederation, whilst the Bavarian ultramontanes desired the Rhenish kingly crown for their own royal house. A Belgian pamphlet freely circulated on the Rhine contained the words: "Arise in the name of your desecrated religion, and in the name of your liberties, trodden under foot by your tyrants. Be not afraid of the Germanic Federation! Austria and Bavaria are secret foes of the king of Prussia, whom we are jointly fighting!" All such attacks seemed ludicrous in view of the magnetic power of the Prussian state and the praiseworthy law-abiding sentiments of the Rhinelanders. The fierce struggle between the confessional and the lodge which made up the history of Belgium was impossible on the German Rhine,

for in the Catholic province there flourished also a vigorous and healthy Protestantism, and the prudent Rhenish men of business had no inclination to exchange the social liberty of Prussia for the guild coercion of Bavaria. In the summer of 1838, when the crown prince conducted the manœuvres in the western provinces, he was able to console himself with the certainty "that a regime blessed by God for five-and-twenty years, under which the country has flourished to an unprecedented degree, fills German hearts with gratitude."

But these clericalist intrigues, stimulating as they did all the baseness of particularism, were by no means void of effect, and for years to come they hindered the growth of an understanding between west and east. The effect they had produced in South Germany was displayed by a foolish booklet penned by Rotteck concerning the Cologne dispute. Prussia's old enemy merely felt impelled "to protest against the dictatorship of the state authority in religious matters." Before the judgment seat of the abstract law of reason, the archbishop's conduct in trampling his oath and the state laws under foot did not even enter into the considerations. But the most certain indication of the mood in the south was afforded by the attitude of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg. After its customary manner, the newspaper scintillated in all the colours of the rainbow. Georg von Cotta, its present owner, begged for private reports from Bunsen, so that the newspaper could work "in Prussia's interest and in that of the good cause";[1] he likewise allowed Thiersch, the Munich philologian, to contribute from time to time a sensible article, and actually found it necessary on one occasion to beg the indulgence of the Viennese court. Nevertheless this influential paper remained as decisively hostile to the Prussian state as it had theretofore been in all questions of German policy with the solitary exception of the customs union negotiations. Everything that could damage the court of Berlin appeared first in its columns, and there was not a tavern on the Rhine where it was not eagerly read.

Jarcke meanwhile found it necessary to renounce his collaboration on the *Politische Wochenblatt* of Berlin. In this crisis it became evident that the Protestant orthodox of Prussia were not what the young Hegelians had believed. Like Hengstenberg's *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, the *Wochenblatt*

[1] Georg von Cotta to Bunsen, December 30, 1837.

courageously defended the rights of the state authority. Different trends were becoming clearly manifest. Jarcke withdrew his support, and upon his advice the young ultramontane party in Munich now founded an organ of its own, which bore the distinctive title *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland.* The party's designs against the public peace could hardly find franker expression. There had long existed Protestant journals just as much as Catholic, but the broad-minded Protestants had never dreamed of establishing a historico-political periodical for Protestant Germany, for since the Evangelical church regarded itself as the Christian church universal, and acted accordingly, every good Protestant who desired to talk about German politics addressed himself to all his compatriots. Phillips and Görres' son Guido, the first editors of the new periodical, set adroitly to work, endeavouring to observe the amenities, and in the earlier issues deliberately avoiding reference to the Cologne troubles. But behind cultured forms there lurked a fanaticism which could not fail to endanger, not religious peace merely, but even civil peace. Their Protestant fellow countrymen seemed to them merely persons "separated from the church" who, in so far as they were "men of good will," would necessarily in the end return to the church, whilst the most valiant of all Germans, Martin Luther, was looked upon by them as "a psychological problem," explicable solely through a mingling of arrogance and "hypochondria." The academic study of theology was abhorrent to them, just as was the gentleness of the prince bishop of Breslau. Louis of Bavaria, friendly to the monastic ideal, was exhibited as a luminous antitype to the incumbent of the Prussian throne.

The Protestants, fighting this closed and compact ultramontane mass, did so severally, each man using his own weapons, as was becoming to Protestant freedom. In heated literary controversies the importance of any particular writing may be invariably estimated by the number of its opponents. On this occasion Heinrich Leo earned the palm. His *Despatch to Görres* evoked from the clericalist camp an indescribable outburst of wrath, for he discovered the apt descriptive term, bluntly telling the members of the opposing party that they were not Catholics but "Guelphs," that their activities were nothing else than a manifestation of the primeval hatred felt

by undisciplined Germans for all firm and just state culture. The reproach bit all the more shrewdly since it came from the mouth of one who had frequently shown his respect for the Roman church, a respect which had at times even exceeded measure. Couched in far gentler terms, but in like manner an embodiment of the spirit of positive Christianity, were two able writings penned by Baron von Canitz, Prussian envoy in Hanover. Carl Hase, the Jena theologian, wrote *The Two Archbishops*, a historical monograph whose dispassionate calm was absolutely unintelligible to the heated controversialists. Rehfues, curator of Bonn university, writing as "A Collector of Historical Documents," described *The Catholic Church in the Prussian Rhine Province.* He showed how the king had voluntarily renounced the right of nominating bishops, a right which unquestionably accrued to him as Napoleon's successor, and how he had treated the Roman church with a magnanimity which put all the Catholic sovereigns to shame. Marheineke, the Berlin theologian, defended the rights of state authority in accordance with the principles of Hegelian philosophy.

But these combatants were now joined by allies who could not fail to appear highly suspect to the strictly orthodox monarch. The Electoral Saxon rationalists showed once more how little they understood the transformed religious life of their own day. In the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* and other central German newspapers, writing quite in the old manner, they alluded contemptuously to "the decrepit spider who spins his web among the broken columns of the Colosseum." Carové of Heidelberg, ex-burschenschafter of the Rhineland, an amiable enthusiast whose passion was popular happiness and perpetual peace, produced a book entitled *The Papacy and Humanity* in which he gave a turgid picture of the religious harmony of the future. German Catholics, he said, were to cut adrift from Rome, were "to throw themselves once again into the arms of their free-spirited brethren"—though he himself remained in the bosom of the Roman church. Nor did the members of Young Germany fail to seize the favour of the hour to rekindle their extinguished taper at the flames of this ecclesiastical dispute, and to give unchecked expression to their hatred for Christianity. The reformers, they maintained, had been mere precursors of the French revolution, pioneers for the Young German doctrine of indiscipline. How

gleeful were the clericalists when Theodor Mundt, in his pocket-companion, *Delphin*, wrote, "King Wenzel loved wine, women, and song, just like Luther, whose first protest against Catholicism began with his love for a woman"; when Ruge's *Hallesche Jahrbücher* declared that true Protestantism was the negation of all doctrinal belief; when Gutzkow, in *The Red Cap and the Cowl*, an over-ornate writing, described the Prussian state as "the state of abstraction," and complacently declared that the shrill note of the steamboat bells on the Rhine aroused more interest to-day than the deep tones that resounded from the cathedral towers in Cologne. It was natural that the Berlin representatives of the Christian state should feel uneasy about the help of these new friends.

Ever more accentuated became the oppositions. Of the noncatholic writers who defended or exculpated the curia, three before long went over to Rome: Franz von Florencourt of Mecklenburg, an honest man, a ready writer; but somewhat muddleheaded as a publicist; Rintel, the East Prussian Jew; and Joel Jacobi, another Jew, a man of questionable character, trusted by no one. Whoever now attempted to mediate harvested reproaches from both sides. Such was the experience of Hans Gagern, the old imperial baron, when in a conciliatory *Address to the Nation* he apostrophised the Cologne prelate with the words, "You are an Archbishop, a German, a European, and a Man!" The clericalists, perhaps, still preserved some understanding of Europe and of humanity, but Germany was certainly beyond their ken, and they scorned the kindly veteran who told them that every priest ought to be "a friend to the light."

From this interminable paper war there was little to be learned that could contribute to the formulation of a practical ecclesiastical policy. The ultramontanes demanded a pure dualism of state and church, the destruction of state supremacy over the church, the renunciation of state sovereignty. Their opponents believed that the church which regarded itself as alone capable of bringing salvation could by state laws or by literary exhortations be constrained to exhibit a tolerance utterly foreign to its nature. The ultramontane outlook and the opposing view were equally impossible in a parity nation. But the clericalists had this advantage, that they could appeal to the Belgian example, which could not fail to disgust free and thoughtful men, but was none the

less alluring to the liberal prejudices of the age. The methods of the old territorial system were no longer of any avail. The state had now to free the inner life of the church from an intolerable tutelage, but at the same time to make it impossible for the church to effect any encroachment in the domain of civil law, and to maintain the inalienable rights of state supremacy over the church. But at this epoch no one had seriously pondered the difficult problem of delimitation of interests, and religious passion on both sides served only to increase the difficulty of finding a solution. No more than one important and fruitful lesson was in the end derivable from the episcopal dispute, and this was that the Protestant world could not continue to live in its old false security. Apart from the unreflecting rationalists, every Protestant had now become aware that the reinvigorated Roman church was a power, poor in ideas, but rich in warlike political energies, and firmly rooted in popular sentiment. The parity German state had to reckon henceforward with this power.

It was impossible that the neighbouring Catholic realms should remain aloof from these troubles. Brussels was least to be feared. The unfriendly feeling between the Prussian court and the Belgian endured for several years.[1] The clericalists of Brabant did all in their power to prevent the final understanding with Holland, which was now on the point of being secured, and to light up a world war which was primarily to be directed against heretic Prussia. It seemed more than once as if these misguided men were going to induce the weak government to act in accordance with their desires.[2] In the end, however, King Leopold's prudence enabled him to steer an even course between the two parties, and to keep the peace with his powerful neighbour. Very different was the posture of affairs in Bavaria. How strange was the conjuncture! During the very November days of the year 1837 when Droste-Vischering was arrested, the Abel ministry rose to power in Munich. It is very likely that King Louis never entertained any serious thought that it would be possible to reestablish the Rhenish dominion of the house of Wittelsbach. Such a design could not fail to appear foolhardy even to the fantasy of the philhellenist poet

[1] Vide supra, p. 123.

[2] Report from President von Cuny to Rochow, November 19; Abbé Moens to Cuny, Liége, November 14, 1838.

But the idea which Görres had instilled into his mind at the time of his accession had now become his chief preoccupation: he desired as successor of the powerful Elector Maximilian to become protector of German Catholicism. All the other traditions of his house paled before this ideal. He forgot that he was likewise the heir of the Protestant palsgraves. He forgot that his Bavarians (how often had he pointed this out himself!) had acquired their position in modern Germany only in alliance with Prussia. He succumbed completely to a clericalist outlook which had originally been antipathetic to his more liberal sentiments. His nature, which had ever been capricious, became almost foolish, so that the admirer of the gentle Sailer was now willing to believe every clericalist absurdity. Count Dönhoff wrote: "A sovereign whom we have seen relinquishing extreme liberal for ultramontane views, whom we have seen shifting his position from one of exaggerated constitutionalism to one of pronounced despotism, is quite capable of changing his opinions in all other respects." King Frederick William's comment was: "A curt but extremely apt delineation of his majesty."[1]

With shameless partisanship the Munich court favoured all the enemies of the Prussian government. Whilst having the writings of Leo, Marheineke, and Rehfues confiscated, and whilst making complaint in Dresden concerning the rigidly Protestant language of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, it allowed the *Neue Würzburger Zeitung* to indulge in lèse-majesté against the crown of Prussia, to publish utterances that might have seemed impossible in this era of censorship. Every impudence on the part of the ultramontanes was overlooked. King Louis graciously accepted a copy of *Athanasius*, and rewarded the author with an order whose bestowal was hailed with shouts of acclamation by the Munich students. Yet this book contained an assertion that the children of mixed marriages were miserable bastards—and Louis himself lived in mixed marriage like his father Max Joseph! On the feast day of the Protestant Queen Theresa, the barefooted Carmelites of Würzburg instituted a memorial service in honour of the holy and seraphic virgin, St. Theresa, announcing on public placards: "Whoever on this day at this service prays for peace and harmony among princes and potentates, for the uprooting of heresy, and for the growth of the Catholic church,

[1] Dönhoff's Report, March 11, 1838.

will receive plenary indulgence." For the insult to his own wife the king who made demagogues kneel before his picture, found no word of blame. Meanwhile the abusive language of Zander's journal became so atrocious that the Prussian envoy had to lodge a serious protest.[1] Since all representations remained unheeded, the Prussian court determined to secure from the Bundestag the suppression of the *Neue Würzburger Zeitung*. In confidential preliminary conversations it was possible to obtain the assent of all the federal governments to this proposal, which was completely accordant with the existing law. Now at length Bavaria gave way. In June, 1838, the envoy Count Luxburg, an able diplomat who was justly respected in Berlin, and who was privately ashamed of his own court, announced that King Louis condemned "the ungerman and unworthy proceedings" of Ernst Zander, the editor, and had "voluntarily resolved" to remove him from the paper.[2] But the newspaper itself was not suppressed.

Werther contented himself with this almost derisory satisfaction. He did not know, and the envoy, Count Dönhoff, did not learn till many months later,[3] that Minister Abel had simultaneously sent the Bavarian bishops a confidential letter of excuse. In this document the statement was made that by its conduct in the Cologne dispute the *Neue Würzburger Zeitung* had earned the general approval of all persons of the right way of thinking and had done important and memorable service to the Catholic church. Solely owing to the abusive tone of Zander's articles had the government been compelled to take action. The king was irrevocably fixed in his religious principles. "His exalted name will ever shine in history beside that of his great ancestor, Max I, and his remote descendants will continue to offer up prayers of thanksgiving to the Eternal for that in times of urgent need He had for a second time vouchsafed to send a protector of the Wittelsbach stock, one who with unshaken courage has upheld the church's good right, one who has assembled round his person the defenders of the church, has enheartened them, strengthened them, and led them on to victory." Such were now the true sentiments of King Louis. Vainly did the heir to the

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, December 2 and 4, 1837; March 12, 1838.
[2] Luxburg to Werther, June 18; Werther to Luxburg, June 17, to Otterstedt, June 18, 1838.
[3] Dönhoff's Report, March 5, 1839.

throne, a reasonable man, and vainly did the queen dowager, endeavour to make the blinded sovereign understand all that would be entailed by conjuring up the bloody spectre of the darkest period in German history.[1] It was a painful surprise to the Prussian statesman when Crown Prince Frederick William went to visit the Bavarian court at Kreuth directly the dispute concerning the matter of the *Neue Würzburger Zeitung* had been settled in the unsatisfactory manner above recorded. When this visit had first been mooted, the king, his father, had absolutely forbidden it, and even now it was by no means to the monarch's liking.[2]

The Bavarians themselves were now beginning to experience the real meaning of clericalist partisan rule. The Bavarian ultramontanes had railed in unmeasured terms against the Prussian church parades, and by command of King Frederick William this abuse had been done away with. In rejoinder, King Louis, by the ordinance of August 14, 1838, commanded that the Bavarian troops should genuflect before the host when on guard and during holy mass. Quite one-third of the men on the strength were Protestants, and these were now expected to participate in a religious ceremony which every strict Protestant regarded with abhorrence as a sinful bowing of the knee to Baal! Thus was disclosed the true spirit of the party which claimed to be defending freedom of conscience against the onslaughts of the Prussian crown. Embitterment was widespread in the Protestant regions of the country, and timid souls were already beginning to dread lest the struggle between state and church should lead to a war of religions.

The ultramontanes secured a fresh success in Baden. In the autumn of 1836 Nebenius was expelled from the ministry. Blittersdorff was henceforward master of the situation, and his rigid reactionary system could be maintained only by the assistance of the clericalist party. The Austrian envoy Count Dietrichstein had collaborated in bringing about Nebenius' fall,[3] for the diplomatists of the Hofburg, though acting discreetly, made common cause everywhere with the enemies of Prussia. Since the despatch of Bunsen's Ancona note, Metternich no longer took Prussian ecclesiastical policy seriously. In a moment of honest indignation he demanded of Maltzan

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, April 13, 1838, and subsequent dates.
[2] Vide supra, p. 50.
[3] Otterstedt's Report, October 15, 1839.

"Do you desire me to leave the role of protector of the Catholic church to France or to Bavaria? The former is our rival in Europe, the latter is the most notable Catholic state in Germany."[1] The two Bavarian sisters in Vienna were delighted with their royal brother's conduct, and the family correspondence had never been more lively. It was presumably owing to their influence that the *Neue Würzburger Zeitung*, whose circulation in Austria had hitherto been absolutely forbidden, was suddenly admitted to the empire when it began its campaign against Prussia. Metternich never ceased to give confidential advice to the Vatican, and Lambruschini said gratefully to Count Lützow, "We trust wholly in the sagacious guidance of the imperial court." Austrian advice can hardly have been peaceful, but it is improbable that it was openly inimical to Prussia. When Metternich met the king once more at Teplitz in July, 1838, the conversation was confined to generalities. The chancellor did not venture to suggest that Droste should be reinstated, and said gently: "In this matter there is right on both sides.[2] It is plain that he was vacillating between his clericalist inclinations, fostered by Princess Melanie, and his statesmanlike insight. It was impossible that he could wish for a breach with the eastern powers, and he knew that Czar Nicholas unconditionally championed his royal father-in-law's religious policy. Moreover, he feared the berserker wrath of the Munich fanatics, and feared yet more the revolutionary proposals of the Belgian clergy.[3] Although, like all descendants of the Rhenish chapter families, he utterly detested Prussian dominion in the lands of the crosier, he retained enough sobriety of judgment to avoid taking an unduly black view of matters in that quarter. The Bavarian clericalists looked forward to a rising in Rhineland, or to some other great occurrence of the kind. Metternich judged more coolly, and was justified by the event. The great occurrence did not occur; the provisional administration of the two orphaned archbishoprics worked quietly; the crown of Prussia was unassailable in its strength.

Nevertheless this episcopal dispute led to a fundamental transformation in German party life. Concomitantly with

[1] Maltzan's Report, January 5, 1838.

[2] Cabinet Councillor Müller, Records of a Conversation with Prince Metternich, Teplitz, July 22, 1838.

[3] Maltzan's Reports, January 21 and March 10, 1839.

the concentration of the new ultramontane movement, South German particularism became modified. Hitherto the particularists had worn liberal colours. The Rhenish Confederates of earlier days, and subsequently the adherents of the Rotteck-Welcker school, whilst looking contemptuously down on retrograde Prussia, had a similar contempt for retrograde Austria. But now the half-buried Austrian traditions of the German south were suddenly revived, and even though Metternich still continued to hold back, the time would sooner or later inevitably arrive when Viennese policy would endeavour to turn the change of sentiment to account. The first foundations were being laid for the Great German party of the years to come. In Prussia, too, a new segregation of parties was beginning. The Rhenish jurists, who had long fought on behalf of the legal equality of the *code Napoléon*, now contended that to them alone had it been given to know the nature of true religious liberty, and their Belgian sentiments began almost unnoticed to infect the liberalism of the eastern provinces. The worst of all was the universal feeling that the old government had outlived its day. When Maltzan, meeting Cardinal Capaccini in Florence, discussed the Cologne dispute, the Italian said with a meaning smile, "We must wait a while." [1]

§ 3. DEATH OF FREDERICK WILLIAM III.

Serious, almost gloomy, was the close of Frederick William's much-tried life. Nearly all the richly endowed men who had joined with him in the uplifting and reestablishment of the state had preceded him to the grave. During these last years one mishap had followed another. By the Hanoverian decrees the Bundestag had dishonoured itself so utterly that no one could believe any longer in a peaceful future for the Germanic Federation. For Prussian ecclesiastical policy there seemed no issue from intolerable confusions. Among the people, the strict official regime of earlier days was encountering a tacit but continually increasing hostility, which nothing but respect for the venerable monarch kept within bounds. When Friedrich von Gagern visited the court of Berlin in 1839 he received the impression that the government could maintain itself solely because destiny had of late spared it shocks of undue violence.

The king had ceased to understand the spirit of the age.

[1] Maltzan's Report, October 6, 1838.

Just as he was irreconcilable towards Arndt (though the latter was afresh in ill-repute among the liberals as a reactionary francophil), and obstinately refused to reinstate the loyal man in his professorship, so was Frederick William even more unwilling than he had been in earlier years to tolerate a reference to constitutionalist ideas.

In the draft for a testament written towards 1838 he commanded his successor to maintain the union, the liturgy, and the consistorial constitution, and declared in set terms that he desired to transmit unimpaired to his descendants the unrestricted royal authority bequeathed to him by his ancestors. Experience taught that princes who renounced a portion of their rights often had to pay for this with the loss of the remainder, and were apt to forfeit all possibility of doing good. His subjects possessed guarantees for the undisturbed maintenance of law and order, in the institutions he had freely granted them, in the well-regulated administration, in the council of state, in the provincial diets, in the towns' ordinance, and in the communal institutions. Prussia's position in the system of states rested mainly upon the unrestricted character of the monarchical authority. Since any weakening of this fundamental prop would make the monarchy itself unstable, it was hereby decreed that no future ruler was to be entitled, "without the approval of all the agnates, to make any changes or innovations in the royal house, whereby an alteration in the existing constitution of the state" might be effected or initiated, "above all in respect of representative institutions and the restriction of the royal authority." Should the issue of a new loan become necessary, continued the king, he would act in accordance with the prescriptions of the national debt law of 1820, whereby each of the eight provincial diets was to elect four deputies; these deputies were to be reinforced by an equal number of members of the council of state; the law for the proposed loan, but no other question whatever, was to be submitted for discussion to the national assembly thus constituted.[1] Thus the old pledges, which had once awakened so many hopes, were to be fulfilled by the summoning of a diet containing four-and-sixty persons—and this only in case of special need. Frederick William desired to impose these prescriptions upon the royal princes as a binding family law, and he had already commissioned Prince Wittgenstein to under-

[1] King Frederick William's draft for his testament. See Appendix XXX.

take the formal drafting, when the design was frustrated by the monarch's death. The transformed world could no longer be governed in accordance with such principles.

In European politics, meanwhile, dangerous complications were arising. The eastern question was again coming to the fore. Among all the harassed sultan's advisers, Prussia alone was disinterested, thanks to her geographical situation, and Prussia alone therefore was straightforward. The Porte had the king of Prussia to thank for the peace of Adrianople, whose conditions were at least tolerable, and owed to him likewise the only reforms which could still be half successfully instituted in the decaying state. Through the work of Captain von Moltke and other distinguished officers of the Prussian general staff, the military efficiency of the Turkish army had been reestablished. But even before the new order was completed, the struggle with Mehemet Ali broke out anew, and it seemed all at once as if the European war which during the previous decade had with so much labour been averted were now to prove inevitable. Thus both at home and abroad fresh tasks devolved upon the crown. The king was no longer equal to the burden, and with the approach of the year 'forty, the fateful year in Prussian history, the feeling widely prevailed among the populace that this long reign was drawing to a close.

Only in the career of long-lived men can an unprejudiced human judgment at times clearly discern that to mortals it is granted according to their deserts; and seldom have the workings of divine justice been so conspicuously manifest as in the life of this king. He had begun his work as a prince of peace. In the confessions he wrote as crown prince he said simply, "Beyond question, the greatest happiness that can befall a country is enduring peace"; and although he highly esteemed the value of "a formidable army," he honestly desired that the use of this terrible weapon might never prove necessary. Such had actually been his lot half a century later. He was the first Hohenzollern king to bequeath to his successors a lesser territory than he had himself received from his forebears, and in the foreign world it was at least a matter for dispute whether Prussia's voice in the councils of the nations counted for as much as in the days when the memory of the great king was still green. Moreover, the repute of the black-and-white flag for invincibility had not been reestablished even by the brilliant victories of the War of

Liberation, for Prussia's neighbours continued to doubt whether she could effect much without allies. The glory of the Prussian name had not been enhanced during the reign of this homely sovereign; but how marvellously had the internal energy of the state been augmented. Nowhere else in the world was there so humane, so careful, so just an administration; nowhere else was there a system of military defence at once so popular and so inexhaustible in its resources. The German Sparta had been transformed into a land of culture. This culture, which enormously transcended the utilitarian conceptions instilled into the king's mind by his upbringing, was promoted by Frederick William with customary conscientiousness. Safe were now the plains which during nigh upon two centuries had ever and again been trampled under the hoofs of foreign chargers. The Germans were united in a community of labour such as our history had never known before. All were assured that a relapse into the miseries of the foreign dominion was impossible, that the nation had regained possession of itself, and would continue to advance. How intimately, too, was the life of the Prussian state now knit up with the life of the nation. Towards Prussia were turned the eyes of every German, the eyes of those alike who railed at Prussia's errors and of those who were grateful for Prussia's services. To Prussia the nation owed peace, and to Prussia the beginnings of national unity. The Prussian dispute with the church seemed almost like a personal matter; and after the Hanoverian coup d'état censure of Prussia was almost more severe than censure of the Guelph, for the feeling was universal that to Prussia all must look for the safeguarding of German rights.

In the early days of his reign Frederick William had set up in Königsberg Schlüter's statue of the first king of Prussia, dedicating it "to the noble Prussian people as an everlasting token of mutual love and loyalty." These words were to be more gloriously fulfilled than he had imagined in the gentle sentimentalism of his youthful days. When the time of misfortune arrived, misfortune for which Prussia had herself to blame, when the Prussians and their king had to endure the contempt of the conqueror, when they had to join with their ruler in mourning the beautiful queen, and when at length, impelled and sustained by his trusty subjects, Frederick William ventured the uprising, and in the end secured for his liberated country so many years of peaceful growth in strength,

there became manifest in the strict and sober history of this state a new moral force, the force of love. Every Landwehr man who had played his part in the struggle regarded the gloriously reestablished fatherland almost as if it had been the work of his own hands, and the traditional Prussian loyalty became freer, more alert, and more sincere. Towards the inhabitants of the old provinces the king exhibited a cordiality to which the two powerful rulers of the eighteenth century had never given expression. Forgotten were the defects he had exhibited during the years of the great struggle. His sufferings alone were weighed in casting up the account, and it was gratefully recognised that despite all his weaknesses and limitations he had long been the rightful leader in the quiet work of these years of peace, and that through his inalterable sense of justice it had become possible to harmonise all the tribal and territorial oppositions of the country. Schlüter had represented the Great Elector as a mighty Cæsar mounted on a fiery war-horse, for the little prince with the great soul was thus figured in the memory of his countrymen. Shortly after the death of the third Frederick William, Drake created the other of the two Hohenzollern monuments which are genuinely loved and daily contemplated by the people. The unpretentious king, in simple uniform, an image of kindliness and trustiness, stands beside the quiet waters amid the ancient trees of the Tiergarten, and happy children gambol at his feet.

Profound and heartfelt was the distress when in the spring of 1840 tidings of the king's illness spread throughout the land. On June 1st the foundation stone was laid for the long designed statue of Frederick the Great. The crown prince had to represent his father at the ceremony, and only when the drummers gave the signal and the tattered eagles were lowered in the salute did the ailing king, in his white night shirt, appear for a moment at his corner window. This was the last glimpse the Berliners had of their ruler. On the afternoon of Whitsunday, June 7th, crowds assembled in the wide square in front of the little palace, waiting in profound silence until the announcement was made from the perron that the king had passed away.

The instant his eyes were closed the long repressed grievances and hopes of the Prussians found tumultuous expression, effervescing and foaming like molten metal when the plug has been knocked out. A new era had dawned, demanding new men.

BOOK V.

KING FREDERICK WILLIAM THE FOURTH

1840—1848.

CHAPTER I.

HAPPY DAYS OF EXPECTATION.

§ 1. THE KING AND HIS ENTOURAGE.

On June 9, 1840, Prince Metternich entertained the German federal envoys at a banquet in Vienna, and alluded in moving terms to the glorious league which for a quarter of a century had now secured peace and happiness for the Germans. Princess Melanie, profoundly affected, could not restrain her tears, for tidings of the king's death were hourly expected from Berlin, and who could foresee the events of the new time? Münch-Bellinghausen, the presidential envoy, sat at the festive board. Following his usual practice he had spent the last eight months on the Danube, intending during the hot season to bring the recess of the Bundestag to a close. Many of the guests could not refrain from asking themselves in some dudgeon whether the Federation could really be worth a commemorative feast, seeing the contemptuous way in which it was treated by the Hofburg.[1] By the nation at large no attention was paid to the silver jubilee of the Germanic Federation, except that perhaps here and there some newspaper was found to publish one of the customary sour witticisms concerning the red "incompetence building" in Frankfort.

Who, indeed, could take delight in all the discords that had become apparent during these five-and-twenty years of peace. The old oppositions of our history were confronting one another more crudely, more irreconcilably, than ever before. At the very time when the German federal constitution could be sustained solely by the favour of the two great powers, and when Count Maltzan, the Prussian envoy in Vienna, to Frederick William's lively satisfaction, had summed up the fundamental thought of correct Prussian statecraft in the phrase

[1] Maltzan's Reports, June 9, 1840, and subsequent dates.

"not under but always with Austria,"[1] this same monarch had already entered a path which must inevitably lead to severance from Austria. The stately work of this revived Frederician policy, the customs union, was already so firmly established, the community of labour between the nonaustrian Germans seemed so indissoluble, that Michel Chevalier, returning from a German tour, admiringly declared: "In European politics I know of nothing more remarkable than the reestablishment of German unity. What a glorious spectacle that a great nation which seemed about to break up into fragments should return to nationality, in a word, to life!"

The crass contradiction between this young and vigorous economic life and the forms of the rigid federal law, utterly insusceptible of improvement, could not fail to exercise a confusing influence upon public opinion. Some were still immersed in the quiet dreams of an unthinking particularism, which had in truth already been transcended by the far-reaching relationships of the new national market; others continued to repeat the shibboleths of ten years back, the catchwords of radical cosmopolitanism; among the best classes of the nation there was gradually awakening a passionate and sensitive national pride. Those of the last category realised that colossal popular energies were being artificially constrained by a thousand paralysing and perverse political considerations. Bold suggestions, such as none but isolated enthusiasts had hitherto ventured to utter, were now being discussed in the newspapers. People were beginning to ask why this young customs union should not take example by the Hanseatic league, unfurl its flag in distant seas, protect that flag with its own warships, play its part in the conquest of the transatlantic world. The eager glances of patriotic writers were now directed towards the detached daughter lands of our race, towards Flensburg, towards Riga and Reval; and when during this momentous summer it seemed that the Rhine frontier was again threatened, there arose with elemental energy a storm of national wrath which plainly betokened that the spirit of the wars of liberation was not dead, and that the days of fulfilment were at length approaching for our struggling peoples. Hopes of freedom grew concomitantly with the growth of national pride. After so many struggles and disillusionments, the liberals were beginning to formulate the theoretical ideal of

[1] Maltzan's Reports, May, 1840. The king's marginal note: C'est bien cela. Rien de plus correct.

the parliamentary state, to which they continued to cling until in 1866 monarchical conceptions again became predominant. One of the liberal leaders, Carl Steinacker of Brunswick, declared at this time: "The government in the representative state always represents the majority in the state." The thoughtful and well-meaning man could not recognise that with this doctrine he was depriving kingship of all independent power, and was merely smoothing the way for the advance of those republican ideas which were rapidly gaining currency among the refugees and in the impressionable younger generation.

How remote from these continually augmenting doctrinaire claims of liberalism was the reality of German conditions, the extremely modest power of the south German diets, and the arbitrary behaviour of the Guelph king, who could without punishment trample his country's rights under foot. Moreover, liberalism had to encounter influential adversaries in the theoretical field. Hazy reminiscences of Haller and the writings of the historical school of law were the materials whereof young Prince Ludwig zu Solms-Lich compiled his booklet *Germany and Representative Constitutions* (1838), which aroused the lively admiration of the world of good society and was especially prized at the court of Berlin. But old Hans Gagern dismissed the work with the apt comment: "All kinds of sophistical and mystical opinions come our way, deriving especially from the north, to be dispersed by the light of natural reason as mists flee before the sun." From its involved phraseology no more than a single clear idea could be gleaned, and this was that the princely author regarded the entire recent history of the German south as a gigantic aberration, for he held up the Prussian provincial diets as a luminous antithesis. Economic conditions were equally disturbed. Hardly had manufacturing industry begun to flourish under the ægis of the customs union, when the seamy side of the new conditions began to become apparent. Far and wide through the long chain of the "Hunger Mountains" of Central Germany resounded the workers' cry of distress, and bitter poverty made the masses turn a favourable ear to the visionary suggestions of communism.

Grave social disturbances seemed impending, and were likely to prove all the more disastrous owing to the profound disruption of religious life. Whilst from the time of the Cologne episcopal dispute the power of the Roman priesthood

increased day by day, and whilst the religious zeal of renascent Protestantism was being displayed in fruitful works of benevolence, the critics of the young Hegelian school despised every form of Christianity. The lees of the old enlightenment had been shaken up once more, and widespread in cultured circles was inability to realise that religion had again become a serious matter. A sign of the times was the publication on the centenary of the great king's accession of a work by young C. F. Köppen, *Frederick the Great and his Opponents*, a brilliant book which victoriously defended against critics the sublime morality of the creative and intellectual hero, and simultaneously overwhelmed with scornful invectives "the Catholic wolves in sheeps' clothing, the Protestant sheep in wolves' clothing, and the zealot frogs croaking in chorus from every marsh." For the young radicals of the day the thought of three generations, the thought which had broken the dominion of Voltaire's ideas in Germany, seemed non-existent. How extraordinary, too, were the contrasts in the domain of literature. Side by side with arduous studies in historical and natural science, there became current an ephemeral literature that was at once impudent and dull, that was hopelessly biased, that mocked in verse and prose at all established order, and that never looked beyond the fleeting successes of the moment.

Germany was in a state of ominous ferment, and Saint-René Taillandier, one of the few Frenchmen who had a clear understanding of contemporary German happenings, wrote with concern that the prevalent mental anarchy was reminiscent of the state of France before the revolution. But the German troubles were not, as had been those of France, revelations of the corruption of a morally degenerate society; they were obscure intimations of the youthful energy of a noble and aspiring people which was beginning to become aware of its own strength. How readily a great idea could constrain all these brawlers to assemble beneath a single banner, how readily such an idea could completely overshadow the medley of fugitive thoughts not one of which completely dominated the nation, was shown by the marvellous unanimity of warlike enthusiasm which took possession of the Germans when their western frontier was menaced. Had the successor of Frederick William III, by his free royal resolve (such as had hitherto been determinative in all the great transformations of our

history), made provision for the wise adjustment of the constitutionalist difficulties in Prussia; had he thus simultaneously enhanced the prestige of his crown and bridged over the chasm which separated his state from the lesser German territories; had he, without interfering with freedom of thought and research, loyally fostered that strengthening of religious life which was the noble heritage of the wars of liberation—he could then have ventured to revive Frederician ideas in a new and liberal spirit, to complete the work of the customs union, and, sword in hand, to demand for the state that was leading the working life of the nation, leadership also in the field of German politics.

Rarely has the old truth that men control the course of events been so plainly confirmed. For eight years Frederick William IV remained the man of destiny for Germany. The forces he awakened, and still more the counterforces which sprang to life against him, impelled our people towards the revolution. And yet seldom had it likewise been so conspicuous that men are the product of events. The enigmatic character of the new king was no more than a last fine blossoming of that prolonged epoch of sentimental extravagance which had even now barely drawn to its close, and it was to be left for the vigorous sons of another and hardier generation, for those who had seen the horror of the revolution stalking abroad through the streets, to achieve success where these weaker hands inevitably failed. The peculiar view of monarchical absolutism that this prince cherished in his enthusiast's soul had nothing in common with the frivolous self-deification of the Bourbons or the unthinking hebetude of the Viennese Hofburg, and it had but little in common with the priestly kingcraft of the Stuarts. Like the elaborated despotism of King Louis of Bavaria it could flourish solely upon German soil, upon the soil of that romanticist outlook on the world which found its ideal in the boundless development of all the talents, in the self-confidence and self-gratification of the proud ego. In this harassed and restricted age, all were clamouring for liberty, and none clamoured more loudly than the new king. But before everything the freedom he desired was one that would enable him to live out his own life upon the heights, and to make an active use of his royal wisdom and formative powers. He believed in the existence

of a mysterious illumination which God's grace bestowed upon kings as distinct from other mortals; he had a cordial belief in mankind, and imagined that he understood his era because he had a connoisseur's receptivity for all it had to offer in the way of the grand and the beautiful. Hence he considered it possible for him, in virtue of his unrestricted royal authority, to endow his beloved people with more true freedom than any written constitution could bring.

Frederick William was now nearly forty-five, and his portly figure and the intellectual but placid lineaments of his beardless countenance already suggested the advance of years, despite the youthful restlessness of his movements. Manifold had been his experiences during these long years of waiting. Much homage had been paid him since those distant days when the old Albertina university had chosen the thirteen year old boy to be its rector, and when on his mother's last birthday "the flourishing hope of the fatherland" was honoured by the striking of a medal. At a considerably later date Goethe had prophesied that this great talent must awaken new talents, and everyone had admired the crown prince's intellectual supremacy. He had long sat as president of the council of state and of the ministry, believing himself to be thus supervising all the affairs of state. His father, however, simple-minded but with a good knowledge of men, had been careful to see that this brilliant position, not altogether suitable for the heir to a throne, should not degenerate into a co-regency The old king had been far more master in his own house than in the state. His children looked up to him with that timid veneration which serious-minded and taciturn fathers know how to inspire even in sons more talented than themselves. The crown prince's political influence was not extensive. His advocacy was doubtless helpful to a few persons, especially orthodox pastors. Such important negotiations as had taken place with the provincial diets had been entrusted almost exclusively to his guidance. But the king had kept all momentous decisions so completely within his own competence that the heir to the throne had soon a painful feeling of powerlessness, and conceived a tacit but continually increasing enmity towards the old regime.

Not merely did he detest bureaucratic formalism, quite failing to recognise its great advantages, and loving to dismiss it contemptuously as "servile bumptiousness"; but yet more

did he detest the whole spirit of this government, which seemed to him closely akin to that of the eighteenth century enlightenment. When as crown prince he stayed at Charlottenhof beneath the hill of Sans Souci, in the rose-garlanded villa which his father had given him and which Schinkel had adorned with Italian grace, the guests would at times in animated conversation institute comparisons between past and future. The aspiring younger generation considered itself enormously superior to the old in its élan, the sincerity of its faith, the profundity of its emotions, its romanticism. Frederick William's bosom friend Prince John of Saxony, writing in formal trochaic verse, referred to the cold marble splendours of the royal halls on the plateau above, and asked of them:

> Seems it not as if re-echoed
> Still the mordant wit of yore?

whilst in lame dactyls he described the bower beneath, with its youthful merriment:

> Pulses below here what there's ever lacking;
> Conjoined with mind is a warm glowing heart.

Soon after his ascent to the throne the new king took a step which neither of his two predecessors had ventured, and established his court in the palace of the great Frederick. He had no fear of the inevitable comparisons, for it was his hope that for the second time from this "historic hill" a new spirit would breathe over the land, though a different spirit from the Frederician, being that of the Christian state. By hard work and through severe mental struggles he had long ere this got the better of the rationalistic teaching of his early tutor, and had come to conceive faith as the highest power of reason. Indelibly graven upon his heart was the saying of St. Augustine: "The immutable light of God was over me, for it gave me existence, and I was beneath it, because it created me." From this he derived his sense of "*the inexpressible difference* between the creator and the creature," and from this likewise he derived the delusion that he could "create divinity" out of his own nature "as an analogy of *the godhead*!!!"[1] Nothing therefore seemed more abominable

[1] Annotations of the crown prince on Bunsen's treatise, Concerning Marriage Law, State, and Church.

to him than "the dragon's teeth of Hegelian pantheism." More far-sighted than Hegel, he recognised that every epoch has its own independent value, its own peculiar relationship to God, and that no epoch can be significant merely as a developmental stage on the way to the future. The new age that was now dawning was destined, he considered, to make a clean sweep of the heritage of the old enlightenment, was to overcome the revolution by liberty, carnal freedom by Christian freedom, the mechanical state by the Christian state.

With an artist's imagination he had already conceived a whole world of splendid plans, and, being now master, his amiable disposition, which made him desire to universalise happiness without delay, which made him long to see cheerful faces wherever he looked, impelled him towards realisation. His idea was to supplement the provincial diets by summoning a Reichstag based upon representation by estates, but he had no idea of inaugurating a written constitution, for although he loved to express his contempt for all political theories, his own mind was permeated by an unchangeable political doctrine. The artificial contrast between the revolutionary representative system and the legitimate representation by estates which Gentz had described in his Carlsbad memorial of the year 1819, seemed to the king an irrefutable truth. Just as the adherents of the old doctrine of natural law had believed in an abstract law of reason far superior to all positive laws, so did he believe in the existence of a historic right of the estates which had arisen independently of the state authority, and could not be suspended by the latter, but merely recognised. The truth that the law-constructing spirit of modern nations displays its strongest activity in the inauguration of state laws was despised by him as an error cherished by the Hegelian idolisers of the state, and his Christian monarchy was ever to remain free from this "all-power of the state." Haller's doctrine of the state now celebrated its greatest triumph at a time when its originator had already passed his seventieth year, but in the mind of Frederick William this crude and prosaic theory of power was transfigured by rich adornments of artistic imagery. For him the unity of the state was as nothing. It sufficed him that all the estates and all the territories of his wide realm should unfold a free and multiform life in their several historical peculiarities. Even the Wends, the Lithuanians, the Kashubes, and the

Masurians were to have undisturbed enjoyment of their national speech and customs.

He proposed to mitigate all the severities of the old system. There was to be an amnesty for the demagogues, and also for the Poles, with whom he sympathised as the victims of illegal oppression; there was to be freedom for the press, and above all for the church. The bitterness of the Catholics on account of the Cologne episcopal dispute would, he hoped, be overcome by magnanimous concessions. The Evangelical church of Prussia and the supra-episcopal authority of the monarchy seemed to him almost devoid of justification. When Protestantism had purged itself of unbelieving elements, the congregations of the faithful were to rebuild their church with their own independent energies, untrammelled by state authority, thus rendering visible the church invisible. Further, he had long regarded with dislike the penuriousness of the old regime. His court was to be brilliant, tasteful, worthy of the Hohenzollern name, and with this end in view he hoped to assemble round his person all that was great in German art and science. Before his accession he had furthered the rebuilding of the Marienburg and the completion of the cathedral of Cologne; at Castel, he had restored the mortuary chapel of his Lützelburg forefathers, which stands on a precipitous rock high above the Saar; at Stolzenfels he had magnificently reconstructed the Rhenish palace of the prince bishops of Treves; and he had thrown open to the public the ruins of Stahleck, at one time a stronghold of his wife's ancestors, the Counts Palatine. Everywhere, now, the ruinous edifices that had belonged to his German forebears were to be splendidly reinstated, the work providing an abundance of new opportunities for the creative talent of the younger generation of artists. The Christian monarch desired to be scrupulously just to all the fresh energies of his country's life—to commerce, to industry, to communications, and not least to the working masses, whose growing power had become apparent to him while he was still crown prince, and earlier than to most of his contemporaries.

It was not his intention to make any radical change in the traditional foreign policy of Prussia. He regarded the league of the eastern powers as a protective barrier against the revolution. His long-standing veneration for Metternich's wisdom had but increased with the passage of the years; and towards his Russian brother-in-law he was weaker than his predecessor had been. The late king had loved "darling Niks"

like a son, but in his quiet way had ever kept the Russian within bounds. To the new ruler the czar's harshnesses were profoundly repugnant, and in the intimacy of private life he would often use bitter expressions concerning "his autocratic majesty"; but Nicholas impressed him with that secret dread which a man of strong will is often able to inspire in a man of strong intelligence. Yet he felt very keenly that his domestic policy could have nothing in common either with the easy-going slumbrousness of Old Austria or with the slavish tranquillity of the tsarist realm, and he longed for the coming of the time when England should reenter the old quadruple alliance, and when Prussia, fortified by an intimate league between the two Protestant great powers, should secure a somewhat freer hand in Europe. For years he had felt great admiration for this kindred island stock, and the ardency of the sentiment was continually increased by Bunsen's enthusiastic letters. It was a delight to him to see how at the close of the thirties anglomania spread among the nobility all over Central Europe and even as far as Hungary, the dress and customs of English sportsmen being sedulously copied by good society. The British constitution seemed to him the model of that organic development which, though in other forms, he desired to achieve for his own state; and he shared the opinion widely diffused among the more liberal nobles and among the bourgeoisie, that England is our natural ally. Nevertheless his political experience was already more extensive than that of the liberals; he recognised that the alliances of states are not solely determined by the ties of inner kinship; and he considered that a peculiarly close bond between the two Protestant powers would not be possible unless the old eastern league remained inviolable.

Yet more lively was his interest in Prussia's German policy. He had no expectation of a long life, and soon after his accession said that he did not know whether this short reign would be glorious; at least he was determined that it should have a German stamp. Since he despised "the prejudices" of the Frederician era, and ungrudgingly acknowledged the precedence of the old imperial house, he regarded the Germanic Federation under peaceful dualist rule as an institution of the utmost value, and his only ambition was that Prussia should invigorate it, should secure for the Federation effective leadership in military affairs, trade and communications, and

commercial policy. He hardly troubled himself to ask the question how it was possible to harmonise the enlarged federal authority with the customs union, which had arisen independently of the Federation and in opposition thereto. His Prussian sense of the state ever remained weaker than his vague enthusiasm for German unity, and the idea of demanding the leadership of the nation for Prussia (a leadership that could be secured only through a struggle with Austria) lay quite without his circle of vision. Among all the Hohenzollern kings he was the most pacifically minded, excelling even his father in this respect, and was therefore the only one who was never engaged in a serious war. Upon the wall of one of his museums he had inscribed the well-known utterance of the Cæsar: "Melius bene imperare quam imperia ampliare" —a saying that well became the ruler of a world empire, but was unsuitable in the mouth of the king of a young and inchoate state, a land with derisory frontiers. He was no man of the sword. Being extremely short-sighted, he disliked mounting a horse; and although at manœuvres he frequently surprised his officers with keen, critical observations, it was plain to them that for the king the fulfilment of his military duties was a matter of conscience, not a pleasure. He was devoted to the joys of peace. But all the peaceful blessings which his subjects were to expect under the class-stratified Christian monarchy were to issue from the wisdom of the crown. Resembling that of an Old Testament patriarch was his view of his dignified office, for he really looked upon kingship as a paternal authority specially instituted by God for the education of the peoples. Everything that happened in the state was related, as he thought, to the person of the monarch. The highest aim of the free press was "the discovery of errors and abuses concerning which I have no other sources of information." [1] When he chid his people, he would say menacingly, "Both Solomon and Sirach recommend that naughty children shall be chastised in due season." [2]

If only among all the promising plans cherished by the crown prince there had been but a single proposal fully matured, and thought out with statesmanlike intelligence! But that passion for results, even inadequate results, which is characteristic of the man of action, was unknown to him. Like

[1] Marginal note, June 7, 1843. [2] Marginal note, June 10, 1847.

a spectator at the play, he luxuriated in contemplating the abundant flow of his ideas, and during the long years of waiting he had almost forgotten how to ask himself in what way his splendid fantasies were to be realised. Even his design for the liberation of the Protestant church, the design dear to him beyond all others, was merely to be promoted with all his powers for seven years. Should the obstacles prove insuperable, the book was to be closed. Such was not the language of a man born to rule. It was that of a richly imaginative mind; of one who gave himself up to, rather than determined, the impressions of his life; a man of soft nature, confiding in God and his fellows, and never ceasing to hope that things would turn out as he wished. Failures were ascribable, not to his own weakness, but to the inscrutable decrees of Providence. Side by side on his writing table at Sans Souci stood statuettes of the Venus of Milo, the pious Gellert, and Czar Nicholas, eloquent testimonies to the marvellously versatile sensibility of one who endeavoured to understand all that was significant in art and science, in state and church, but who never became fully at home in anything.

In converse with the heroes of the German spirit he displayed so dazzling a superiority that Leopold Ranke exclaimed with astonishment: "He is master of us all!" Yet he was no master, but merely the greatest of those brilliant dilettantes who abound in our complex modern civilisation. In none of the countless provinces of intellectual life with which his restless mind was concerned did he display true strength, genuine creative faculty, and least of all in the field of politics. In later years a peasant with a grievance, being referred by the monarch to the state for redress, mouthed invectives against this "ruffian of a state," and the king would often recall the winged word half in jest. Yet in his mouth, unfortunately, it was something more than a jest. He had an equal loathing for the inexorable regularity of state business and for the asperities of the political struggle, although he conscientiously discharged the duties of his royal office, often working for this purpose far into the night. But he never failed to draw a breath of relief when he could retire from the commonplace world into the recesses of his own rich individuality, and his happiest moments were those wherein, intoxicating and intoxicated, he could in inspired language give free issue to the flow of his thoughts and his feelings. "I could

not keep it in, I had to speak," he would say frankly to his friends.[1] Those only who did not know him accused him of an actor's calculation which was altogether foreign to his disposition. For him it was an essential need to pour from a full heart, to rejoice in the splendour of lofty metaphors, in the euphonies of that mother tongue he loved so fondly and used with such magistral skill. The ultimate effect of these spoken confessions was left by him in the hands of a merciful providence. In this he differed greatly from his predecessor Frederick, who, likewise a born orator, had always spoken with a purpose, weighing every sentence in its effect upon the will of his hearer, and never forgetting that only when they are deeds as well do king's words live on into the days of posterity. It is true that he frequently practised the unconscious dramatic arts to which gifted talkers are prone, and when at the festive board he saw in all eyes a reflection of the radiance from his own victorious personality, he was apt to say a good deal more than he had intended.

Natures of such many-sided sensitiveness are as a rule much dependent upon the caressive support of others, but Frederick William, strangely enough, stood squarely on his own feet. Herein lay the enigma of his character, herein the explanation of the manner in which he was so often over-valued even by men of outstanding intelligence. With careless serenity, with perfect unconcern, he made his way through life. He believed himself endowed, thanks to the sacredness of his royal office, and thanks to his personal gifts, with the power of taking the most comprehensive views, and it amused him at times to veil his intentions in a mysterious but pregnant obscurity, to throw petty mortals into confusion by the use of nebulous and half-unmeaning words. Though he lacked far-reaching energy of will and practical understanding, he remained an autocrat in the fullest significance of the term No one else ruled him; all the glory and all the shame of his regime were chargeable to his personal account. When opposed by his councillors he would sometimes abruptly forego some cherished design, and it would seem for a time as if the thoughts in his uneasy brain had undergone a kaleidoscopic change, but in the end it would suddenly become apparent that with a singular and taciturn obduracy he had clung to his original plan, and had recurred to it, despite

[1] Frederick William to Thile, June 13, 1846, etc.

all that had happened. He never relinquished anything, and he effected very little. His resolves were determined by emotional leanings and ready-made doctrines, and these could not be overcome by considerations of political expediency.

This independence of others' judgment was fortunate, for, since he had little knowledge of men, he was extremely unlucky in the choice of his advisers, and showed an extraordinary faculty for putting excellent persons into the wrong positions, or for wearying them out by making impossible claims. The consequence was that, apart from his two intimate confidants, Thile and Stolberg, one only of his ministers, Eichhorn, remained in office during the eight years that passed between the accession and the March revolution. Utterly free from the shy inaccessibility of his father, he loved to ask everyone's opinion. In private conversation he would willingly listen to candid contradiction, and almost seemed to invite it by the challenging manner in which he stated his own views. To friends he showed his fondness with an extravagance which often aroused suspicions of insincerity, although it was nothing but the involuntary expression of his temperament. He readily divined all the wishes of his intimates, and fulfilled them with royal munificence, allowing for a friend's human weaknesses with delicacy and consideration. When he desired to charm, he exhibited a fascinating amiability; and he was not above having recourse on occasions to the petty feminine wile of a fit of the sulks. Nevertheless, he was so greatly uplifted by his sense of royal dignity, that in essentials other individualities were of trifling consequence to him. Astonishing was the callousness with which he could cast off old and tried intimates should they give public utterance to opinions divergent from his own, or should they derange his plans. To him every declared political opponent was a personal enemy; and like all men of feeling he would treat an estranged friend with harshness and injustice which were the apt counterparts of the affection and deference previously displayed—and this though he often declared that his greatest wish in life was to be universally just.

His splendidly but unhappily endowed mind, just as much as his physique, recalled the poet's imaginary figure of Hamlet. He was full of beautiful and lofty ideas, and yet was so unstable in his resolves, that at the close of a council his ministers could never feel assured that his opinion remained

vhat it had been at the opening. His piety sprang from the lepths of a god-inspired heart, his gentle hand delighted in works of Christian charity about which there was no touch of pretence; but this man of kindly nature, when overpowered by wrath, would show himself to be vindictive to the point of cruelty. Himself a man of strictly moral behaviour, he was harsh and almost prudish in his condemnation of a loose liver, but this did not hinder his enjoyment of coarse buffoonery and the lewd jests of the Berlin streets. Despite the extent of his knowledge and despite his eagerness for further acquisitions, the finest blossom of culture, simplicity of thought and feeling, was incomprehensible to him and was ever beyond his reach. He was always in search of the peculiar, of that which lay remote from the main road; and the itch to be witty and brilliant would dominate him even when to yield to the impulse towards paradox was to endanger the success of some political coup. Denied to him was virile force of body and soul, the force which alone could have harmonised these multiform and conflicting endowments, and at times there could already be discerned in him the traces of a positively morbid disposition.

The late king had never failed to attempt, too sedulously at times, to soften contrasts, to allay oppositions; he had invariably acted in accordance with the old principle that the first duty of every government is to hold firmly to definite political traditions. At length, when his mind had been stiffened by age, it had become possible for Minister Alvensleben to say complacently: "We know our sovereign's opinions perfectly, and can always draft our report so as to be sure of his approval." [1] How different was the new ruler. He, too, aimed at paying due honour to the old traditions of the monarchy, but the many promises made in his speeches, the abundance of his plans, his unstable and capricious conduct, his incessant displays of personal feeling, had so stimulating, so irritant an effect, that a storm of awakened passions soon raged across the quiet land, and the king had to encounter the fate of the magician's apprentice. The weakness of every new government, namely, the incalculability of all relationships, persisted nearly eight years under the fourth Frederick William, until the situation was completely altered by a terrible defeat of kingship. If only the time and its royal awakener had been

[1] Kühne's Memoirs.

in the least able to understand one another! But in his marvellously complex course of development he had formed such peculiar ideals, that whilst sometimes as far as words went he was in agreement with average newspaper opinion, the agreement never extended to the substance which those words represented, for the monarch spoke a different language from his people. He was hailed with acclamations because, in accordance with the universal wish, he was preparing to put an end to the coercion and the immobility of the old system, and the form of his speeches seemed to prove that no one can wholly escape the influence of his age, for, just like the poets of Young Germany whom he so profoundly abhorred, he loved to dazzle by the unusual and to give homely utterance to the homely things he despised. But when he spoke of freedom he was thinking of his traditional feudalist system of representation, which was to bridle the power of the officialdom but was never to hamper the monarchical authority, whereas his hearers had in mind the parliamentary representative system, which people were gradually coming to regard as the only political structure worthy of a civilised nation. When the king sang the praises of German unity he was thinking of the Germanic Federation and the continuance of its peaceful development, whereas the cultured classes had long ere this passed sentence upon all the doings in the Eschenheimer Gasse as a spectral puppet show. When he spoke of the independence of the church, everyone agreed with him, for who could withstand the magic word of freedom; but the Christian sentiment he demanded for the free congregations of the faithful was utterly alien from that conceived as essential by the spokesmen of the zeitgeist, and all the noble foundations which were the work of his splendid benevolence, foundations which to-day continue to earn the thanks and blessings of their beneficiaries, were in the eyes of the men of his own time mere ebullitions of sanctimoniousness. When he promised an open path for art and science, he was thinking of the old nature philosophy and of romanticist poesy, spiritual forces which the self-complacent younger generation imagined itself to have long outgrown.

Thus it came to pass that the first phase of his reign was a long concatenation of misunderstandings, and for this mutual confusion the king was just as much responsible as was the obscurely fomenting spirit of the time, which began by acclaim-

ing him as its hero and ended by opposing him with all the bitterness of disillusionment. Even General Gerlach, his faithful friend and servant, would at times say, "The ways of the Lord are wonderful"; whilst Bunsen, who was no less devoted, on reading the king's plaint, "No one understands me, no one comprehends me," wrote the despairing marginal note, "Even if one could understand him, how could one comprehend him?" It was impossible for Frederick William, just as it was impossible for his no less imaginative and fanciful Bavarian brother-in-law, to discover by way of despotic severity and an over-elaborated shrewdness, an escape from the complications he had brought upon himself, and he wearied himself with ineffectual endeavours until history marched over him. He lacked energy alike for resolute enjoyment and for resolute action, and although he never completely lost his natural cheerfulness, he suffered always from a sense of inward dissatisfaction. He soon came to recognise with distress that he could achieve no successes, and his contemporaries, irritated and censorious, were in no mood to show human sympathy for the mute sufferings of a greatly gifted soul. The man who had formed so preposterously an exalted estimate of the vocation of king by God's grace had the bitter experience that in a realm where monarchy was traditional his reign had shaken faith in kingship—though the disaster, happily, was not irretrievable. It seemed as if Providence had wished by a tragical example to show this over-cultured generation, this generation whose estimate of the value of culture was so grossly exaggerated, how (in the struggles of national life) intelligence, knowledge, high-mindedness, and amiability are of little worth, unless they are infused with the simple energy of a virile will. In the great complex of German history, this disastrous reign appears, after all, as a necessary and wholesome dispensation, for under a stronger ruler the inevitable transition of the proud Prussian monarchy to constitutionalist forms of government could hardly have been effected without terrible struggles.

Fate determined that several of the most important offices of state should be simultaneously vacated by death. Altenstein's demise took place a few weeks before that of Frederick William III, and the pious Nicolovius had died a little earlier. Before the close of the year occurred the death of the trusty Stägemann, who had so long acted as the monarch's

secretary in all confidential concerns. Schinkel, while still in the vigour of his years, was attacked by a terrible disorder which clouded his mind and was soon to bring his life to a close. Both Count Lottum and General Rauch, the minister for war, felt weakened by age, and their lives seemed unlikely to be prolonged. Prince Wittgenstein, now advanced in years, held sedulously aloof from affairs, bitterly complaining that he had nothing in common with the changed world. There was room everywhere for fresh energies, and Peter Cornelius wrote exultantly: "A time of spring and festivity is at hand for all Germany!" But during the past quarter of a century Germany's life had run an astonishingly rapid course, and owing to the prolonged reign of the late king the natural succession of the generations had been disordered. The new men who came to the top were no longer young. Most of them, like their royal patron, had grown up among the determinative impressions of the wars of liberation, of the restoration epoch, and of the period of religious revival; and many of them continued to cherish the ideals of liberty that had animated the first Burschenschaft. But the youngest radical generation smiled on them contemptuously as reactionaries, and to the young Hegelians of the new enlightenment their Christo-Germanic ideas appeared even more detestable than did the dryly reasonable bureaucracy of the old system.

Queen Elizabeth was dearest of all to the king's heart. His affection for her was unbounded, and almost exceeded the limits proper to a ruler. When, with tears streaming down his face, he rose in profound distress from beside his father's death-bed, he said to her: "Now give me your support, Elise, for I shall need all my energies." Whenever he returned home, harassed by the superabundance of his thoughts which made every decision difficult, and disturbed by the cares of public business, she invariably gave him a cheerful, sympathetic, and affectionate welcome; only when anger completely overmastered him did she glance round the chamber with serious mien and say, "I am looking for the king." He attempted to furnish his happy home as cosily as was permissible to a sovereign prince. At Christmas the royal pair would visit the market in the palace square, and on new year's eve the night-watchman had to enter the palace to herald the new year with his horn. The king delighted to do whatever his wife wished. With a high spirit she concealed her distress that her marriage

was childless, she did not hesitate to hold at the font her nephew Frederick William, who would presumably succeed to the throne, and she became a second mother to the lad. She found her greatest happiness in inexhaustible benevolence. She helped her spouse in his countless enterprises of Christian charity, dispensing large sums from her private means, at least 60,000 thalers yearly. In all the remoter quarters of Berlin, where the new hospitals and infant schools were being established, everyone was familiar with the queen's carriage drawn by four dapple greys. Nevertheless she was not popular. The Catholics of the west never forgave her for becoming a Protestant. On the other hand, in the rigidly Protestant old provinces, and especially in Berlin, where the spirit of Biester, the Jesuit-hunter, was not yet dead, the report was current, even among the court servants, that the queen had remained Catholic at heart and desired to convert her husband to the Roman church. This rumour damaged the king's prestige, and yet it was utterly unfounded. Elizabeth's conversion to the Protestant faith had been the outcome of free conviction and had ensued upon serious consideration. In later years, with her customary frankness, she told Pope Pius IX to his face: "One married to such a king, whose life is an embodiment of the gospels, is confirmed in the Evangelical faith." It is true that her religious sentiments had a romantic tinge which was suspect to the free thought of the age; she cherished the ideal of a Christian church no less highly than did her husband. She never repudiated the strictly legitimist views of the Bavarian sisters; she maintained unbroken intercourse with the courts of Vienna, Dresden, and Munich; and when she believed the repute of the kingdom to be endangered, this affable princess might to many seem cold and proud. For these reasons not a few considered her political influence disastrous, although less often at this time than in later years did she concern herself about state affairs.

Somewhat more extensive were the political activities of Count Anton Stolberg, who at first assisted Prince Wittgenstein, and subsequently succeeded the prince as treasurer of the royal household. He had fought bravely at Jena. Afterwards, with the aid of the loyal Harz mountaineers, who well knew how to hide this son of the beloved old race of the Harzgraves, he had successfully eluded the clutches of the royal Westphalian police. Later still, during the War of Liberation, he had, as

a trusty companion-at-arms, struck up a firm friendship with Prince William the elder, Gneisenau, and York. These memories of the war were ever sacred to him. When after the coming of peace he returned home to aid his father in the government of the country, he had an iron cross erected on the rocks of Ilsenstein in memory of his fallen friends. At a much later date he entered the public service, and alike at Düsseldorf and Magdeburg he acquired as president universal confidence through the distinction of manner conjoined with simple amiability which had from of old been typical of his noble race. His religious sentiments were more active than his feeling for politics. Early joining the circles of the "awakened," in Düsseldorf he seconded the efforts of the two benefactors of the lower Rhine, Count von der Recke and Pastor Fliedner, in their works of charity, and accepted the chairmanship of the new deaconesses' union. His serene and tolerant piety won the esteem of Frederick William. Soon after the beginning of the new reign, "Count Anton" had to move to Charlottenhof that he might ever be at the king's side playing the part of faithful Eckart in all political questions where points of conscience were involved, and he fulfilled this confidential office with fine candour. But since he was himself a man of feeling and was therefore unjust at times despite the natural benignity of his disposition, he could not provide an effective counterpoise to the monarch's moods, and he himself formed a modest estimate of his business acumen and the keenness of his understanding.[1] The religious life of his house exhibited itself in forms which conflicted with Protestant custom. Every evening he, his pious and affectionate daughters, and his entire household, would kneel down together in family prayer, and in new Berlin few were tolerant enough to respect the perfectly unhypocritical fervour of these devotional exercises.

Strictness in religious matters was yet more marked in General von Thile, now a cabinet minister, who henceforward replaced Count Lottum in the duty of furnishing regular political reports to the king. An earnest religious sentiment, straightforward and simple in point of verbal expression, had long prevailed in the Prussian army. Nearly all the distinguished leaders of that army shared the opinion of the Old Dessauer that a soldier who did not fear God was nothing but a

[1] Stolberg to Cuny, January 12, 1841.

simpleton; unconcernedly performing their duties, they humbly entrusted to the god of battles the uncertain fate of the warrior. But now, under a king of theological and pacifist inclinations, officers of a new and quite unprussian type secured the favour of the court, men to whom the prayer-book was dearer than the sword, men not without merit as soldiers (for in the last war they had all fought in knightly fashion), but lacking that true military ambition which fills the whole soul. Their unctuous piety recalled that of Cromwell's dragoons, although these soft and romantic believers were not endowed with the harsh and terrible strength of the Puritans. Thile was an officer of the new calibre. He was an inconspicuous little man, and his efficiency was not immediately plain to the onlooker, but he was hard-working, conscientious, a ready writer, and even eloquent on occasions. His character was irreproachable; he was never weary in well-doing; for years, from his modest means, he secretly provided for the support of a man who had been his personal enemy and who had fallen upon evil days. A friend of Boyen and of many other officers of a comparatively liberal trend, he shunned political extremes, and never hesitated, when he thought it necessary, frankly to contradict the monarch, for whom he had a strong personal affection. But he had no independent statesmanlike ideas, and his political vision was frequently clouded by the over-strained mystical piety which induced the wits of Berlin to bestow on him the nickname of "Bible-Thile." Not long before the opening of the new reign he had entertained serious thoughts of going out as a missionary to Australia or Africa. No less passionately than Frederick William did he loathe the new philosophers, who, as the saying ran at court, "Hegeled their Bible and Bibled their Hegel"; yet more profoundly than the king was his mind permeated with the conviction that the decisive struggle between faith and unfaith was at hand, and that, in view of this one great contrast, differences of creed were matters of no import. Not merely did he believe in the divine guidance of history with a fatalist confidence which was apt to impair his powers of free activity, but he believed in addition in the immediate influence of divine grace upon worldly resolves, and in moments of religious ecstasy his political conduct became utterly incalculable. On one occasion, having given Count Stolberg his opinion regarding the Neuchâtel matter, he wrote to his friend a few hours later: "To-day

I regarded the affair solely with the eyes of the natural man, and considered it merely from the so-called political aspect. But in the evening I became ashamed when the words were borne in upon me that greater than all the might of steeds and riders is the might of a nation united with its king in prayer. Where prayer is in question, only the prayerful count; and if God's word be true they will be victorious over all the mockers." [1] Such was the reasoning by which he explained a change in his judgment of the political situation. A man of this temperament could be Frederick William's faithful assistant, but could never compensate for the monarch's deficiencies.

Living in somewhat monotonous intercourse with these two everyday confidants, the king was always refreshed when another friend belonging to the former Wilhelmstrasse circle, Colonel Joseph von Radowitz, appeared in the capital. On these occasions Frederick William would joyfully exclaim: "Hurrah, old Bruin is back again!" Radowitz sprang from an ancient but little known Hungarian family; his grandfather had been brought to Prussia as prisoner of war and had remained in Germany. A precocious boy, Joseph Radowitz was destined for the Westphalian service and was educated in French military schools. When fifteen he was already an officer; a year later, at Bautzen, he won the cross of the legion of honour; at the age of eighteen, after the dissolution of the kingdom of Westphalia, he became head teacher of military sciences at the cadet school in Cassel. Being subsequently expelled from Hesse owing to his chivalrous intervention on behalf of the ill-used electress,[2] he secured an honourable reception in the Prussian army, where he ably cooperated in the management of military training colleges and in the reorganisation of the artillery. The fiery glance of the short-sighted eyes, deep-set beneath the lofty brow, the bronzed and yet sallow complexion, the thin lips surmounted by a dark moustache, gave his clear-cut features a foreign stamp. His whole nature breathed a mysterious charm. Tall and powerfully built, his formal and dignified demeanour was not one to invite intimacy. In society he preferred to sit apart, sketching or turning over the leaves of a book, until of a sudden he would interpolate some brilliant observation which would show the talkers that he had marked every word. Physical needs seemed almost unknown to him; he ate

[1] Thile to Stolberg, December 8, 1846. [2] Cf. vol IV, p. 348.

sparingly, drank nothing but water, and looked as if he had never been young. From his earliest years he had been dominated by an insatiable thirst for knowledge. Books were his only passion, and in his exceptional memory he gradually stored an astonishing abundance of varied knowledge. His early work, *The Iconography of the Saints*, showed how thorough was his acquaintance with the history of customs, of art, and of the church. In the crown prince's salon he soon became an indispensable oracle, and the *Berliner Wochenblatt* had to thank him for some of its best articles.

His marriage with Countess Voss introduced him into the circle of the landed gentry, but among the rigid Old Prussians he long remained suspect as a foreigner. Though he was of noble character, and a man who utterly despised intrigue, many spoke of him as a new Cagliostro, and he was generally regarded as a masked Jesuit. Witzleben, minister for war, a zealous Protestant and friendly to constitutionalist ideas, at length thought it expedient to have the Catholic legitimist removed from the crown prince's entourage, this being at the time when General Gröben and Colonel Gerlach were likewise transferred to the provinces. The old king approved the proposal, but inspired with his customary sense of justice he appointed Radowitz, a staff officer barely forty years of age, to succeed General Wolzogen on the military committee of the Bundestag. There, too, through his industry and intellectual superiority, Radowitz soon made himself a burden to his easy-going colleagues. The offspring of a mixed marriage and educated at first as a Protestant, shortly before attaining manhood, but with a full sense of what he was doing, he had entered the Roman church, securing there such perfect peace of mind that he bluntly declared all truth to be Catholic. His self-denying life as a thinker led him to take a strict and almost monastic view of the moral world. He could never recognise that the Protestant moral ideal, the unity of thought and will, imposes far more arduous duties upon weak mortal men than the Catholic idea of salvation by works. To him celibacy did not seem a masterstroke of papal policy, a cleverly devised means for promoting the power of the clergy by detaching them, as a circumscribed priestly caste, from lay society; it seemed a lofty moral ideal. The struggle of the Protestants against this monstrous mutilation of nature was to him explicable only as a manifestation of the lusts of the

flesh—though he himself was a happy husband and father. Such being his sentiments, it was inevitable that he should be profoundly distressed by the Cologne episcopal dispute. His delight in his adopted fatherland of Prussia received a sudden and painful check, and he considered it a gracious dispensation of Providence that his office was one which rendered it needless for him to show his colours publicly in the struggle.

Notwithstanding all his learning, his æsthetic judgments were no less one-sided. Goethe's cordial sensuality was incomprehensible to him. No less incomprehensible was the whole art of statuary, seeing that its highest achievements were secured in the representation of heathen nudity. For him the primary source of all the sins of the modern age was to be found in the great epoch of the cinquecento, in the revival of classical paganism. Quite in the spirit of Haller, therefore, he abhorred the revolution as a devilish principle, and was utterly opposed to the new sociology because in it the state was regarded, not as the protector, but as the creator of law. He could not yet realise that the law-constructing spirit of modern nations finds expression above all in legislation, nor had it become clear to him that the historical evolution of law cannot be continued to-day without the cooperation of liberally organised state authorities. No less fundamentally opposed than his royal master to the "pseudo-liberal activities" of the officialdom, he proudly maintained "the higher standpoint which towers above the view of the absolute state." [1] He hoped for a grand Christo-Germanic monarchy, for it seemed to him doubtful, to say the least of it, whether a Christo-Germanic republic was at all possible. During the thirties his mind was so wholly imprisoned within the circle of Haller's ideas that he could actually reiterate the assertion that the power of the crown was based upon the ruler's personal ownership of land. In Prussia, where all the domains had long ago become state property, this doctrinaire contention was now utterly unmeaning.

None the less, he never became the slave of a theory, but with keen vision contemplated the world of reality, always prepared to revise his opinions. He recognised at an early date a fact which after the passage of many and turbulent years was to secure general recognition, that the heartfelt longing of the Germans was directed, not strictly speaking

[1] Radowitz to the king, June 23, 1844.

towards constitutionalist forms, but towards political acquisitions of a more practical character—legal security, nationality, self-government. Nor did the social foundation of the political movement escape him. He saw how the middle classes were strong only because they posed as representatives of the people; it was therefore essential that the crown should prove by constructive social legislation that in the crown alone could the masses of the people find a watchful advocate and a genuine protector. Especially perspicacious was Radowitz' judgment in matters of German federal politics, for he saw here far more clearly than the king or any of his friends. Since in his view the Roman church was not a power hostile to culture, but was the climax of all civilisation, he was able to undertake an unprejudiced comparison between Austrian and Prussian conditions, and this strict Catholic came to the conclusion that Prussia, aspiring sunwards, had need of the light, whereas the Austrian fungus could thrive only in the shade. The dull sterility of Viennese policy, with its multifarious European interests and consequent estrangement from Germany, was no less plain to him than was the superficiality of Austrian semi-culture, which had no counterpoise to offer to arid Josephanism or to liberal phrasemongering. With this stagnant life he proudly contrasted the healthy energy of the Prussian people and the Prussian state, German to the core. Even before the opening of the new reign (1839) he declared that Prussia alone was competent to lead the nation, that Germany's princes and peoples must learn to look Berlinwards for the defence of their rights and interests. He therefore demanded the continued development of the customs union, and insisted before all that the rights of every German must be safeguarded by the crown of Prussia—a sacred duty which, alas! was so shamefully repudiated in the affair of the Hanoverian constitution. Thus there was already dawning in his mind the idea of the Prussian empery of the German nation, and he did not hesitate to avow that he regarded himself primarily as a German, and only secondarily as a Prussian. The king asked his old friend for counsel upon all the problems of German federal politics, but could never make up his mind to be guided unreservedly by this adviser, nor could he decide to appoint Radowitz to the position in which the latter's influence would have been decisive.

Radowitz expounded his political ideas in the *Colloquies*

upon State and Church. This work was published anonymously in the year 1846, and at the time many believed the king to be its author, although the chaste simplicity of its admirable prose style had nothing in common with the emotionalism of Frederick William. It was unquestionably the most notable contribution to German publicism since the appearance of Paul Pfizer's *Correspondence between Two Germans.* But how much better had the Swabian writer understood the first elements of the publicist's art, how much better had he been able to direct the reader's will towards a definite end. Pfizer had employed the controversial form merely in order to vanquish all objections, and to enable him to expound his own aim with the utmost precision, to exhibit the goal of German unity under Prussian leadership. In Radowitz' *Colloquies,* on the other hand, there is an exchange of views between a devout officer, a manufacturer of liberal views, a rigid bureaucrat, and a young socialist, who all express themselves with equal courtesy, in carefully chosen words. Then Waldheim intervenes, unmistakably an impersonation of the author, and with statesmanlike calm he displays to all the interlocutors the narrowness of their respective partisan views. Seldom does he give utterance to his own opinions, and is then always cool, reserved, and diffident. The general impression produced by the writing is that of a brilliant paucity of ideas, for, despite the multiplicity of the outlooks that are displayed, hardly any simple conclusions are drawn. The work lacked the strength of enthusiasm. Its ideas did not shoot up skyward from their root, but were trained over an espalier; they were more distinguished by nobility of form than by primitive energy. The *Colloquies* proved how liberal and unprejudiced was the author's mind; and in fact, being more capable of development than the king, he was soon to become convinced that the constitutionalist form of state was now indispensable. But the work gave evidence that its author, too, was affected by that distinguished dilettantism which spread like a blight over all the king's circle of intimates... Radowitz was a little of everything, neither wholly soldier, nor wholly statesman, nor wholly man of learning. His refined and well-equipped mind, abler than that of any other Prussian statesman of his day, could not offer the epoch that which was its essential need, the dread concentration of an elemental energy of will.

Had plans, suggestions, splendid proposals sufficed, Bunsen might have been a help to his age. Little did he care that the privy councillors of Berlin looked at him askance owing to the pitiful failure of his campaign against Rome, and that in memory of his Ancona note they had nicknamed him "the knight of Ancona." He was assured of the new king's favour, and with youthful daring he crowded all sail on his fortunate vessel. Some years earlier, looking forward to the reign of the present ruler, he had hoped that it would witness the establishment of the holy empire:

> A thousand years sufficed not to build a fane so rare,
> But soon will such an artist complete the structure fair.

But pending greater things Berlin was to become a German court of the muses such as Weimar had been in earlier days, and the enthusiast promptly began an exchange of letters with artists and men of learning hoping to induce them to settle in the capital. For himself, since the Berne embassy seemed unworthy his deserts, he wished for the presidency of a great committee to which religious and educational matters were to be entrusted. In such a position, freed from the vexations and tedium of administrative affairs, he could to the top of his bent stimulate, instruct, awaken ideas and promote their spread.

General von Canitz' relations with the monarch were less intimate. He had acquired distinction both as campaigner and as writer on military topics; from Diebitsch's camp he had sent reports of the Russo-Polish war which were as unbiased as they were far-sighted; finally, having been entrusted with the difficult embassy to Cassel and to Hanover, he had taken so independent a line that despite his tact he inevitably incurred the ill will of the electoral prince and of the Guelph king. On terms of close friendship with the romanticists Clemens Brentano and Savigny, he considered that the liberation of the church from the state authority, and the firm establishment of the monarchy upon a system of representation by estates, were the two primary tasks of the new government. His residence in uneasy Cassel had borne fruit. He recognised that if Prussia were to carry the customs union policy a stage further, her internal structure must be made to approximate to that of her little constitutionalist neighbours. Prussia, therefore, must summon a Reichstag as soon as possible,

but he considered that this body must be composed of representatives of the separate estates. His mind was free from all tendency to narrow partisanship. Handsome and distinguished in appearance, a good conversationalist, witty and trenchant, in ordinary intercourse he was little inclined to parade the strictness of his religious principles. Though in his romanticist circle the Prussian officialdom was as a rule regarded with profound hostility, he gladly recognised how great had been the services of this body. He was on friendly terms with liberals, not excepting Varnhagen. Among the king's pious friends he was most definitely distinguished by the ease of the man of the world.

Very different in type was General Carl von der Gröben, Dörnberg's son-in-law, a long and lean Old Prussian giant, round whose shoulders the white mantle of the Teutonic knights still seemed to cling. This chevalier sans peur et sans reproche could find no rest until, when advanced in years, he was able to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. With what delight had he long ago taken part in the preparations for the War of Liberation and in the struggle when it came. So intimate had been his friendship with Gneisenau and Arndt, with Schenkendorf and Görres, that for a time he even aroused the suspicions of the demagogue hunters.[1] Throughout life he preserved the enthusiastic crusading spirit of those pious days. What he lacked in political insight was made good by inviolable fidelity to his Christian king, and by a general love for humanity, which so benevolently embraced without distinction the just and the unjust that Queen Elizabeth once observed, "The good Gröben will begin to talk to us next about the dear and excellent Nero!"

Whilst Gröben's feeling for the king was nothing more than the knightly sentiment of unconditional loyalty, the three brothers von Gerlach were declared Hallerians. They were sons of the highly respected President Gerlach who had courageously defended Electoral Mark against Napoleonic extortions, and subsequently, disgusted by administrative reforms, had quitted the state service, to accept immediately thereafter the position of chief burgomaster of Berlin.[2] The father's courage, his patriotism, and his conservative sentiments, had been transmitted to his sons, two of whom wore the iron cross. The second son, Judge Ludwig Gerlach, was a learned and able

[1] See vol. III, p. 139. [2] See vol. I, p. 332.

lawyer, just alike to superiors and to inferiors, and a jealous guardian of the independence of the judiciary. The lengths to which his religious zealotry could lead him had been shown some years earlier by his reckless publication of the statements made ex cathedra by some of the rationalist professors in Halle, a coup which secured the approval of his royal friend the crown prince.[1] The Christian state, the free orthodox church, and above all the condominium of the two great powers over the Germanic Federation, were ideals which seemed to him so inviolably sacred, that before long he even came to regard his friends Radowitz and Canitz as renegades in consequence of their more liberal attitude towards Austria, and accused them of radical "Teutonism." Like his brother Leopold, he condemned his political and religious opponents with fanatical and unchristian harshness, and did not conceal his view that differences of opinion seemed to him even more important than differences of nationality. His mind being essentially critical, he had few statesmanlike ideas of his own. He would scourge the sins of a godless age with pitiless severity, but when the question pressed what was to be done, young Otto von Bismarck and the other practical men of talent among his supporters discovered with amaze that this brilliant man could after all do nothing but play the schoolmaster and find fault with everything. It resulted that he could be no more than a dreaded writer in the service of the ultraconservative party, and could never become its leader. How ill-assorted, too, with the sparkling wit and winning cheerfulness of the amiable social companion, was the pious unction, beyond question seriously meant, of his political essays, overloaded with biblical texts. Some traces of this dualism of romanticist irony were likewise seen in the youngest brother, the preacher Otto von Gerlach. He discharged his difficult office among the Berlin poor with apostolic devotion, being a man firm in the faith, and unwearied in ministering to spiritual and physical needs.[2] Twice he defied threats of dismissal for refusing to remarry divorced persons. Yet at times, to the horror of the sanctimonious, he would declaim in the pulpit fine passages from Shakespeare. Thus strangely mingled were religious and ethical ideals in this brilliant romanticist circle.

The king's favourite among the three brothers was the eldest, General Leopold von Gerlach. Whilst still stationed in

[1] See vol. IV, p. 187. [2] See vol. V, p. 607.

a provincial garrison town, he was frequently summoned to court; but after a while he was transferred to Berlin, where his advice was sought in all matters of importance. He was, however, under no illusions regarding the extent of his influence, and openly declared that none of the king's personal favourites had any real power. His most treasured memories were connected with the Silesian headquarters staff, of which he had been a distinguished member.[1] Thereafter for a considerable period he was adjutant to Prince William the younger, who continued later, when their political paths had diverged, to regard him with genuine respect. Anything but a courtier, he would on occasions return a blunt Prussian answer even to the dreaded czar, and though he regarded the Russians as Prussia's natural allies, their servile nature and their routinist sense of order were profoundly repugnant to him. His peculiar romanticist self-complacency made him fond of expressing himself in bold paradoxes, such as that Napoleon was a good-natured fellow enough, but for the rest rather a duffer. In his political views this shrewd and well educated officer went almost further than his brother Ludwig, for he was filled with unquenchable hatred for the despotism of the "hireling officials," though he was himself properly speaking one of their number. He firmly believed in God's direct influence upon crowned heads, and said severely that pretenders whom the Almighty himself had deprived of their high office ought to be in the camp or the cloister, but were out of place in the whirlpool of court enjoyments. Like his brother he was stronger in criticism than in the origination of political ideas.

The brothers found a powerful supporter in Ludwig von Gerlach's brother-in-law, Baron Senfft von Pilsach auf Gramenz, who, having been appointed a member of the treasury of the household, instituted extensive plans for the drainage of the domains, which were carried out at great cost though rarely with success. Official documents supply practically no information regarding his political activities. Nevertheless, all well-informed persons knew that the king, in so far as he was ever moved by another's opinion, placed great confidence in Senfft's judgment. As crown prince he had espoused the cause of the baron when the latter, ignoring the prohibitions of the rationalistic Stettin government, had delivered pious sermons to his Further Pomeranian peasants, and Frederick William

[1] See vol. I, p. 561.

had written: "The conduct of this [the Stettin] government is in truth so colossally stupid as to arouse one's compassion." [1] Senfft was intimately acquainted with all Frederick William's peculiarities, and knew how to adapt his confidential reports and conversations to the monarch's every mood. Nor did he shrink from letting the king know what people were saying about their ruler, frequently reporting current talk without any adornments of his own. Now straightforward, now calculating, but exhibiting always a quiet tenacity, he made considerable headway, and his advice never failed to favour the conservative cause. Through the instrumentality of von Thadden-Trieglaff, who was brother-in-law both to himself and to Ludwig von Gerlach, he maintained lively intercourse with a circle of ultra-orthodox Further Pomeranian nobles who were no less distinguished for their reactionary trend than for their Christian mode of life and their works of charity.

All the other men who were dear to the king's heart had the same high church stamp. Privy Councillor von Voss-Buch had for years been reporting councillor to the crown prince, and was now entrusted with various important functions, chiefly in connection with the department of justice; Voss-Buch, too, was renowned for his incomparable bachelor dinners. Von Kleist, president of the court of appeal, had been Frederick William's playmate in boyhood; an ultra of the ultras, he was nicknamed "bloody Kleist" by the demagogues and resigned office in the end rather than swear fealty to the new constitution. Of the same stamp were C. W. von Lancizolle, the Hallerian, at one time instructor of the royal princes in German constitutional law; Götze, the learned jurist; General Carl von Röder, a man of childlike piety; and others too numerous to mention, who during the first years of the peace had belonged to the conventicles of the awakened or to the "Cockchafer Club" of the young Berlinese romanticists.[2] Never had there existed a court circle more worthy of respect. Intelligence, acquirements, nobility of mind, were all admirably represented; but there was little energy of will, and little understanding of the needs of the age.

Alexander von Humboldt, a regular visitor of an evening at the royal circle, seemed like a foreigner in this Christian environment. Mind called to mind; the king and the man of

[1] Crown Prince Frederick William to Altenstein, May 2, 1830.
[2] See vol. II, pp. 259 and 336.

great learning could not do without one another; and their contemporaries involuntarily thought of Frederick and Voltaire, though the comparison was hardly an apt one. Voltaire had had a decisive influence upon the great king's æsthetic judgments, had contributed to form Frederick's philosophical views, but had ever kept strictly aloof from Prussian politics. Humboldt's royal friend had long ago formed his own outlook on the world, and it was impossible that Humboldt could affect this outlook, standing as he did partly above and partly below it. The disciple of the old enlightenment, the man whom in earlier days the Prussian officials at Baireuth had looked upon as a jacobin, had no understanding of the new religious life which was dawning for the Germans and was so joyfully hailed by the king. On the other hand, Humboldt had a far franker appreciation than had Frederick William for the liberal ideas of the rising middle class. Thus differing in almost all other respects, the two found their only common ground in their passionate delight in research and in the growth of knowledge. Humboldt was not slow to perceive that the king was not a man of action and would never secure the happiness for which he longed. The man of science therefore determined to work for good in the one domain of politics that remained open to him, to foster the king's inclinations for playing the Mæcenas, to favour all the aspiring energies of German art and science more effectively than had been possible under the thrifty and comparatively inaccessible old ruler. With unwonted frankness he expressed himself on one occasion about Bunsen, saying: "It is a weakness of mine to desire that those whose talent I have early recognised and honoured shall do something great. Thus do we mutually support one another, and thus do we contribute towards nourishing and sustaining like a sacred fire respect for intellectual endeavours."

He wished to be the recognised prince in the realm of knowledge, but he used his powers in a grand manner for the realisation of that ideal of the state of Pericles which was so dear to him as it was to his brother William. He considered that even the well-equipped and well-ordered state was valueless in default of the cultivation of the true and the beautiful. Humboldt had an important share in all that Frederick William did on behalf of science. The old family mansion in the Oranienburger Strasse became a place of pilgrimage for all youthful men of talent. Hermann Helmholtz

and many another promising beginner found there help and counsel. The little old man sat among towers of books, cards, letters, articles of every kind sent to him from all quarters of the earth. Facing him on the green wall was a great map of the world. Here he would write far on into the night, sometimes working at his *Cosmos*, sometimes drafting schemes for scientific institutes, sometimes penning countless letters of introduction, so that it seemed as if all the threads from the boundless realm of research were centred in the old magician's hand. The king overwhelmed him with honours and gifts, without being able in the end to prevent this man, who had no thought for the monetary aspects of life, becoming a debtor to his own servant. Frederick William, in letters to "dearest Alexandros," displayed all the tenderness, all the cordiality of his excellent heart, and when Humboldt fell ill the king would sit for hours at his bedside reading aloud to him. Regarded as one who knew everything, Humboldt had to furnish information upon the most divers matters, being now asked to throw light upon some serious problem, and now to clear up an idle difficulty—to explain, for instance, why the figures representing multiples of the number nine, when added together, always produce the number nine. When the king visited his friend after nightfall, the servants with the lanterns were often kept up to an unearthly hour because their master, after taking his final leave, would renew the delightful conversation on the doorstep.

Less amiable than in such brilliant duologues did the great man seem at the court festivals, where, dressed in his chamberlain's uniform and wearing the great ribbon of the order of the black eagle, he would say an affable word to every nonentity; and he was a less amiable figure at the tea-parties given by the royal family. From Paris days he had become accustomed to be the central figure in the salon, and here in Sans Souci or Charlottenburg he could not refrain from drawing all eyes towards himself. He would stand before the mutinously silent queen, who always mistrusted him, or before envious courtiers and political opponents, talking about new books, about what he had read in the newspapers, about his own writings upon the height of Popocatepetl, upon isotherms, or upon prisons, always brilliant, always instructive, but unintelligible to most of his hearers. The king alone would listen attentively, but even he was at times distrait and would

turn over the leaves of some illustrated book. Humboldt took a quiet vengeance for the suppressed irritation and tedium of these weary evenings, from which he would not absent himself. He carried to his friend Varnhagen, ever ready to suck up dirty water like a sponge, all the malicious gossip of the court, not sparing the affectionate king, and displaying by this backbiting that in capital cities, or at least in scandal-mongering Berlin, a man of genius, as well as another, could become petty through seeing things too close at hand. One thing, at least, was indubitably proved by his odious tittle-tattle, and this was that the medley at the animated court lacked a controlling head.

§ 2. REJOICINGS. FESTIVAL OF ALLEGIANCE IN KÖNIGSBERG AND BERLIN.

"Farewell now joys, amusements, social delights! My highest god is duty"—thus a hundred years earlier, after his accession to the throne, had King Frederick written to Voltaire. The successor showed none of his predecessor's resoluteness. Frederick William was utterly unhinged when Czar Nicholas, who had appeared beside his father-in-law's death-bed just before the end, congratulated him on his accession. It was long before he could master his grief and accommodate himself to the changed situation. "Oh, to be like you," he wrote to Metternich, "to unite a warm heart with a cool head! This is the most certain means for enabling us to possess our souls and always to steer a straight course. I feel all too clearly that to me this fortunate combination is lacking, for I find myself unable to recover from the blow which has crushed us to the earth, and my position seems to me like a dream from which I earnestly long to awake." The whole country shared the king's mourning. The crowd looked on in solemn silence when during the night of June 11th the king's remains were conveyed along the broad central avenue of the Linden to the Charlottenburg mausoleum where the departed had desired to be laid at rest beside his Louise. The street lamps had been extinguished, and the only light was that of the pale moonbeams, which, when the moon emerged from time to time from behind the clouds, fell upon the hearse as it moved silently onward. In all the pulpits from the Niemen to the Saar sermons were preached upon the text, "For the Lord

thy God hath blessed thee in all the works of thy hand." The town of Berlin resolved to erect a monument to the dead monarch, to whom it owed so much; this was placed upon a wooded hill-top and the site was named the Friedrichshain in honour of the deceased.

For all Prussians, memories of the late ruler were keenly revived when the new monarch published the only testamentary dispositions his father had made, apart from directions concerning the funeral. Frederick William IV added to his father's utterances a few deeply felt words of his own. With a plain reference to the warlike preparations of the French, he confidently declared: "If the treasure of a dearly won peace should ever be endangered, my people will arise at my call like one man, just as his people arose at his call." The two testaments had been written thirteen years earlier, long before the July revolution had shaken the life of Germany, and they were couched in the patriarchal style of those tranquil days. One of them, superscribed "My last Will," consisted of nothing more than pious observations. The other, opening with the words "To thee, my beloved Fritz," warned the successor to the throne against a desire for innovations and against unpractical theories, but warned him likewise against an excessive preference for the old, and exhorted him to regard the league with Austria and Russia as "the keystone of the great European alliance." The Berlin council had these legacies from the late king printed for the use of the citizens, and for many years, framed and glazed, they hung on the walls of countless Prussian homes. But the age to which they belonged had passed away; with these last dues of gratitude the chapter of the past seemed closed; all glances were now expectantly turned towards the new ruler.

His first doings came from the heart, for it seemed to him a sacred duty to compensate for the harshness of earlier days. He said friendly and encouraging words to all the deputations which came to pay their respects to him. Even the Jews of Berlin, for whom he had little liking, received an assurance that he was no adherent of the blind prejudices of earlier centuries. General Boyen, who had long been the victim of ill-treatment, was recalled to the council of state by an exceptionally gracious holograph letter, and this first act of the new government was universally regarded as a concession to liberalism. Immediately thereafter Arndt was reinstated

in his post. With the exception of A. W. Schlegel, an enemy of long standing, all the Bonn professors greeted his return with delight, and they promptly appointed him rector for the ensuing year. Never for a moment had he faltered in his allegiance to his country. Even amid the sorrows of an unjust persecution, apostrophising the fatherland, he had written:

> Æons shall last thy life's long span,
> With German faith and honour fain;
> Though short the days of mortal man,
> Undying love shall ever reign.

There was now secured for him a respected old age, cheered by the love of his fellow countrymen. Jahn, too, was freed from police supervision, and was subsequently decorated with the iron cross. On August 10th Frederick William signed a decree granting amnesty to all political offenders, and promising pardon even to refugees should they return home. The decree was not to be published until a month later, when the coronation was to take place, but the king's compassionate nature left him no rest. He promptly had the prison doors opened, and many of those set at liberty were given positions in the state service. This lenity was a proof of the excellence of his disposition, for he was no less convinced of the guilt of most of the prisoners than his father had been. Thus the gloomy epoch of political persecutions was closed, though a painful epilogue was not lacking. At the very time when the demagogues were being liberated, Privy Councillor Tzschoppe, who had been the most rancorous of their persecutors, became affected with grave mental disorder; the unhappy man was under the illusion that all the poor fellows whose youth he had laid waste were persecuting him in their turn, and shortly afterwards he died insane.

At this early date, however, it became apparent how dangerous could be the effects of the monarch's goodness of heart. In an ebullition of brotherly love he entrusted Prince William, who received the Frederician title of Prince of Prussia, with the presidency of the ministry of state and of the council of state. It was the king's hope that his brother would simply occupy the position which he had himself occupied as crown prince. But despite his veneration for the wearer of the crown, the prince of Prussia found it impossible to assume

in relation to a brother but a few years older than himself the modest role which the late sovereign had demanded from his sons. It was inevitable that the contrast in character and temperament by which the brothers were distinguished should make itself felt, and the next few weeks were to show that for the heir to the throne the office of minister president is at once too low and too powerful.

From the first the king had determined that the representative system was not to remain in its present inchoate condition. He foresaw that this great question was to be the chief concern of the opening years of his reign, and it seemed as if, with the aid of a certain amount of determination, a solution would be quite possible. The promises made by Frederick William III, ill-considered as they had been, contained nothing to threaten the power of the crown in the then posture of affairs. By the ordinance of May 22, 1815, the monarch had pledged himself to summon a deliberative national assembly elected from the provincial diets; the decision as to the method of election was left to himself, as sole legislator. He had further pledged himself to issue a written constitutional charter embodying the principles upon which the Prussian government had hitherto been conducted, but the form and content of this document were likewise left entirely to him. Finally, in the national debt law of January 17, 1820, the king had promised that the future Reichstag was to receive yearly statements concerning the national debt, and that new loans would not be raised without the Reichstag's approval. Taking the words in their strict meaning, all this signified nothing more than that the estates of the realm must be summoned at regular intervals; and by coming to an understanding with the Reichstag it might be possible to arrange that the annual statements of account should be presented only to a committee of that body. Moreover, the monarch possessed the uncontested right of repealing laws made by his predecessor, and of issuing new laws, as long as these did not directly infringe the rights of the creditors of the state.

But it now became apparent that a constitutional monarch is in many cases more powerful than an absolute sovereign. The recall of a hasty promise, which in a constitutionally governed state can be effected readily enough with the approval of the Reichstag, could not but seem to the absolute monarch to be a breach of the respect he owed to his father, to seem

little short of a moral impossibility. Frederick William felt bound in conscience by the old pledges, and yet all his inclinations and all his doctrines made him revolt against carrying them literally into effect. It was plain that the core of the matter lay in the summoning of a Reichstag at regular intervals. Should this body become an institution, in however modest a form, it could not fail to undergo further development. The construction of the provincial diets had been a victory rather for particularism than for reaction. All the more necessary was it now, therefore, when a quarter of a century had shown that the provinces could live together in tolerable harmony, to establish a weighty counterpoise to the separatist spirit of the territories, and to provide, at length, for the whole nation a common field of labour, wherein a conscious Prussianism, a living sense of the state, could become active.

This was what Prussia's neighbours chiefly dreaded. It was not Prince Metternich and Czar Nicholas alone who listened with deep concern for every breath of tidings from Berlin. King William of Würtemberg was inspired with the same interest, and he repeatedly assured Rochow, the Prussian envoy, that he had now made up his mind about constitutionalism, and regarded the Prussian provincial diets as the best way of providing for the representation of the various interests in the state.[1] The lesser German princes thought with fear and trembling of the possibility of a Prussian constitution. They were all exceedingly well satisfied with the present posture of affairs, for they could deal with malcontents at home, now appeasingly by dangling before their eyes the bogey of Prussian absolutism, now menacingly by referring to the ill-humour of the two great powers. But what would become of their sovereignty if a Prussian Reichstag were to throw into the shade the constitutionalist splendours of the pygmies; if Prussia, already so greatly strengthened by the customs union, were now to appear upon the stage of German parliamentary life, giving the Germans a daily demonstration how grand a thing it is to belong to a mighty state?

Frederick William, however, had no comprehension of this unifying force of a national assembly, for the energy of the Prussian idea of the state had no place in his mind. He considered the beautiful multiplicity of the provincial diets

[1] Rochow's Reports, February 29, 1840, and subsequent dates.

a triumph of the historical principle, and as late as the thirties he had at times still mooted the question whether the old diets of the princes of Magdeburg, Münster, and Paderborn might not be revived as communal diets. He was determined that the provincial diets were to remain the central feature of the Prussian representative system. In cases of exceptional need he proposed to summon them all to Berlin, thus constituting a united diet without any further process of election, a body which, were it simply owing to its cumbrousness, could meet only at long intervals. Whilst still crown prince he had expounded this idea to Leopold Gerlach, and he held fast to it with his quiet tenacity until he realised it at length after many years. Nor was he able to overcome other objections to the pledges made by his father, objections of a purely doctrinaire character. A written constitutional charter seemed to him to smack too strongly of Rousseau, Rotteck, and Welcker, and he had determined that he would never restrict the free power of his crown by any such document. No less repugnant to him was the pledge that the national assembly was to be entirely responsible for the national debt, for it seemed to him intolerable that his monarchical authority should in times of war be hampered by any limitation of the kind. This was a trouble which could disturb only the over-refined acuteness of an utterly unpractical intelligence. The surpluses that had of late years been accumulated, together with the moneys derivable from the bank and the Oversea Trading Company, would provide ample funds for the opening of an unexpected war. Once the war was actually in progress, there could be no doubt that Prussian patriotism, which had so often been gloriously tested, would induce the Reichstag to approve any loans that might be needed.

Harassed by these doubts, Frederick William had not yet been able to form any definite resolution, but his true instinct assured him of one thing, that the great festival of allegiance must be made the occasion for settling the constitutional question by a royal decree. Then, in an unhappy hour, there was put into his hands the testamentary scheme which, not long before death, his father had entrusted to Prince Wittgenstein.[1] It was prescribed in this document that only in the event of the issue of a new loan was a united diet to be summoned, composed of thirty-two representatives from the

[1] See supra, p. 286, and Appendix XXX.

provincial diets with a like number of members of the council of state; in addition, the late king had insisted that the assent of the agnates must be secured prior to any change in the representative system. It was indisputable that the views summarised in the testament were, in sum, those of Frederick William III. But the document was legally inefficacious, being unsigned and undated. It could be regarded as no more than paternal wishes and advice, and was not a binding testament, for even though by the terms of the civil code the final dispositions made by members of the royal house were, as privileged testaments, exempted from customary formalities, the question after all remained open whether this particular memorandum precisely represented the deceased monarch's will. The new king was long in doubt as to what he ought to do in the matter; he conscientiously carried into effect all that the testament prescribed regarding the family property, and he communicated its contents to his brothers. Thereupon the prince of Prussia assured him with much earnestness that their father's expression of his desires, though defective in point of form, must be unconditionally respected. Henceforward, said Prince William, any constitutional change would be inadmissible without the assent of all the royal princes of full age.

In view of this exhortation Frederick William determined that at the festival of allegiance, although at the moment there was no question of a new loan, he would announce the prospective summoning of this remarkable diet of sixty-four members. He would lay before the provincial diets, assembled for the coronation, a survey of the finances, and would inform them that he proposed to grant his loyal subjects a remission of taxes in honour of the occasion. This spontaneous concession would, he imagined, secure the approval of the diets, and would make them quite willing to renounce the regular summoning of the Reichstag. Were his father's commands to be thus carried out with the agnates' approval, at some later date, perhaps, when the crown should think proper, a great united diet, an assembly of all the provincial diets, might be summoned. For the nonce the king kept this latter plan to himself, though in the recesses of his mind he clung to it with the utmost firmness. The steps he actually proposed to take at the time of the coronation were communicated to his ministers in the beginning of July. The king

wrote that since he did not as yet possess the authority or inspire the confidence which his father had possessed and inspired in virtue of a long and happy reign, he proposed to leave the representative problem unsettled for the time being. Boyen, Voss, and Leopold Gerlach took part in the deliberations, which lasted for weeks, and were of an animated character, this remark applying especially to the prince of Prussia.

Of those whose advice was sought, one only, General Boyen, expressed himself in favour of the king's proposal. The old warrior foresaw that popular expectancy could not be much longer repressed. In a memorial under date of August 8th he said: "In such dubious cases the main question is whether the government will wait until it is forced or whether it will take the initiative." Besides, he definitely anticipated another war with France, and just as in the year 1808 he had recommended the summoning of a representative assembly to strengthen the crown for the struggle against Napoleon, so now did he insist that the armed might of Prussia ought to stand "on a spiritually higher level" than the troops of the propaganda. In his view, therefore, "this idea of a representative committee, which has been brought to the front by a remarkable chain of circumstances," was "the best and simplest means for dealing with the domestic and foreign relationships of the state. . . . In God's name, can anyone suggest a better means? Something must be done promptly for the legislative guidance of the national spirit." In a covering letter he apostrophised the king as follows: "We stand to-day on the brink of the Rubicon, but our aim in crossing the river is not destructive, as was that of Cæsar. No, our aim is the courageous maintenance and timely development of the country's institutions. Such is the task which divine providence has entrusted to your majesty!"[1] Clearly as the general recognised the goal, he was profoundly deceived regarding ways and means. An assembly of thirty-two deputies from the provincial diets was not a Reichstag, but, as Boyen himself termed it, a representative committee. So pitiful, so derisory, a fulfilment of the royal pledge of earlier days could neither satisfy the Prussians nor inspire them with enthusiasm; it could serve only to stimulate them to demand their chartered rights. The danger was so obvious that even General Thile, who at first took the side of his friend Boyen,

[1] Boyen's Memorial, with covering letter to the king, August 8, 1840.

soon began to hesitate, while the other ministers and the prince of Prussia were unanimous in their warnings to the monarch.

Thus early did Frederick William display his fatal tendency to mismanage. With the best intentions in the world, he involved the question in such complications that both parties were at once right and wrong. Most of the ministers considered that as far as representation was concerned the legislation of the monarchy was complete, and they were hostile to any innovation. Rochow, in particular, who fourteen years earlier had taken part in the proceedings of the notables in connection with the establishment of the provincial diets,[1] confidently declared in a memorial that "at that time the general constitutional question was universally regarded as settled." Gerlach expressed himself in similar terms, saying definitely that the estates summoned to attend the coronation could not possibly regard themselves as entitled to decide so important a matter.[2] In view of this general opposition the king lost courage. He did not ask himself whether it would not be advisable to abandon the idea of half measures, to concede the whole point at issue, and to announce at the coronation that a genuine Reichstag equipped with all the promised powers should forthwith be summoned. He would have found in Radowitz and Canitz willing helpers for the promotion of such a design. But since his main desire was to manage affairs for himself, and since to him his advisers were never anything more than indifferent tools, he found little difficulty, at this juncture, in making the best of the ministers who opposed his ideas for a representative system. Already half resolved to postpone the execution of the inconvenient plans, he paid a visit to the Saxon court, and met Prince Metternich at Pillnitz on August 13th. He discussed with the Austrian statesman the question of joint military preparations against France, spoke of the necessary reforms in the federal constitution, and touched also upon the Prussian constitutional problem. Since the Austrian, as was to be expected, vigorously supported the objections of the Prussian ministers, the king allowed himself to be persuaded to abandon his proposals for a time. This was the first occasion on which he failed to avail himself of a wonderfully propitious hour, and in after years he bitterly

[1] See vol. III, p. 579.

[2] Rochow's Memorial, July 27; an unsigned memorial, manifestly by Gerlach, August 4, 1840.

complained: "I *deplore* another *lost* opportunity, of which there have been so many!!! and for so many years."[1] Yet even now he was far from being satisfied with himself and sadly observed: "We shall see how evil will be the consequences of this."

Thus the testamentary draft of the old king was never carried into effect, and by command of his successor was henceforward kept strictly secret. Frederick William now conceived the design of gradually enlarging the competence of the provincial diets, and thus by the highly prized organic process of development paving the way for the eventual summoning of a national assembly. Prussia's future Reichstag was to be something very different from the South German chambers; it was not to be a popular representative assembly, but an assembly of estates, each with its own rights to safeguard, a corporation firmly based upon historic tradition, and therefore unable to be an offence to the friendly eastern powers, and equally unable to drive the Prussian monarchy into the arms of the state of the July revolution. The king's mind was entirely filled with that old Gentzian doctrine of estates which Prince Solms-Lich had recently expounded once more to the courts in acceptable terms. Frederick William overlooked the fact that the constitutional Bavarian diet was, after all, likewise constructed in accordance with the principle of subdivision into estates, and he failed to foresee that any Prussian Reichstag, if it were more than a petty committee, would necessarily regard itself as popularly representative, and would reflect public opinion. Dahlmann, more far-seeing than the king, had years earlier, in the finest chapter of his *Politics*, prophesied this necessary development, explaining that the same historic force which had everywhere substituted money for service, knowledge for tradition, public opinion for caste opinion, rendered it also inevitable that the old diets should be compacted into a popular representative body. The king could not but regard such words as revolutionary, for the leader of the seven of Göttingen had issued warnings against a doctrine which proposed "to deck out the state, half as a family mansion and half as a church."

But it was precisely this idea of the Christo-Germanic patrimonial state which was sacred to the monarch. He wished to realise it ("for centuries to come," as Prince Solms

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, June 10, 1847.

confidently opined) in deliberate contrast with the states of popular sovereignty and of written charters. Consequently not one of his subjects had power to dissuade him from his hidden designs. He understood in its literal sense the warning which Leopold Gerlach uttered to him in these days, that a king is no longer able to rule when his people has ceased to regard him as king by God's grace. How fiercely nine years earlier had he railed against "these Westphalian Lafayettes," when the Westphalian estates had ventured to remind the king of the promise of a constitution, and when young Fritz Harkort had distinguished himself by the boldness of his language. The people was patiently to abide what the king in his wisdom should in due time think fit to give. Never would he permit his hand to be forced.

Unfortunately abundant indications were already forthcoming to show how little this government was in a position to withstand persistent pressure. Simultaneously with the constitutional problem, Frederick William was seriously considering the second of the two great questions which had been bequeathed him unsolved by his father, namely, the episcopal dispute. He determined to settle the controversy by a special embassy to Rome, by direct negotiation with the pope. On July 13th he permitted Archbishop Droste to remove from his rural home to Münster; but he was resolved that he would never in any case allow the originator of the dispute to reenter Cologne. Archbishop Dunin, on the other hand, who was still imprisoned in Colberg by the sentence of the court, he proposed to reinstate immediately. What a blunder! Not merely was Dunin the more blameworthy of the two prelates, seeing that quite needlessly and arbitrarily he had defied a law that had been recognised for decades; but further he belonged to a province which was just as notorious for insubordination as Rhineland was for its law-abiding spirit, a province which had long been accustomed to mock at every manifestation of royal benignity as a proof of German weakness. Whereas on the Rhine there had been no breach of public order, in Posen there was no end to the outbreaks of turbulent wrath. The priests were circulating a song: "The shepherd and father has been ruthlessly removed from his children, and it is designed to snatch our holy faith away." [1] Yet it was to these worst of Prussia's subjects that Frederick William

[1] Ladenberg's Report to the king, August 3, 1840.

showed an enthusiastic tenderness. He could never forget that Platen, in his Polish lays, had once implored him to protect "the people of tribulation," exclaiming:

> Defeat e'er gnaws at triumph's root
> Should naught but sorrow be its fruit,
> The boundless hate of all mankind.

Bonds of ancient friendship connected him with the Radziwills and the Raczynskis. He hoped by magnanimity to conciliate those whom he believed to be magnanimous but who in reality were merely greedy.

On July 17th, therefore, Privy Councillor Aulicke, a Westphalian and a zealous Catholic, who was destined for a long time to come to play a disastrous role in Prussia's ecclesiastical policy, was despatched to the captive. The shifty eyes of the smooth-tongued little Pole sparkled; he was voluble in his expressions of gratitude; in an extremely servile letter he pledged himself henceforward to loyalty and peace. Thereupon the king granted him permission to return, and wrote: "It will please me, when the pledges you have given me shall have been confirmed, to find myself in a position to receive you at my court." [1] To avoid attracting public notice, the return home, which had been arranged for August 5th, took place in the evening, but it need hardly be said that Lipski, one of the archbishop's aristocratic confidants, had been careful to spread the news abroad, so that the prelate's entry took the form of a noisy triumphal procession; and it was of little avail, when the mischief had been done, for the king to convey his displeasure to Herr von Lipski.[2] Next day, in all the churches of the archbishopric, was again to be heard the sound of bells and organs, which had been hushed during the archbishop's captivity. The town of Posen organised great illuminations to celebrate the amnesty for political offenders, and every day for weeks in succession the devout came in hundreds to pay their respects to the liberated martyr. Nor did Dunin refrain from an entry into Gnesen, where the peasants took the horses from his carriage and drew it themselves; and he gave a solemn blessing to a crowd of pilgrims

[1] Instruction to Aulicke, July 17; Aulicke's Report, July 27; Dunin to the king, July 24; Cabinet Order to Dunin, July 29, 1840.

[2] Ladenberg's Report to the king, August 6; Cabinet Order to Ladenberg, August 7, 1840.

on their way to the black Mother of God of Czenstochowa, the Regina Regni Poloniæ. Thus did the pardoned archbishop slight the German state authority. The Germanophobia which Flottwell's strictness had so long kept in check surged up afresh, and during the saturnalia of Polish intoxication of victory the first seeds were sown for the risings of ensuing years. Meanwhile the conciliatory pastoral letter which Dunin had promised the monarch to issue, was not forthcoming. Not till after prolonged and laborious negotiations with the government[1] was an involved and confused circular issued (August 27th). Priests were forbidden to demand a formal pledge for the Catholic education of children, but they were left perfectly free to refuse cooperation when mixed marriages were contracted. Henceforward, therefore, the decision regarding mixed marriages remained exclusively in the hands of the Roman Catholic clergy. In Posen, as previously on the Rhine, the state had yielded on all points.[2]

To ensure the restoration of tranquillity in Posen the king insisted upon a reconciliation between the two old adversaries, Dunin and Lord Lieutenant Flottwell. Flottwell was ready to agree to the self-repudiation thus commended to him, for this loyal servant had already perceived that the era of firm and just German rule would not last much longer under the new king. But Dunin refused to take the first step, though it was obviously his part to do so, as a man who had been condemned by the courts. The lord lieutenant, he assured the king, had treated him too shamefully. "I find it impossible," he wrote, "to overcome the feelings which this treatment has aroused, for although I am a priest, I am a man as well, and even a worm will turn when trampled on." At the same time he asked, in great astonishment, why he had not been invited to the coronation festival at Königsberg.[3] Vainly did Colonel Willisen, an officer who was among the king's intimates and who was also on friendly terms with the Polish nobles, endeavour to persuade him to preserve at least the semblance of decency; fruitlessly did Minister Rochow, commissioned thereto by the monarch, remind him of the Christian duty of forgiveness. Dunin remained defiant, for with Sarmatian cunning he had long realised that he need pay no deference

[1] Ladenberg to Dunin, August 25, 1840.
[2] Vide supra, p. 255 and 256.
[3] Dunin to the king, August 24; to Ladenberg, August 22, 1840.

to this government.[1] The king did in fact invite him to the court for the coronation, and expressed a polite hope that the prelate would subsequently pay Flottwell the visit which was now refused. In Königsberg the Polish nobles flocked round the archbishop and hailed him as champion of the nation. With the utmost arrogance, under the very eyes of the king, expression was given to the belief that the time had now come for the overthrow of Flottwell the German. Upon these Polish matters public opinion showed itself quite devoid of critical faculty. It had long been the custom to hail as an honoured martyr every political opponent of the government, and the lenity of the new sovereign was now gratefully acknowledged.

Meanwhile preparations were being made for the act of allegiance in Königsberg. It was to be celebrated with peculiar solemnity, for this was the first time that a king of Prussia had ascended the throne as sovereign lord over all his lands. In the sometime Ordensland the repressed partisan hatred of recent years had of late been yet further accentuated since General Wrangel had succeeded to the command of the first army corps, in succession to the highly cultivated and tactful Natzmer. The East Prussian cuirassiers felt highly honoured to pass once more under the command of the bold cavalryman who had led them so gloriously in the War of Liberation. But Lord Lieutenant Schön, proud of his better trained intelligence, was unable adequately to appreciate either the military services or the genial humour of the somewhat rough and blusterous ultra-conservative Pomeranian. Schön hated Wrangel as much as he hated Sartorius, the rigidly orthodox superintendent general, and he spoke of Wrangel as "the living image of stupidity and uncivilisation." The ill-feeling between the men spread to the feminine world of Königsberg, affecting on the one side Schön's friend, the brilliant and amiable Baroness Florentine von Brederlow, a woman of very democratic views, and affecting on the other Schön's sister-in-law, Frau von Bardeleben, who was hostile to the lord lieutenant, and who made common cause with the sanctimonious members of the notorious circle of pietists. Schön's party remained decisively in the ascendant. In his prolonged tenure of the reins of office he had become closely associated with the

[1] Willisen's Report to the king, August 12; Rochow to Dunin, August 29, 1840.

province, and whilst some venerated him and others regarded him with horror, to the majority he seemed indispensable. He controlled almost the whole of the officialdom and the greater part of the landed gentry; whilst the freemasons, who abounded in this part of the world, and all the members of the scholastic profession, who were here still animated by the spirit of Dinter, were likewise his devoted adherents. He had from the first been on excellent terms with the professors. The students, finally, had great respect for him, for the legend ran in the province that he was the civilian York, the man destined in the future to remain the champion of Old Prussian freedom. At the Albertina university political life had of late become more active, and at the annual Belle Alliance festival on the Galtgarbenberg, Dickert, Falkson, and other young orators would acclaim the future Prussian constitution. When tidings came of the beginning of the new reign, the repressed wishes found an outlet. Hope was general in the province that there would now be a change for the better, some looking for an indefinite political happiness, others hoping for a mitigation of the pressure of the Russian frontier embargo, and almost all looking to Schön as the coming statesman.

However much he might repudiate the suggestion, he could not fail to cherish similar hopes. How often during these long years had he demanded a cabinet "which should stand before the people." The ministers that had hitherto held power were one and all suspect to him, and especially Rochow, who had flung forth the unlucky phrase concerning the narrow and servile intelligence of the Old Prussian town of Elbing, thus mortally affronting provincial sensibilities. The officials of the central government at Berlin, without distinction of party, cordially reciprocated the aversion. They had all suffered greatly under Schön's blunt fault-finding, and had frequently complained that the late king indulged him in everything. Kühne, a liberal, who lived in constant feud with the declared enemy of the customs union, went so far as to say in his reminiscences: "Never, so far as I know, has the principle of lying and falseness been more perfectly embodied than in this man." Was it not natural that Schön should hope for the replacement of these sworn enemies by men in whom he had confidence? He had for years been on terms of close friendship with the new king, although this friendship, like the earlier relationship between Frederick

William and Niebuhr, did not rest upon any genuine community of sentiments, and was therefore unlikely to outlast the first strain. In his fundamental ethical views, the rationalist Kantian, the opponent of the historical school, had little in common with the Christo-Germanic monarch. After his struggle with the sanctimonious pietists, Schön had become ever more fanatical in his zeal for the enlightenment, and now went so far as to maintain that "raw emotionalism in the forms of the positive church excludes intelligence." To the hypocrisy of the Jesuits, the Moravian Brethren, and the pietists, all of whom he classed in a single category, he proudly counterposed his own "simple Christianity," although in his exaggerated self-complacency he tended more and more to forget the Christian virtues of love, humility, and straightforwardness. But both the king and the lord lieutenant had been friends of Niebuhr, they both delighted to recall the great memories of the War of Liberation, both were enthusiastic admirers of England, they agreed in their passionate fondness for the valiant people of the Ordensland and in their detestation for the bureaucracy of the capital. They had frequently worked together in the rebuilding of the Marienburg, and subsequently in the affairs of the diet. It was ever a delight to the crown prince when, supported by the lord lieutenant's advocacy, he could in the ministry of state defend the proposals of the Prussian diet. Of late years he had believed himself to be entirely of one mind with Schön, seeing that both of them, even though for very different reasons, had strongly disapproved the ecclesiastical policy of the crown. He took great pleasure in the unfailingly lively conversation of the able and experienced statesman, of whom, in artist fashion, he had constructed an ideal picture, without remarking how closely juxtaposed in this strange personality were candour and craft, dynastic loyalty and partisan caprice, patriotism and vanity. Schön's schemes for reform were less far-reaching than was believed by the liberal press of the neighbouring petty states, in which the lord lieutenant was now unceasingly extolled as a man of the people's party whose character had been fashioned in antique mould. In view of the extreme political inexperience of the nation, Schön held that a Prussian Reichstag of about one hundred members would suffice. But he rightly considered that a speedy decision was essential. Should the crown hesitate, the Prussian diet must venture a respectful reminder of former

pledges. From his beloved Königsberg had in former days started the movements for the liberation of the countryfolk and for the rising against Napoleon. Was it not permissible to hope that from this, the genuine kingdom of Prussia, beams of light would radiate over his majesty's other territories?

On August 29th the royal pair entered the ancient coronation city. The butchers rode in the van, this being their privilege here as in Berlin, a privilege gained of old by glorious deeds in war. The members of the other guilds were drawn up in double lines between the festively adorned high-gabled houses, and the ships on the Pregel were gaily decked with bunting. The king was on horseback beside his consort's carriage and responded to the burgomaster's address with apt and cordial words. Thunderous and interminable were the cheers of the masses. The children would not be withheld, and pressed round their sovereign, who with smiling good nature stroked the curly little heads. It seemed as if nothing could ever again disturb the patriarchal relationship between prince and people. The ensuing days were spent by the king in reviewing the troops, in excursions to the beautiful Samland, and in various festivities. The Prussian provincial diet assembled meanwhile on September 5th. It had been summoned by a cabinet order of July 15th, and commissioned before the day of allegiance to answer the two following questions: whether at the festival of homage there was to be a confirmation of the privileges of the estates; and whether the estate of nobles was to be specially represented at the ceremony. The first of these enquiries, though it did no more than conform to traditional practice, could not fail in existing circumstances to produce the impression that the king wished the diet to express its opinion upon the constitutional question. Frederick William had overlooked the danger, for when the cabinet order of July 15th had been issued, it had still been his intention to announce to the estates the intended summoning of a general or national diet, in accordance with his father's plans. But in the interim he had changed his mind, and since he now came with empty hands he had only himself to blame for what he would above all have desired to prevent, that pressure was to be put upon the crown by its loyal subjects.

Schön opened the diet as royal commissary. He alluded first of all to the deceased king and to that reform period dear to every East Prussian heart when "the ultimate vestiges

of slavery" had been annulled. In his cleverly designed speech (which was reinforced in fuller detail by a memorial) he suggested to the diet the answer which they ought to give to the new ruler's enquiry. He advised the estates, in accordance with their ancient and honourable privilege, to offer the king the traditional allegiance-gift of one hundred thousand gulden; to renounce special representation for the estate of nobles; and not to lay any particular stress upon the confirmation of old rights deriving from the gloomy epoch of the monasteries and the guilds. The advice of the powerful lord lieutenant was followed almost word for word by the diet. Since, through the instrumentality of Brünneck, the brothers Auerswald, and other faithful adherents, he completely dominated the assembly, we are justified in assuming that he was a secret participator in all that followed; but so warily did he maintain an attitude of official reserve that it was possible for him subsequently to disclaim having had anything to do with the matter. A Königsberg merchant named Heinrich, a moderate liberal and a well-meaning man enough, who was on this single occasion to play a part in Prussian history and was forthwith to lapse into oblivion, now proposed that the king should be begged to fulfil the late ruler's pledges for a constitution. A memorial from the diet was elaborated in the sense of this proposal. The actual compiler was the deputy Alfred von Auerswald, a member of the Ritterschaft, son of Lord Lieutenant Auerswald, who in former years, prior to the legislative enfranchisement of the peasantry, had been the first to abolish serfdom on his estates. Alfred Auerswald, like his brother Rudolf, who was now chief burgomaster of the territorial capital and was also a member of the diet, had many years before, in the Ordensburg, the Königsberg palace of the Teutonic knights of old, been daily playmate of the young princes, and had ever since remained on terms of friendship with them.

In these brothers Auerswald, in Saucken-Tarputschen (the second marshal of the diet), in Brünneck, Bardeleben, and the great majority of the other Old Prussian nobles, there now to the general surprise became manifest a new political force which had hitherto been quite overlooked because it had been practically concealed in the quiet life of the provincial diets. In South Germany the members of the old nobility had for the most part either held sullenly aloof from the new political life of the nation, or else had joined the ultramontane party,

for with many of them the violences of Rhenish Confederate days still rankled. It was therefore natural enough that the High Germans, a people endowed with a large measure of civic pride, should have come to regard "reactionary" and "aristocratic" as practically synonymous terms. But here there existed a patriotic nobility, firmly united to the state to which it belonged, whole-heartedly loyal, proudly cherishing the warlike memories of the black-and-white banners of the Teutonic Knights and of the kingdom of Prussia, and simultaneously characterised by patriarchical simplicity, thoroughly independent, candid to bluntness, far less radical than were the parliamentarians of the south, and yet extremely receptive for the liberal ideas of the age. No one who looked these men frankly in the face could fail to recognise that Prussia had a sufficiency of sound conservative forces to be able confidently to venture upon the necessary reforms—if only the king would lead the way. The political immaturity of the epoch was frequently displayed in the proceedings of the diet. Heinrich, in his proposal, did not distinguish clearly between the asseveration act of the Great Elector and the more recent royal pledges, although the legal basis of these latter was entirely different. But not a single disrespectful word was uttered; the members of the diet all vied one with another in asseverations of inviolable loyalty; and, amid much vague and empty oratory, one point at least clearly emerged, namely, that the Prussian Reichstag would afford the king the safest and perchance the only available means for uniting the different sections of his people, widely separated as they were by space, by language, and by custom.

After serious and thorough discussion, on September 7th, by a vote of eighty-nine against five (the dissentients being all members of the estate of nobles), the assembly approved the memorial which requested the king to maintain and complete the constitutionalist system of representation founded by his father. The diet expressed the hope that his majesty would before long "be graciously pleased to guarantee the continued existence of the provincial diets, and, walking in the footsteps of his father, would proceed to the formation of an assembly of territorial representatives of his faithful subjects." The estates had not in any way exceeded their competence; they had done no more than give a respectful answer to a royal question; and even if it were true that

a public exhortation of this character might readily endanger the prestige of the crown, this was the king's own fault for having failed to do the right thing at the right time. The ice having now been broken, the Prussian constitutional struggle, which seventeen years earlier had with difficulty been stilled, was to be renewed.

The court was not slow to recognise this. The prince of Prussia, who was still entirely dominated by his father's strictly absolutist principles, wrote a stinging letter to Schön on September 7th, as soon as he heard of the decision of the estates: "In my eyes it is a mark of the utmost disloyalty to demand guarantees from a new sovereign at the very opening of his reign. Even though in 1815 the king of blessed memory had it in mind to grant such guarantees, nevertheless he reserved for himself and for his successors the choice of a time for carrying out the decision. Moreover, after the introduction of the provincial diets, the king of blessed memory did nothing in the way of promoting a further development of representative conditions, and we may take this as a clear proof, if proof were needed, of his sound practical discernment, for he recognised that the modernity of such institutions in surrounding countries entailed nothing but disadvantages, unrest, and dissatisfaction. . . . A step of this nature would secure the approval of all who desire the overthrow of the existing order, of all who cultivate a self-seeking disposition and give free rein to their own vanity. Not for me nor for any true patriot the desire to be popular with men of that stamp." Schön answered appeasingly that the prince need not consider the matter of any importance, that there was nothing dangerous in the memorial, and that a Prussian diet could never decide anything contrary to the king's will.[1] Minister Rochow, meanwhile, was setting all possible influences to work to prejudice the king against the diet.

When Schön appeared at the castle next day he found the king greatly incensed, and already half determined to dismiss the diet in disgrace. But upon talking the matter over with his old friend, Frederick William gradually recovered his equanimity. He wished, he declared, exactly what the diet wished, but desired to choose his own time, and to act at his own free discretion. He allowed some hints to transpire

[1] The prince of Prussia to Schön, September 7, 1840; Reply, September 8th, early.

concerning the plans he secretly cherished for a great united diet. In conversation subsequently with Alexander Humboldt, in the anteroom, Schön said (perhaps from shrewd calculation, but perhaps in the joy of his first surprise): "The king is even more liberal than I am myself." It need hardly be said that this remark was promptly repeated everywhere, and Schön, who in these days received manifold proofs of royal favour, was granted the order of the black eagle, and was accorded the title of minister of state, seemed to the East Prussians the predestined successor of Minister Rochow. In any case, the result of Schön's mediation was that the prorogation of the diet on September 9th was courteously effected.[1] The king said that his father, influenced by what had taken place in other countries, had maturely reconsidered his pledges, and had consequently determined, "holding quite aloof from the dominant conceptions of so-called popular representation," to fulfil his word by the introduction of provincial and circle representative constitutions. "To safeguard this splendid work and to encourage its ever more fruitful development" would be to the new ruler "one of the most important and most gratifying duties of his royal mission."

The request of the diet was thus rejected. The king did not hold out any definite prospect for the future, considering that he would be dishonoured should he allow himself to be driven by meddlesome subjects. Czar Nicholas, it was plain, was greatly relieved, and expressed his thankfulness to his brother-in-law that this thorny constitutional question had been settled "once for all."[2] But the refusal was so graciously made, and Schön had so much that was encouraging to relate to his fellow provincials concerning the monarch's liberal intentions, that the estates really believed that the royal message proroguing the diet, speaking as it did of the further development of the existing system, contained at least a partial concession. They hailed the reading of the document with acclamations. Thus was the train laid for a disastrous mutual misunderstanding. But who at this moment, when rejoicings

[1] Schön's account of the affair (Memoirs, III, 137) is manifestly biased and fragmentary. What really happened can be learned from the letters of the prince of Prussia, from the information supplied by Alfred von Auerswald (The Prussian Diet of Allegiance in the year 1840, pp. 32 et seq.), and finally from the accounts given verbally by Schön to Fräulein von Brederlow, which have been reported to me by a trustworthy authority.

[2] Liebermann's Report, September 29, 1840.

at the opening of the festival of homage were making people deaf to all other considerations, could devote himself to quiet reflection? Moreover, the diet had no definite and well-developed popular conviction to appeal to for support. Since no segregation of parties had as yet been effected, it is probable that many members of the assembly had given but little thought to the matter before registering their votes, and the leaders only of the majority definitely understood what they wanted. On the other hand, the five members who had composed the minority had a strong following in the province. Twenty-seven of the noble landowners summoned to the festival assembled on September 8th under the leadership of Count Dohna-Schlobitten to protest against the memorial of the diet. They assured the king that they were perfectly content with the existing provincial diets, and that they had no desire for any innovation.

Amongst the populace no one was as yet paying any attention to these political oppositions; the minds of all were filled with thoughts of the royal guest and how best to do him honour. On the evening of September 9th the province gave the monarch magnificent entertainment. The many great figures of territorial history were presented in tableaux vivants; men of all classes and all shades of opinion worked harmoniously together; Cäsar von Lengerke, the liberal theologian, had written the descriptive verses, and these were declaimed in a sonorous voice by Eduard Simson, a young lawyer. Next day the deputies of the provinces of Prussia and Posen assembled for the act of allegiance. More than twenty thousand persons stood in the spacious courtyard or were thronged round the windows of the castle. The throne was set up on a platform, approached from the courtyard by a great flight of steps. The chancellor and the marshal of the diet of the kingdom of Prussia delivered their addresses in traditional form, but Count Poninski, marshal of the Posen diet, did not miss the chance of giving a plain reminder of "the sublime and paternal pledge of the great king," who had promised his Polish subjects to safeguard their nationality and their language. When the formal oath of allegiance had been read, in the hush that ensued there suddenly sounded, shrill, piercing, and twice repeated, the warning cry of a mad woman, "Do not swear, do not swear!" The sinister impression produced by this interruption was, however, instantly forgotten when

the king arose from his throne and, with right hand solemnly uplifted, pledged himself before all the people to be a just judge, a trusty, careful, and compassionate ruler, a Christian king. Then in inspired words he acclaimed the land of Prussia as unparalleled in valour, and extolled the harmonious union of its prince and people: "Thus will God preserve our Prussian fatherland for itself, for Germany, and for the world! Manifold, and yet one. Just as the noble bronze, an alloy of many metals, is subject to no other rust than the verd-antique which beautifies its surface as century follows century." Indescribable was the effect of this rhetorical masterpiece which, like all the sayings of the born orator, sounded much finer to the hearers than it seemed afterwards to those who read it in cold print. There was no one to enquire soberly whether all these passionate asseverations, all these glorious metaphors, had any tangible political content. One of the new political lyricists, Rudolf Gottschall the student, sang:

The people
Is standing, filled like Danae with longing, ardent, voluptuous, and glowing,
Waiting to receive the shower of golden words!

Joy was ecstatic, and the bacchantic frenzy continued for several days.

Meanwhile, however, political enmity, which had been with difficulty repressed, became once more manifest. Not in vain had Count Poninski uttered his touching remarks concerning the loyal Poles. The Polish deputies had been discussing among themselves the presentation of an address to the king, and since, as usual, they were unable to agree, Count Eduard Raczynski, as an old friend of Frederick William, begged for an audience. He was able with Sarmatian dexterity to turn the king's impressionability to account, and the monarch was moved to tears when Raczynski recapitulated to him all the complaints of the Poles, complaints that had so often been voiced at the provincial diets. He related how the white eagle was forbidden, how the name of grand duchy was refused to the province, how Germanism was given the preference over Sarmatianism, the use of the Polish tongue being discouraged in the schools and by the authorities, whilst very few Poles were appointed to official positions. Despite its respectful form, this was a vigorous complaint against the regime of

Flottwell.[1] The king asked for further proof, but it was evident that the Poles already regarded him as half won over to their cause.

Less gracious was the reception of the Prussian estates, when on September 11th they waited on him to express their gratitude for his prorogation address. "More firmly than ever, if possible," said the diet, "is now secured the adamantine bond uniting Prussia's royal ruler with his loyal people." But the king made a didactic speech to the deputies, an oration packed with elevated observations, which could not fail unfortunately to increase the general perplexity. He expressed his most vehement dislike to all state fundamental laws that were inscribed on parchment, and declared that England, owing to her peculiar history, afforded the solitary example of a successful constitutionalist regime. Having thus said what he did not desire, he left his real intentions in the dark. It was therefore natural enough that very different reports of his speech should become current, and Rochow had to explain in the *Königsberger Zeitung* that the king's words had been misunderstood. Immediately after Frederick William's departure a deplorable dispute broke out in the newspapers, a controversy in which several of the members of the above-mentioned deputation from the estates participated. It was plain to all that Rochow and Schön stood behind the respective groups of disputants, that the rivals were waging war through the instrumentality of others' pens, and that both were animated with the same personal and political enmity. Finally Rochow induced the king to issue the cabinet order of October 4th announcing what had actually taken place in Königsberg, "in order to put an end to all possible erroneous interpretations and to any suggestion that I agreed to the proposal for the development of the territorial constitution in the sense of the ordinance of May 22, 1815." The order said practically nothing more than had previously been said in the address proroguing the diet, but its phrasing was vigorous and cutting, and at one blow it destroyed all the fine dreams of the East Prussians. It was as if scales had fallen from their eyes; they believed that they had been mistaken in the king; and the opposition forces, which during the festival seemed almost

[1] Memorials of Grolman and Flottwell, October 6; of Thile, December 23 and 29, 1840.

to have disappeared, now gathered strength. Schön, however, who would not abandon hope, diligently circulated the report that this cabinet order, which unquestionably expressed Frederick William's deliberate opinion, had been cunningly extorted from the monarch by Rochow.

Outside East Prussia this unedifying epilogue passed quite unnoticed, for, owing to the institution of the provincial diets, there was as yet hardly any political intercourse between the separate territories of the monarchy. The Berliners were unwilling to await the coming of the second festival of allegiance, which was to be attended in the capital by representatives from all the king's German federal territories. They expressed a wish to give a festive greeting to their sovereign immediately on his return, and Frederick William agreed to the suggestion with one of those brilliant phrases, dazzling rather than convincing, of which he was so fond. His father, said the king, who had done so much for the country, had the right to be modest, but he himself had not yet earned such a right. The triumphal entry took place through the Frankfort gate on September 21st, to the sound of pealing bells and thundering cannon, as if the monarch had been returning from a victorious campaign. Impassioned speeches and poems gave assurance of the boundless devotion of "the most loyal city in the land." There were triumphal arches, banners, garlands, everywhere, and the crowd displayed a frenzied delight such as had not been known to Berlin since the days when the fighters came home from the War of Liberation. When the king, quite exhausted by the overplus of joy, at length dismounted at the palace steps, he remarked apprehensively to Chief Burgomaster Krausnick: "What a frenzy, a true fit of intoxication. I hope it won't be followed by crapulence!"

The great act of allegiance was to take place on October 15th, but long before that day the deputies, filled with joyful excitement, came to the capital. Amid the cheerful social intercourse that now ensued, the representatives of the different provinces were able for the first time to make one another's personal acquaintance, and they discovered with astonishment and delight that notwithstanding their many differences they were one and all good Prussians. But whilst provincial prejudices were thus overcome, the force of the old social contrasts was still undiminished. This was shown by a trifling dispute about etiquette. The Brandenburg Ritterschaft had the

traditional right of swearing fealty personally to the sovereign, and had exercised this right at the opening of the last reign. Since the king could not think of depriving his loyal Markers of an ancient privilege, he determined to receive in his private apartments all the representatives of the estate of nobles and of the Ritterschaft, deputed from the six provinces; the municipal delegates and the representatives of the estate of peasants were subsequently to tender allegiance under the open sky, since there was not room for the ceremony in the palace. The intention underlying this arrangement was perfectly innocent, but much indignation was aroused among the municipal deputies, and the flames of anger were sedulously fanned by the liberal press outside Prussia. Burgher pride was gravely affronted at such a preference being shown to the nobility. Chief Burgomaster Francke of Magdeburg, aided by Count Stolberg, attempted to mediate, and the king gave the towns permission to send a deputation into the castle. But the Brandenburg knights, being well within their prerogative, declared that whilst they would, if needs must, obey the monarch's command, they would never voluntarily surrender any privilege of the Mark. The municipal deputies now met to take council in the greyfriars' monastery, and Rochow, who assumed a most conciliatory attitude on this occasion, was ultimately able to persuade them to content themselves with the original arrangements. Nevertheless, strong and almost threatening words were used during the deliberations, and the fact was noted, surprising and ominous for the future, that the deputies from the west, who had been generally dreaded on account of their radicalism, were but little troubled about the whole dispute, whereas the representatives of Frankfort, Breslau, Prenzlau, and other cities of the old provinces, gave fierce expression to their long repressed hatred of the nobility.[1]

But all these matters were soon forgotten in the unmeasured rejoicings of the festival of allegiance. In the palace, the king first of all received the oaths of the princes, the clergy, and the Ritterschaft, and assured them that they had not to look forward to a so-called glorious reign, which to posterity would seem filled with the thunder of ordinance and the sound of trumpets, but a reign whose character would be simple, paternal, genuinely German and Christian. Then

[1] From Kühne's Memoirs, which are here based upon the detailed reports of his intimate friend Francke.

he betook himself to the dais, flaming in gold and purple, where the throne stood, facing the platforms gaily decked with bunting and occupied by the municipal representatives and the deputies of the estate of peasants. Between, and on a much lower level, were assembled the guilds of the trusty capital, banners unfurled. Around, at all the windows and on the roofs of the houses in the great square, were masses of people, all in exemplary order. Before the oath of allegiance was accepted from the two lower estates, the king arose from his throne to address his people, with fuller detail than in Königsberg, and even more impressively. He promised to rule after his father's example as a just and peaceful king, and went on to demand of all present: "Will you give me your help and support to develop ever more splendidly the qualities through which Prussia, with her fourteen million inhabitants, has become a companion of the great powers of the earth—the qualities of honour, fidelity, aspiration towards the light, towards the right, and towards the truth, a continued observance of the wisdom of our forefathers in conjunction with the heroic energy of youth? Will you be careful not to forsake me nor to renounce me in this endeavour, will you sustain me faithfully through good days and through evil? If so, make answer now in the clear and most beautiful tone of our mother tongue, make answer with a heartfelt 'Ja'!" Indescribable was the impression produced by these words, wherein the artist soul of Frederick William discharged itself with elemental energy. The most beautiful tone of the mother tongue resounded from thousands of honest throats, nor was the universal ecstasy seriously damped by the sudden downfall of a violent shower of rain. The king now exclaimed: "Your 'Ja' was for me; it is mine, and I will keep it for my own; it binds us indissolubly together in mutual love and troth; it gives courage, strength, comfort; and even on my death-bed I shall not forget it!" Thereafter the legally prescribed oath of allegiance was taken, and the passionate enthusiasm of this ever-memorable moment endured for several days, until the end of the splendid festivities, which were tastefully conducted throughout.

What moved these faithful royalists in Berlin was, after all, despite the differences in political sentiments, in essence nothing more than the same impulse towards great words and great sensations which had years before animated the popular

orators of the Hambach festival. The lyrical mood of the golden age of our poesy had not yet completely evaporated. The Berliners, like the Hambach celebrants, desired after a tranquil and all too sober epoch to give free vent once again to strong patriotic feelings. Just as the Palatiners, men without a state, yearned for a fatherland somewhere in the clouds, so were the Prussians able to rejoice in their glorious and mightily armed state. And just as in Hambach the true-hearted enthusiasm of the German disposition had been clouded by radical lack of discipline, so now had the powerful uprush of genuine loyalty carried to the surface in its train the nauseating lees of servility which are never lacking even in the noblest monarchies, and which are accustomed to display themselves in their fullest baseness at the opening of a new reign. Many of the orators and poets who hastened to make the most of the occasion were utterly immoderate in the flatteries they lavished upon a king whose great deeds still lay hidden in the womb of time. Unctuous theologians spouted the praises of the throned Chrysostom, whilst Ludwig Tieck was not ashamed to sing:

> What were the triumphs
> Of the Cæsars, of all the emperors
> Born in the tyrannous ages of Rome,
> What, even, was the career of the young hero
> Who carried his victorious arms to the distant Ganges,
> In comparison with the progress of our sovereign
> Through the streets of his capital,
> Where heartfelt love and trust
> Encountered him everywhere, in field and forest too
> No less than in the city,
> Where tears of joy were shed on his behalf,
> And where, strong and manly, he was gloriously crowned,
> Not with laurel, but with the foliage of his country's oaks?

The book entitled *The Prussian Festival of Allegiance*, wherein Privy Councillor Streckfuss depicted the celebrations at the two capitals and in the provinces, was necessarily regarded with mingled feelings by men of liberal mind. There was far too much obsequiousness in all these manifestations of Prussian loyalty, and the excellent elderly author lapsed at times into a Byzantine tone which no one would have permitted himself, under the sober-minded Frederick William III, a man impervious to flattery.

None the less, no one who read these reports could fail to recognise how strong and how popular was the Prussian crown. Count Maltzan reported again and again from Vienna that Metternich was unable to stifle a sentiment of jealousy "such as belongs rather to the last century than to our own." The chancellor had been especially disquieted by the Königsberg speech of the marshal of the Posen diet, for this was likely to stir up the Poles in Warsaw and Lemberg. But Archduke Charles, now full of years, said delightedly to Maltzan that the king's utterances had awakened the public spirit, and added, "I hope it will be of the greatest benefit to all the German fatherland." [1] What a gulf was fixed between this firmly rooted German monarchy and the monarchy of the July revolution! On the very day when the loudly acclaimed affirmative of his loyal subjects gladdened the heart of the Prussian king, in Paris an assassin was attempting the life of Louis Philippe, this being the fifth attempt in ten years. Moreover, was it not a triumph for the cause of kingship that its present representative should be so brilliant a personality? The liberals had hitherto imagined themselves the sole possessors of culture and eloquence, for the dry men of affairs who conducted the governments of the lesser states rarely took the field as orators against the opposition spokesmen. But now there had appeared a crowned chief who by the nobility of his language and the abundance of his cultivation seemed to throw liberalism into the shade. The strict Hallerians exulted at the sudden enhancement of power that had come to kingship by God's grace. Now at length, wrote the *Berliner Wochenblatt*, something positive, the patrimonial state, has been opposed to the representative system of the foreign world: "A man must be affected to the pitch of idiotcy by the erroneous teachings of modern sociology if he can prefer a miserable written constitution which inspires prince and people with mutual mistrust, to these duties solemnly assumed in the sight of God and of men."

But after the excesses of the days of allegiance, in a people inclined to reasonable views speedy reaction was inevitable. Disillusionment showed itself first in the circles of the monarchist extremists. It seemed to them that the immoderate adulation of the son was a manifestation of ingratitude to the father, and people were not slow to note with how much

[1] Maltzan's Reports, October and November, 1840.

emphasis the prince of Prussia, in his speeches to the officers, alluded to the ever-memorable services of the late king.[1] The very men to whom an oath was a matter of grave import could not but ask themselves the question what was implied by the new king's demand for a second pledge in addition to the oath of allegiance which he was legally entitled to exact. One who in such a manner asked for a free Yes from his subjects, surely gave them likewise the dangerous right to say No. Did this solemn Yes establish any new claim beyond the universal claim upon subjects to do their duty? The king firmly believed that this was the case. He considered that by the questions which he had as it were scattered over the heads of those who had come to pay him homage he had instituted a quite peculiar tie between himself and his people, an extremely intimate personal relationship such as that which had existed between the mediæval princes and their *fideles*. He continually returned to this idea. Five years later, when the Magdeburg municipal authorities entered a strong but perfectly legal protest against one of his religious ordinances, the king angrily enquired whether this was "the fulfilment of the solemn promise given at the festival of allegiance to sustain me faithfully, to help me loyally, upon my difficult path?"[2]

This touching pledge, which he had as it were extorted, had induced people to give by a sudden impulse when carried away by the greatness of the moment, thus strengthened his unfortunate inclination to regard all his political opponents as personal enemies, or even as renegades or perjured caitiffs. Directly people began to think matters over calmly it became plain to all that the king's high-sounding speeches did not contain a single political idea. They merely heralded the advent of a new time without saying a word about what the future was to bring. This led Milde, a clever Silesian manufacturer, to say dryly that the king was a great comedian —though Frederick William was never this by intention. Friedrich von Gagern's criticism was juster, for he said that such sermon-stuff was not the language of the man of action. The wind of popular favour suddenly veered, and veered most quickly of all in the capital. The Berliners felt ashamed that they had shown so much strong feeling, and now that they

[1] Berger's Report, January 6, 1841.
[2] King Frederick William to Thile, May 29, 1846

had come to their senses once more they began to cherish a grudge against their sovereign for having led them astray by the charm of his personality, and for having induced them once in a way to forget their ingrained and uncongenial shrewdness. In proportion to the violence with which enthusiasm had flamed during the days of rejoicing were now displayed all the disagreeable traits characteristic of Berlin life—gossip, backbiting, and censoriousness. With a malice which recalled the shameful times of the peace of Tilsit, everything that came from above was criticised, mocked at, despitefully torn to pieces; and many of the steps taken by the king were already showing how insecure he felt his seat to be. In Königsberg, in connection with the customary bestowal of titles of nobility, he had recommended that the new titles should pass only with the landed possessions of the family to the eldest son, but, like his brother-in-law Louis of Bavaria, he was to learn that this well-meaning attempt to introduce the English custom into Germany was to encounter the insuperable resistance opposed for good or for ill by national traditions. As early as the days of the Berlin allegiance festival he had found it necessary to modify the new ordinance because the old nobility refused to regard a title of nobility passing only with the estates as fully equivalent to their own. Henceforward the Berliners greeted with loudly expressed and spiteful delight every defeat sustained by their king. They made fun of themselves for the enthusiasm they had displayed during the festival of allegiance, and mocked the words they had so frequently heard reiterated, "this do I pledge myself on oath" by pattering the charming phrase "to this to pledge myself am I loath."

During the ensuing weeks a number of important appointments were made. Privy Councillor Eichhorn was nominated to succeed Altenstein, and this promotion was pleasing to the public, for although the dwellers in the capital, exceptionally ignorant about political matters, had absolutely no idea of this man's importance in connection with the history of the customs union, they knew none the less from town talk that he was in ill favour at Vienna as a demagogue. Moreover, he had one advantage which seemed of supreme importance to this keen-witted township—he was of bourgeois origin. The appointment of the brothers Grimm to the Berlin academy met with universal approval. Negotiations were opened with

Albrecht, but out of gratitude to his Saxon patrons he refused the Prussian invitation. It was undeniable that the king's magnanimous intention was to atone for the ill-treatment of the seven of Göttingen. But joy was short-lived, for simultaneously the Grimms' brother-in-law Hassenpflug was summoned to preside over the supreme court of Berlin. After his misadventures in Hesse, he had been a minister, first in Sigmaringen and subsequently in Luxemburg, and in the western march had honestly done his best to maintain the independence of the German grand duchy vis-à-vis the Netherland kingdom. No one gave him credit for this. Public opinion continued to regard him as the reactionary minister of Electoral Hesse. Although the judicial position now assigned him was no more than a proper recognition of his great juristic capacity, and although he never attempted to exercise any kind of influence in Prussian domestic policy, people feared the worst because he was a friend of the Gerlachs. Some verses became current set to the tune of the new Rhine song, *Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien deutshen Rhein.* They began, *Wir wollen ihn nicht haben, den Herrn von Hass und Fluch.* "For never will we have him, this man of hatred and cursing" (a play upon the name of Hassenpflug)—and went on to speak of him as the hypocritical associate of the pious gang of courtiers, as the companion

> Of Stolberg, Gerlach, Thile,
> Of Radowitz and Voss.

Such was the tone in which the Berliners were already talking of their king's entourage when the foolish exultations attending the festival of allegiance had hardly ceased to reverberate. The verses, too, served to disclose the real cause of this venomous spirit of opposition. The capital as yet had little thought of political partisanship, being still far more interested in ballet dancers, operas, and pianoforte players. But it was the town of Nicolai, and its self-complacent enlightenment, able to deck itself at will with any mantle, Jewish or Christian, was now wearing the colours of the young Hegelians. Everyone who differed from the epigones of Hegel was calumniated. This was the experience of Julius Stahl, the Bavarian, appointed in these days professor of public law at Berlin university, in succession to Gans, prematurely deceased. Stahl,

like Gans, was a convert from Judaism, but, unlike his predecessor, was profoundly convinced of the truth of Christianity, and regarded the Burschenschaft, of which he became an enthusiastic member, as nothing other than a Christo-Germanic brotherhood. Having attained intellectual maturity, in the first and critical portion of his *Philosophy of Law* he devoted himself to the refutation, with victorious dialectical skill, of the doctrine of natural rights in all its embodiments, and was now engaged upon a systematic exposition, in accordance with the views of the historical school of law, of the ideal of a feudalist monarchy, which he conceived in no narrow spirit. When he seated himself pencil in hand at his little writing table, with nothing before him but a sheet of blank paper, it seemed as if he were able to spin ideas spontaneously out of his mind. His sagacity was not altogether free from excessive subtlety, and there ran through his nature a vein of fanaticism, which was to be disclosed later, when oppositions became more pronounced. But he was firm and serious-minded; he was free from personal ambition; and he lived wholly for the political ideal which seemed to him to be true. For these reasons he ever remained on terms of close friendship with the brothers Grimm, who with the brilliant discernment characteristic of their sublime simplicity were attracted always towards men of sterling fibre. Quite equal to Gans as an orator, he greatly excelled his predecessor in the depth and acuteness of his ideas. But how deplorable was his welcome, for the Hegelians had sworn to rid the lecture theatre of this dreaded adversary of the doctrine of natural rights. But the delicate-looking little man with the glittering eyes and the sharp Jewish physiognomy stood his ground valiantly, lecture after lecture. He compelled his audience to pay heed, and the result was that for many years his discourses were the most thronged of any delivered at the university.

The condition of dissatisfied expectancy was to prove more disastrous than any such unpopular appointment. After all the big words of the festival of allegiance, confident hopes had been entertained that something remarkable would take place, and now, when nothing happened, the general ill-humour waxed day by day with alarming rapidity. During this period of disappointment, Schön again tendered the monarch a helping hand. He was continually at feud with Rochow, but the king, accustomed as an autocrat to regard with good-humoured

contempt quarrels among his instruments, endeavoured, as he phrased it, to glue the disputants together once more, for he believed himself still to have a use for both of them, and his confidence in Schön had not been at all shaken by what had happened in Königsberg. Meanwhile a Berlin publishing house produced a picture of the late king accompanied by a table recording the memorable deeds of his reign, among which was enumerated Stein's political testament of the year 1808, which had been composed by Schön. This was Schön's favourite child, and it was upon the strength of the document that he chiefly based his claim to historical renown. In 1817, when he had recommended the formation of a constitutional ministry, it had been printed for the first time, some unknown individual having communicated the long-forgotten document to a liberal newspaper.[1] Anyone with some knowledge of human nature might well suspect that in this second resurrection of the favourite child the young authors and freemasons of liberal views whose services were always at Schön's disposal had somehow been concerned. It was natural that the liberal press should seize the opportunity of reminding an ungrateful world of the services performed by the East Prussian statesman, but the police authorities took alarm, and had the dangerous picture removed from the bookshops. Schön now sent the king a facsimile of the original document, which certainly served to show that Schön had been the chief author of Stein's parting words. In a covering letter he attempted to interpret the vague doctrinaire utterances of the testament in the most harmless manner possible.

Thus was everything carefully prepared for the main attack. A few days later he sent the monarch an anonymous writing consisting of six pages of print entitled *Whence and Whither?* Its leading idea was borrowed from an article upon Prussianism which Arnold Ruge had recently published in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, masking its authorship by the signature of "A Würtemberger." Schön believed the essay to be the work of Strauss, and adopted from it the contention that Prussia as a state had hitherto remained Catholic, and had been led by a political priestly caste. In vigorous phrases he went on to show how Frederick the Great had found his people "one hardly competent to think," and had endeavoured through the instrumentality of his "servants" to educate his subjects;

[1] See vol. I, pp. 385 and 386; vol. II. p. 469.

but in the course of time the officialdom had got out of hand, had embittered the landed gentry by an intolerable tutelage, had led the entire nation in leading strings, had hampered the working of the towns' ordinance and of the provincial diets, and had made the Landwehr come rather to resemble "the professional military service." For these reasons the landed gentry of the Königsberg diet had stepped forward, as leaders of the people, to demand "general estates," which might take over a considerable part of the administrative work, reduce the number of officials, check extravagance, approximate the Landwehr to the people once again, speedily put an end to all cabals and police intrigues, and which, thanks to their knowledge of popular conditions, would always have public opinion on their side. "Only through general estates," declared the document in conclusion, "can and will a public life originate and thrive in our land. . . . If we fail to take the time as it is, if we fail to seize the possibilities for good that it offers and to favour the development of these, the time will take its revenge." In this direct exhortation and in the personality of the author were to be found the only importance of the leaflet. It contained no noteworthy ideas, and although the repeated references to the "servants" was obviously intended to play upon Frederick William's personal dislikes, it was inevitable that the presumptuous tone, the arrogant vilification of all Prussia's past, and finally the appeal to the pagan young Hegelians, should affront the king to the soul. Privy Councillor von Voss, therefore, Frederick William's confidant, after he had learned with astonishment the name of the author, wrote as follows to Thile: "I thought the writing extremely silly, and had imagined it to be the work of some eccentric landowner. For a man in Schön's position to compose such a document seems positively insane, and it has produced a very melancholy impression upon my mind." [1]

Yet, however bunglingly composed, the leaflet unquestionably embodied Schön's ministerial programme. He hoped either to win the king over to his views, or else, should he fail in this attempt, to unfurl by his demand for a national representative assembly a banner visible from afar, around which the dispersed and aimless opposition of the country might rally its forces. The scheme was doubtless well-conceived

[1] Voss to Thile, December 31, 1840.

but it was one hardly suitable to a man holding the position of lord lieutenant. At a later date, indeed, Schön contended that his *Whence and Whither?* had been designed merely as a historical document which would enlighten posterity concerning the state of civilisation in the kingdom of Prussia during the year 1840. But it was impossible that the experienced old statesman could have believed that such a writing by such an author should remain permanently secret, after it had been printed at the Königsberg court printing office, distributed to various archives, and sent in confidence to five friends of different shades of political opinion. The king regarded this idea of privacy as inconceivable, and on December 26th, writing in answer to the lord lieutenant, said very frankly that a testing time for their old friendship had now arrived. "*Whence and Whither?* does *not* please me." So shortly after the death of the late king the "whence" should have been otherwise conceived. As for the "whither," "this will bring sorrow to your friends and joy to your enemies." Frederick William went on to recount all the incautious liberal phrases used in the writing, such as the assertion that the Landwehr was as an army of representatives of the people to be contrasted with the army of the crown, or that the general estates ought to take over the work of administration. "This last," wrote the king, "is for me a cheerful prospect!" He reiterated the fundamental ideas of his own policy, which he believed to be sublimely elevated above all the meddlesomeness of his subjects. "I feel that power is vested in me wholly by God's grace, and with God's help I shall continue to feel this to the end. Believe me, upon my royal word, that in my day no prince, no peasant and no peasant boy, no diet and no Jewish school, shall appropriate anything which has hitherto rightly or wrongly appertained to the crown *unless I have myself in the first instance given it away*. . . . . Resplendency and astuteness I leave ungrudgingly to the so-called constitutional rulers whom a scrap of paper has converted into a fiction, an abstract idea, vis-à-vis the people. Paternal rule is in accordance with the manner of German princes, and because dominion is a legacy from my ancestors, is my patrimony, I confront my people boldly; for this reason I can and I will guide immature children, chastise those that are froward, but permit the worthy and the well-behaved to participate in the administration of my possessions,

indicate what is their own patrimony, and safeguard them against the arrogant pretensions of servants." In conclusion, he forbade his friend to communicate the writing to the next East Prussian diet, where it could work nothing but mischief. It might appear subsequently, but must be authenticated by Schön's signature.[1]

The letter did credit to the king's gentle heart, but hardly to his political acumen, for if he disapproved of the ideas in the writing he should not have allowed Schön to remain governor of a province whose mood became daily more difficult. Yet at the bottom of his soul Frederick William really desired to establish the national assembly for which Schön asked, but to establish it in a different form; and since he did not desire to hurt his friend's feelings, he finally decided on January 1, 1841, though Schön had twice tendered his resignation, that in the next diet the lord lieutenant should hold the post of royal commissary as the king's friend and plenipotentiary. Thus Schön remained in office, with Rochow as his superior. Rochow could not deny himself the malicious pleasure of informing the lord lieutenant that a dangerous writing entitled *Whence and Whither?* was being circulated, and that it was essential that proceedings should be taken as soon as the identity of the anonymous author could be ascertained. Schön responded by a gruff despatch acknowledging the authorship and declaring that the writing was not intended for publication.[2] How was it possible that these two mortal enemies should work harmoniously together? The constitutional question seemed ever more enigmatic and confused. The first call to arms from the Prussian diet had been followed by a second summons, the pennon of the national assembly was fluttering in the breeze, and unless the crown took prompt and decisive action no power on earth could hinder a movement from below upwards such as was unprecedented in Prussia.

Poninski's Königsberg speech and the complaints of Count Raczynski had meanwhile begun to bear fruit. Raczynski had circulated among the Polish nobles a petition repeating

[1] King Frederick William to Schön, December 26, 1840. In Schön's Memoirs (III, 154) no more than a few of the introductory words of this important letter are reproduced. The main content was suppressed by the editor. The reason for the suppression obviously was that the letter conflicted too glaringly with Schön's bold assertion (III, 153) that the king had declared against Flottwell, "in the spirit" of Whence and Whither?

[2] Rochow to Schön, December 19; Reply, December 23, 1840.

his verbal statements, and at the same time he sent the king an account of the grounds for his complaints.[1] Poninski, who at the festival of allegiance had been granted the title of count and had been accorded many other proofs of favour, displayed his gratitude by placing himself at the head of fifteen other nobles who made of Minister Rochow the incredible demand that the existing Posen diet, sitting in due form of law, should be dissolved, so that at the new elections those who had been guilty of high treason in the thirties and had recently been amnestied might have an opportunity to cooperate.[2]

During the last three months the ministry of state had given careful consideration to these Polish troubles. General Grolman and Lord Lieutenant Flottwell, submitting a detailed report, had written with customary candour. Hostility, they said, was confined to the nobles and the clergy; the Polish peasants were content; the German residents, who already constituted two-fifths of the population, were inviolably loyal. But the opening of the new reign had aroused foolish hopes among the Poles, which had been fostered by the triumphal progress of the pardoned archbishop and doubtless by the Parisian propaganda as well. As a counterpoise, the well-tried system of "gradual Germanisation" must be steadfastly maintained. They therefore begged the monarch to reject in blunt language the petition of the Polish nobles, and subsequently, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, to instruct the next Posen diet that this was a settled matter and was not to be reopened. The veteran Stägemann cordially approved. In a memorial composed a few days before his death he bestowed especial commendation upon the purchases of Polish manors which had been effected by the government, and with the marchman's traditional pride declared that all that was necessary was to inform the petitioners of "the intention to Germanise them," and to remind them of their perfidy of the year 1830. Even General Thile, though with a few provisos, agreed with Grolman and Flottwell. How could anyone seriously talk about a tyrannical enforcement of the German tongue in Posen? The authorities wrote to Poles in German, but appended a Polish translation. In the courts, cases were conducted in the plaintiff's language. Only if he were a thoroughly competent German scholar was he instructed to

[1] Raczynski, Petition to the king, November 27, 1840.
[2] Rochow, Report to the king, December 12, 1840.

use the German speech, for since the Poles would not enter the state service, of the one hundred and sixty-eight judges, no more than fifty-four could speak Polish fluently; thirty-three knew little of the language; and eighty-one were quite ignorant of it.[1]

Frederick William wished to display his magnanimity. In a great crown council held on December 23rd, at which Grolman and Flottwell were present, while it was decided that Raczynski's petition should remain unanswered, it was agreed that the complaints of the Poles should be so far met that at the next diet there would be absolutely no reason to renew a statement of grievances.[2] This implied the overthrow of Flottwell. The sturdy and fiery German could not endure that the utterly groundless complaints of his Polish enemies should be considered to have any justification whatever. On December 31st, with every possible mark of royal favour, he was transferred to the lord lieutenancy of Saxony. The Poles had won the game. Such was the piece of good-natured weakness with which the close of the first year of the new reign was signalised. What was to be the upshot of the contradictory proceedings no one could yet realise, not even Frederick William's closest confidant. A few days after the opening of the year, Count Anton Stolberg, writing with a heavy heart to President von Cuny in Aix-la-Chapelle, implored his old friend to pay no heed to the gloomy reports that were being circulated, but to have full confidence in "the religious but genuinely liberal trend" of the monarch. "The king desires to go and *will go forward* (the expression is his own). As sovereign king he will rule without a *charte*, and will recognise the needs of his time, faithfully observing what he promised in his ever memorable speeches of Königsberg and Berlin."[3] Even Stolberg could say no more.

But elsewhere in Germany, where people had at first shaded their eyes before the new glories radiating from the crown of Frederick, the old prussophobia began to gather strength once more. Onlookers were rubbing their hands delightedly because the great promises seemed likely once again to show but little fruit of performance. Franz Dingelstedt, author of *The Songs of a Cosmopolitan Nightwatchman*, and the ablest of the newer

[1] Stägemann, Memorial concerning Posen, November, 1840. For the other memorials, vide supra, p. 349.

[2] Protocol of the discussion before his majesty, December 23, 1840.

[3] Stolberg to Cuny, January 12, 1841.

political lyricists, expressed the heartfelt sentiments of the radical youth of Germany in his mocking ghazals:

A year 'tis now since erst you preached the times so new, so good, so free;
Is not their coming overdue, the times so new, so good, so free?
Long time you sat upon the egg, and cackled loud to all the world;
Your eagle never yet is hatched, the times so new, so good, so free.
Full bold you prophesied the day; but hasten now, make good your words,
Reveal to us in splendour rare the times so new, so good, so free!

CHAPTER II.

DANGER OF WAR.

§ 1. THE LONDON CONVENTION OF THE FOUR POWERS.

For the European policy no less than for the home policy of Prussia an epoch of glorious successes seemed to be opening with the first year of the new reign. Yet these expectations, too, remained unfulfilled, not really owing to any fault committed by the king, but because Europe was not then ripe for great events, and because Prussia least of all was in a position to take a free survey of the complicated relationships of power in that quarter of the world. Times come to every state when the pressure of overwhelming interests enforces a narrowing of outlook. The irreconcilable longing for vengeance animating the French nation compelled Prussia and France to mark time for a quarter of a century; it had become impossible for these two states to recognise their natural community of interests, and to combine for the timely opposition of the policy of peaceful world conquest which England, impelled by commercial considerations, was now quietly inaugurating. As long as the French parties were all agreed in demanding the annulment of the inequitably lenient Paris treaties, it was inevitable that the Prussian state should consider the safeguarding of the western frontier a duty paramount to every other. Prussia's German neighbours were petty realms from which no help could be expected, and the only aid to be looked for in an emergency was the doubtful support of the remote imperial powers.

To the last, and with a large measure of success, the late king had endeavoured to avert these perils, to establish tolerable relationships with the new ruler of France. But the bourgeois king's own tenure of power was too uncertain for him to be able to control all the incalculable ebullitions of national sentiment. However gratefully he might recognise the friendly intentions of the king of Prussia, he nevertheless

foresaw, being more acute than most of his fellow-countrymen, that this German state was destined one day to become France's most dangerous rival. When he tenaciously wooed the favour of the German powers it was in view of an Austrian and not of a Prussian alliance.

The chasm between France and Russia widened with the years, although the Old Muscovite party at the St. Petersburg court, now gathering strength, fervently desired an alliance between the two powers against Germany, and although the czar frequently admitted to Colonel Rauch, his Prussian confidant, that in addition to himself the only honest friends of the German alliance were Nesselrode and Orloff. Nicholas could not bring himself to forgive the French usurper. Louis Philippe seemed to him shameless when the French king, after the birth of his heir, the count of Paris, ventured to talk about the persistence of his dynasty; and the czar could only explain the quiet course of Prussian policy (which was in truth personally guided by the old king) as being due to the weakness of Ancillon, "Monsieur Vacillant." He obstinately clung to his opinion that a world-wide war against the state of the revolution would yet be waged. In imagination he painted Prussia's situation in the gloomiest colours, being guided here by his wishes; and he continued to cherish the hope that his formidable Russian reserve would in time to come save Germany from the claws of the jacobins. During the Cologne episcopal dispute he was not slow to recognise that Austria was playing a double part towards Prussia, and he believed that France would avail herself of the favourable opportunity for the speedy opening of war on the right bank of the Rhine. He solemnly declared that he said these things "solely out of filial veneration" for his "beloved father." Rauch proudly rejoined that if war should come Prussia would be the attacking party.[1] Incessantly, and with increasing acrimony, the czar renewed his complaints concerning the Polish propaganda, and on more than one occasion he ordered the Russian envoy to quit Paris for a considerable period. His rudeness became so marked that Louis Philippe despairingly exclaimed: "I must seek my allies elsewhere."

Frederick William III, on being informed of this, had the following message conveyed to his son-in-law. "Louis Philippe has frequently displayed an inclination to draw near to the

[1] Rauch's Report, December 26, 1837.

continental powers and to act in accordance with their policy. But as long as the emperor is unable to overcome his antipathy to the French king and continues to give open expression to that antipathy, so long shall we be able to place little dependence upon Louis Philippe, and the latter will certainly be compelled to seek other allies. It would be a great gain for the conservative party if the emperor would to some extent modify his preconceived opinion." [1] The warning fell upon deaf ears. The czar continued to seize every opportunity to display his contempt for the bourgeois king, until the latter at length became inspired with intense personal hatred towards his irreconcilable tormentor. In Nicholas' view, France was everywhere the promoter of disaster, even in the Mediterranean and in the east, where there was no conflict of interest between the two powers. It seemed impossible a priori that France and Russia could come to an honourable understanding about any European question whatever; and Austria, becoming more and more petrified under its weakly and senile regime, did nothing to reconcile the two enemies.

There thus prevailed on the continent the condition of stealthy strife which was requisite to the success of England's designs, and never was the old truth that mercantile policy is more immoral than any other so clearly proved as during these years. Unconcerned about the wrangling great powers, Palmerston was able, in his unchivalrous manner, to wreak the moods of British arrogance upon the defenceless. He began a dispute with Naples concerning the Sicilian sulphur trade, and another dispute with Portugal concerning the victims of the last civil war, a war which had been sedulously fostered by England. Concluding a commercial treaty with Serbia, he simultaneously endeavoured to induce Prince Milosh to suspend the constitution. In 1839, during a period of profound peace, he laid hands upon the rocky fortress of Aden, the key of the Red Sea, the Gibraltar of the east. Almost immediately afterwards came the opium war, the most detestable war ever waged by a Christian nation. The Chinese were compelled to tolerate the smuggling of opium from the East Indies, and whilst England poisoned their bodies she endeavoured to save their souls by the evangelising work of her missionaries. Towards more powerful opponents Palmerston contented himself with the weapons of cunning. Everyone suspected that neutral

[1] Rauch's Report, July 23, 1837, with marginal note by the king

England was secretly supporting the Circassians in their struggle against Russia, but the matter did not become notorious until upon the Caucasian coast the Russians seized the "Vixen," a ship laden with a consignment of arms. The occupation of Algeria, the last and best legacy of the French Bourbons, caused still more serious concern to the London court. According to the English view the whole of Africa belonged by right to the British nation. Even the pacific Lord Aberdeen said scornfully to the Prussian envoy: "The French have united Algiers to France 'for all time.' These words mean no more than 'till war is declared'—till the first English line-of-battle ship enters the port of Algiers!" The most heartfelt wish of every Briton was to destroy this lucrative field for French colonisation. The heroic Abd-el-Kader, France's most dangerous enemy, could therefore invariably count on the secret support of England.

In face of this commercial policy, utterly unconscientious, carrying on incitements and intrigues throughout the world, all other civilised nations must necessarily seem to one another natural allies. England was the mainstay of barbarism in international law. It was the fault of England alone that naval warfare, to the scandal of mankind, remained organised piracy. It was the common task of the nations to establish upon the seas that balance of power which had long existed on terra firma, that beneficial balance which made it impossible for any state to think of going to all lengths, and consequently ensured a humane international law. It was essential to the progress of civilisation that the multiform splendours of universal history, which had opened with the dominion of the monosyllabic Chinese, should not close in a deplorable circle with the hegemony of the monosyllabic British. As soon as the eastern question should again enter a state of flux, it would be necessary for far-sighted statecraft to ensure that the oppressive foreign rule which England's fleets maintained from Gibraltar, Malta, and Corfu should at last be restricted, and that the Mediterranean should be restored to the Mediterranean peoples. But the Prussian state did not as yet possess a fleet. It was impossible for Prussia to entertain these views of remote horizons as long as she was herself barely able to protect the disintegrated German world, and as long as an Italian great power had not yet come into existence.

In due accordance with oriental tradition, the peace between Egypt and the Porte was not honestly observed.

Sultan Mahmud thirsted for revenge upon his rebellious vassal, and the English envoy Lord Ponsonby, a reckless elderly hotspur, strengthened the Turkish ruler in his passions, as also did Urquhart, secretary to the British legation, who was fanatically philoturk. Mehemet Ali had had his head turned by his warlike successes, and in his newly won pashalic he ruled like an independent prince. He gained the friendship of the court of the Tuileries and the enthusiastic veneration of the French—for the support of the Egyptian fleet might help French aims in Algeria. The Parisians had wonderful tales to tell of the genius for rule of this Napoleon of the east, who, a typical oriental, had the usual preference for French civilisation and the French tongue. In France, before long, it became an article of political faith that Mehemet Ali alone was competent to awaken the benumbed east to new life. In Germany, Prince Pückler-Muskau was the pasha's warmest admirer. He aroused widespread attention when he returned from his Nile voyage and his desert journey, riding through the streets of Vienna upon an Arab steed, and wearing a fez. He was not admitted to audience of Emperor Ferdinand until he had promised the Prussian envoy that when writing an account of his travels he would say nothing about this afflicted court, of which it would certainly have been indiscreet to give a faithful picture.[1] Wherever he went, "Semilasso" sang the praises of the great Egyptian.

In actual fact Mehemet Ali's power was far less stable than it had been at the time of the previous war. The unruly peoples of Syria were much more restive under the pressure of enlightened despotism than were the patient fellahin of the Nile. It seemed as if a rising might prove successful, and at the same time England's enmity became ever more threatening. Since the days of the quadruple alliance Palmerston had cherished an ardent yet tacit hatred for his untrustworthy French friends. How often in those days had he been overreached by Talleyrand;[2] he could never forgive this, for according to his view of the matter none but English diplomatists were entitled to deceive their allies. The renowned cordial understanding of the western powers now existed only in name. Though the foreign minister had but little knowledge of eastern and colonial affairs, he had an instinctive assurance

[1] Maltzan's Reports, January, 1840.

[2] See above, pp. 15 et seq.

of the greatness of his country. Never would he accept the new doctrine of the free trade school, led by Richard Cobden, that the colonies would and should cut adrift from the homeland, and that Great Britain was only weakened by her transatlantic possessions. He promptly recognised that England's power in the Mediterranean would be broken were Mehemet Ali to extend his hand to the French in Algiers across the weak intervening territories. Moreover, the cunning Egyptian was perfectly aware where he had to look for his enemies. He sedulously endeavoured to impose hindrances in the way of British communications with India, closing the important commercial route across Asia Minor to the Euphrates and the Orontes, gaining control of the lucrative coffee trade in the Red Sea, and beginning to found factories in Syria and Egypt which had an unfavourable influence upon English exports to those countries. England's attitude was determined by these commercial interests, just as in the year 1830 the sacrifice of Holland had been due to the resentment inspired by the tariff and colonial policy of the Netherlands. With passionate eagerness Palmerston did his utmost to destroy or at least to weaken the Egyptian's dangerous power, bluntly dismissing as "nonsense" all talk of the inevitable disruption of the Turkish empire.

The court of St. Petersburg could look on gleefully while awaiting the accentuation of the mutual hostility of the two western powers in the eastern question. Since the closing of the Dardanelles, Russia had exercised almost unrestricted control over the Black Sea; and inasmuch as by the treaty of Hunkiar Iskellessi the czar was entitled to render help to his Turkish protégé in the event of war, it was with pleasurable sensations that he witnessed the sultan and the pasha arming for the struggle. For several years in succession Turkish and Egyptian troops faced one another on the Syrian frontier. The impoverished regions on the upper waters of the Euphrates were sucked completely dry by the need for supporting all these troops, and the power of the two Mohammedan realms was paralysed to such an extent that the collapse for which St. Petersburg longed seemed imminent.

The Muscovites had little to fear from the exhausted Viennese court. All the wisdom of the Hofburg was still concentered on the belief that the sultan was a legitimist sovereign, the pasha an execrable reformer and rebel. Metternich

was at times feeling the burden of his years, and remarked on several occasions to Maltzan: "Men of my age must endeavour to conserve, not to create; it would be folly to begin a piece of work to which one would probably be unable to put the finishing touches." [1] The old and sterile dispute between the chancellor and Count Kolowrat still continued, and since Archduke Louis persisted in his objection to all innovations, under the rule of this disastrous triumvirate not one of the proposed administrative reforms came into being. The finances of the country were in their customary confusion, even after the resignation of Finance Minister Eichhoff, a man who had had intimate relationships with the Vienna stock exchange. The army suffered, as Count Maltzan regretfully put it, from "almost incredible deficiencies"; and at this very time, in January, 1840, occurred the death of General Clam, the solitary member of the council of state who had done something to promote military efficiency. Laxity and unthinking routine were universally prevalent, and it was only the Italian army, under Radetzky's leadership, which was really fit for military operations. Never had Austria been less ready for a severe struggle. In such circumstances Frederick William III, to whom peace seemed so urgently requisite for the quiet growth of his country's strength, had perforce to content himself with the modest hope that the peril of war in the east might be averted.

But the inevitable happened. In the spring of 1839 the Porte was no longer able to endure the burden of its military preparations, and the sultan could no longer restrain his hatred. War broke out and was settled at a single blow. Thanks to the far-seeing activities of the Prussian officers of general staff, the Turkish troops had by this time learned something, but during the prolonged life in camp they had suffered terribly from disease. No more than half the great army of Asia Minor was assembled at Nisib under the leadership of Hafiz pasha, and a large proportion of this force consisted of hostile Kurds, who were longing for a chance to desert. Hafiz paid more attention to the foolish counsels of his mullahs and astrologers than to the great Frankish adviser who stood at his side. Ignoring the suggestions of Captain Moltke, he failed to seize his opportunity for making a well-timed attack which would have enabled him to turn the flank of Ibrahim pasha's

[1] Maltzan's Reports, March, 1840.

army. Next, he omitted to withdraw the troops on the Euphrates into the stronghold of Birejik, and the Prussian officer, foreseeing certain destruction, formally resigned his position as adviser. On the following day, June 23rd, the pasha, who was in an extremely unfavourable position, was attacked by the experienced Egyptian commander, and his army was scattered after a brief and inglorious resistance. Just as King Frederick had begun his career as military commander with the retreat from Mollwitz, so now did the greatest warrior of the nineteenth century begin an unparalleled career of victory with the defeat at Nisib, for which he was himself, indeed, nowise to blame. Amid the horrors of this retreat he learned the significance of moral forces in war. While riding across the roadless country he found time and possessed equanimity for the conscientious completion of his beloved maps, just as at an earlier date he had made the only trustworthy plan of the incredible confusion of streets and alleys in Constantinople. After his return home he published a collected edition of his letters from Turkey, and, as if he had been a modest beginner, had the now classic work introduced to the learned world with a preface by Carl Ritter. His able earlier writing on Poland had secured but few readers.

The defeat was overwhelming. The other Turkish forces in Asia Minor broke up, though Mehemet Ali's son, distrusting his own army, did not venture to follow up his victory. Amid the general confusion Sultan Mahmud died suddenly, before the arrival of the terrible tidings from Nisib. Mahmud was the last great tragical figure of Osmanli history. He had waded knee-deep in blood in the endeavour to advance his people to a higher civilisation, but declined despairingly to the tomb aware that his life had been a failure. His contemporaries were fond of comparing him with Peter the Great, and of drawing a parallel between the slaughter of the janizaries and the destruction of the strelcy. But the brilliant barbarian of the north held sway over a Christian people, and his subjects therefore, for all their roughness, were teachable. The Turks, however, remained a horde of oriental riders, created for the tents of the desert, utterly inaccessible to civilisation, ill-famed for their stupidity even among the other Mohammedan peoples. They resembled the harmless wild dogs which doze by day in the streets of Stamboul, and by night devour the garbage from the houses, but which, if given home and shelter, prove

utterly intractable, and speedily perish of their longing for freedom. Mahmud's young and weakly son Abdul-Medjid now ascended the throne. Simultaneously the Turkish fleet sailed southward from the Dardanelles, with the secret connivance of Lalande, the French admiral, to be united before Alexandria with the ships of the Egyptian rebels. The Osmanli empire, destitute alike of army, navy, and vigorous sovereign, now seemed, for the third time within eleven years, a prey to certain destruction. Since all the great powers, honestly or otherwise, declared the integrity of Turkey to be essential to Europe, the envoys of the five powers were terrified. They held council together, and at the suggestion of Stürmer, the Austrian internuncio, in a joint note under date July 27, 1839, they urged the Porte not to come to terms with the Egyptian leader until Europe had spoken. Metternich exulted, believing that Turkey had been saved and that the fate of the east was in his hands. With his usual boastfulness he termed this deed one of the greatest diplomatic successes of his life, flattering himself with the hope that a European congress would now sit under his leadership in Vienna, and that this body would settle the eastern question, naturally to the disadvantage of Mehemet Ali.[1]

The king of Prussia held other views. He plainly foresaw that this ostensible concert of Europe would speedily bring to light the hidden designs of Russia and the discord between the western powers, and would perhaps lead to a general war. In his vexation he considered that the powers would have done better had they been in less of a hurry, and had they left the sultan to come to terms with the pasha.[2] Being determined that in his old age he would at all costs avoid a breach of the peace, and that he would on no account impose upon his people war burdens or the payment of subsidies for the sake of these remote concerns, he had repeated and most definite declarations conveyed to the greater courts that Prussia would go no further than to give her moral support (appui moral) to the attempt to effect a peaceful solution of the eastern question, and that she would maintain the strictest neutrality should the powers more immediately interested in the matter decide to take up arms.[3] His forecast proved

[1] Maltzan's Reports, January 1, 1840, and subsequent dates.
[2] King Frederick William, Marginal Note to Maltzan's Report of April 23, 1840.
[3] Report from Werther, junior, chargé d'affaires in London, December 20, 1839.

accurate. It became manifest forthwith that the aims of the two western powers were incompatible. Whereas France desired to shield her Egyptian protégé it was Palmerston's intention to punish the victor of Nisib for his victory, and by a European repetition of the judgment of Solomon to deprive him of a large portion of his old possessions.

The Porte, moreover, despite its weakness, remained irreconcilable, and discovered a new and extremely effective means for carrying on the campaign against Mehemet Ali. Reshid pasha, Turkish minister for foreign affairs, had when envoy in London learned the power of the western press, and was not slow to realise how advantageous to the Egyptians were the fervent adulations of the French newspapers and of many other liberal journals. He therefore advised the young sultan to prove to Europe by a solemn spectacle that the Grand Seignior was far more liberally inclined than the enlightened despot of the Nile. On November 2nd the high dignitaries of the empire and the notables of the capital assembled in the courtyard of the old serai before the Gül-khâneh kiosk near the ancient plane-tree beneath whose shade the mutinous janizaries had in former days been wont to take counsel. As soon as the court astrologer with his astrolabe had announced the auspicious moment, the hattisherif of Gül-khâneh was read aloud. This document, turgid with antique Turkish and new Frankish phraseology, promised to all the sultan's subjects security of person and property, the abolition of the system of farming out the taxes, and just allotment of taxation and military service. The sultan and the high officials then pledged themselves to this gracious decree (which, it need hardly be said, was never carried out), and thereupon cannon thundered acclamations from both shores of the Bosphorus.

This hattisherif opened the long series of "honeyed papers" which the shrewd Moslems were accustomed henceforward to issue at intervals for the edification of the Franks whom they so heartily despised. With oriental resourcefulness, the Divan was marvellous in the promptitude with which it adapted itself to new political arts. From now onwards it posed as a liberal power, and at one time through the instrumentality of the

with marginal note by the king. Minister Werther, Report to the king, January 15; the king's Instruction to Werther, junior, January 20, 1840; with marginal notes.

serviceable pens of friendly envoys at Pera, at another by simple bribery, it was able to control the European press so effectively that the tones which had heretofore been muted in the *Portfolio* now resounded mightily through the world. Since the days of antiquity the peoples of the Bosphorus and adjoining regions had been notorious for profligacy. Here was Lesbos, the home of unnatural lust; here Lampsacus, where Aphrodite gave birth to Priapus, the most shameless of her sons; here the great city where the collected refuse of three continents stank to heaven; and in its centre was the barbarously defiled and most beautiful temple of eastern Christendom. In these lands, where human life was worth little, human dignity nothing, where nature displayed all her charms, and where the Hellenes, the Byzantines, and the oriental races were no less lavish in the disclosure of their vices, the western press now believed itself able to discern a shrine of liberty. With the sole exception of the French periodicals, all the journals of Europe sang the praises of the liberal sultan and his court astrologer. But the Egyptian, who knew his own people, angrily insisted that the hattisherif was nothing more than a move upon the chessboard.

Russia meanwhile executed a long contemplated change of diplomatic front. Immediately after ascending the throne, Nicholas had learned that he could best gain his ends in the east by ostensibly coming to terms with England, the most dangerous of his adversaries.[1] Personally, and so far as was possible to a czar, he had something approaching to a preference for the British, and of late years he had sedulously closed his eyes to the revolutionary character of Palmerston's policy. It had long been his desire to estrange England from France, to destroy the cordial understanding between the two western states, to reestablish the old quadruple alliance of the conservative powers, and thus to isolate the hated land of revolution, so that the great campaign on behalf of legitimacy might perhaps become possible. The treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi would shortly expire, and its renewal seemed out of the question, for the jealousy of the western powers had long ere this been awakened. Moreover, a peaceful protectorate of Russia over Turkey could be secured by other means, if only the English court and the two German powers were permitted to collaborate to a modest extent in the rescue of

[1] See vol. IV, pp. 584, 585.

the sultan. The wish prevailing at St. Petersburg was that the strength of the Egyptian might be so far weakened as to prevent his hoping for any more than to become the sultan's mayor of the palace, a position which would enable him to rejuvenate the Osmanli empire from within. But he was not to be utterly crushed, for his semi-independent state was a thorn in the flesh for the Turkish realm. After the battle of Nisib it must have become obvious to Palmerston that the total destruction of Mehemet Ali was impossible. There was therefore no serious difference of opinion between the two powers; they need merely come to terms upon the questions what portions of Syria were to be left in the hands of the betrayed conqueror, and how in case of need the armed intervention of the great powers was to be effected. Since Russia's fighting strength had been considerably diminished by the struggles in Caucasia and by a campaign against Khiva, Nicholas did not at that moment wish for a European war. He hoped rather to gain a peaceful victory over France, by coming to an understanding, first with England, and subsequently with the two German powers.

He emphatically declined the invitation to the Vienna conference, for he was afraid of being outvoted there by Austria and the western powers. Metternich regarded this refusal as a grave personal affront, and broke into invectives against the czar's folly and weakness, just as he had done in 1826, when Russia and England had come to an understanding about the Greek question. But on this occasion, too, he had to learn that in eastern affairs Russia, not Austria, was the leader of the eastern league. In September, 1839, Baron von Brunnow, one of the younger Russian diplomatists, was sent to London. Brunnow was a gentle, refined, and versatile man, who soon manifested boundless admiration for the ways of English society, and participated eagerly in the sports, bazaars, and charity concerts of the island realm. In the diplomatic world he was known as the Russian Gentz, though the comparison was hardly an apt one, for in wit and in literary power the Austrian statesman enormously excelled Brunnow, whereas Brunnow was greatly superior to Gentz as a cunning negotiator. The Russian envoy announced to the British minister that the czar had no objection to England's using her fleet to force upon the Egyptian the acceptance of a reasonable peace; in case of need Nicholas would move his

own troops against Ibrahim pasha across Asia Minor by way of Sinope. These offers inspired Palmerston with a comprehensible feeling of mistrust, and they did not suffice him, for his primary aim was to have the treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi annulled and to secure for the British fleet the right of passing the Dardanelles. The Russian, nevertheless, though he had to leave with nothing settled, continued to cherish the secret conviction that an understanding was quite possible. On his homeward journey he met Metternich on the Rhine. The Austrian was in an ill humour, being obviously put out by Russia's independent action, but was not hostile on principle. Here, too, Brunnow received the impression that the four powers would be able to come to an agreement independently of France, and Nesselrode subsequently declared with satisfaction that this Johannisberg conversation had terminated the first and most harassing phase of the eastern question.[1]

Having been furnished with fresh instructions in St. Petersburg, Brunnow returned to London at the new year, and astonished Palmerston by a friendly declaration to the effect that the czar no longer insisted upon the stipulations of the treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi. His emperor, said the envoy, would in case of need send fifteen thousand men and eight warships to defend Stamboul, but would offer no objection if each of the other powers should think fit to despatch four vessels to the sea of Marmora. At the same time he showed his hand upon a matter at which the Russian diplomats had hinted a year earlier in Pera, suggesting that in future both the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles might perhaps be closed in times of peace. The ice was now broken, and Palmerston's suspicions were assuaged. In February, 1840, the representatives of the great powers assembled at a formal conference in London. With the exception of the French envoy, they one and all regarded the maintenance of the Osmanli empire as their primary duty, agreeing with Brunnow that Mehemet Ali should retain hereditary dominion over Egypt alone. As regards Syria, the Egyptian might rule one of the pashalics, that of Acre for instance, but at his death this territory must revert to the sultan. Should he refuse to accept the compromise, the united forces of Europe were to be employed to constrain him. This meant that the victor was to cede to the vanquished part of his earlier possessions! The gross injustice of the

[1] Liebermann's Report, January 4, 1840.

European powers' arbitrament was obvious, and seldom had plainer proof been afforded how little wisdom presides over the temporal management of the world's affairs. But in these sordid oriental disputes there was never any talk of justice; the sole question was one of power, and all that was now asked was whether Mehemet Ali was strong enough to withstand the illustrious decrees of Europe. Thus again had Russia, as previously before the battle of Navarino, by a sudden rapprochement with England secured the decisive voice in eastern policy. Metternich, thrust into the background, testily opined that the Teutons alone knew the real meaning of honour, which the Latins pushed to the extravagance of the point d'honneur, whilst to the Slavs the very word was unknown. It was, however, impossible for him to offer any opposition to statesmanship which ostensibly aimed at preserving the Turkish realm. The court of Berlin likewise provisionally approved Brunnow's suggestions, but always in the honest hope that France would not oppose the other powers, and always with the express proviso that Prussia could give moral support only.[1]

Meanwhile the position of France had become critical. Under the incitations of the Parisian press the entire nation was effervescing with enthusiasm for the enlightened Mehemet Ali. The news that the four powers proposed to treat this darling of France unjustly aroused a wrathful clamour throughout the land. Universal was the exclamation: "England has betrayed us; the entente cordiale is destroyed."[2] On this occasion the shrewd bourgeois king, who conducted his own foreign policy over the heads of the Soult ministry, had indeed been led astray by his personal feelings, and had made an entirely false calculation. Since it was impossible for him, in the matter of the oriental imbroglio, to come to terms with England, Mehemet Ali's deadly enemy, he should have sought an understanding with Russia and the German powers. But he was unable to master his resentment at the czar's insolence, and directed all his shafts against Russia. Again and again he compelled Soult to declare in acrimonious despatches that the integrity of Turkey was but an empty word unless inde-

[1] Brunnow to Werther, junior, January 23: Minister Werther, Instruction to Arnim in Paris, January 22; Instructions to Werther, junior, January 27 and 31, 1840.

[2] Arnim's Reports, Paris, January, 12, 16, and 22, 1840.

pendence also were secured for the Ottomans, this meaning independence from Russia's tutelage. Nesselrode rubbed his hands with glee, and made an arrogant response.[1] Whilst Louis Philippe had his attention fully occupied by a fruitless paper war against the czar, he hardly noticed the rapprochement between England and Russia. Of a sudden he found himself between two fires. His English friend had made common cause with his Russian enemy, and the understanding had been effected in the most inconsiderate manner, no precise information whatever having been vouchsafed to the French envoy.

Still more difficult became the situation of the Tuileries when in February, 1840, once more by fault of the king, the moderate Soult ministry, which had been in tolerably good odour at the other courts, collapsed. At an earlier date Louis Philippe had ceded to his children the gigantic possessions of the house of Orleans. This step had been taken in defiance of the ancient laws of the country, for the property belonged to the French crown, and the king had no right to expect that the nation would now be inclined to increase yet further the wealth of the unpopular royal house. Nevertheless, when the monarch's second son the duke of Nemours was betrothed to the wealthy princess of Coburg-Kohary, Louis Philippe asked the chambers to provide the young couple with an income. The consequent discontent was widespread. The press vilified the sovereign's personal character with a lack of respect which could not but shake the insecure position of this illegitimist monarchy. Louis de Cormenin ("Timon"), who since Courier's death had been the leading radical publicist, wrote his savage *Questions scandaleuses d'un jacobin au sujet d'une dotation*, wherein he explained to the French how much more enslaved they were than the Prussians, whose absolute ruler had regularly remitted the traditional taxes for the dowry of princesses. Louis Philippe's demand was refused, the Soult ministry resigned, and Thiers, pushed to the front by the liberal opposition, formed a new cabinet on March 1st. Thiers had long been a persona ingrata to the bourgeois king, and seemed to the latter especially undesirable now that war threatened. Nor did the four powers conceal their mistrust. Count Maltzan, profoundly uneasy, wrote from Vienna: "The

[1] Soult, Instruction to Sebastiani, November 25; Nesselrode, Instruction to Medem, December 26, 1839.

principles of 1830 are again in control." [1] The French envoy at the London conference was treated with even less consideration than before, and could not but be aware that the other powers were discussing matters behind his back.

At the courts Thiers had the reputation of being a radical chauvinist, because at the time of the July revolution he had worked on behalf of purely parliamentary government, because during the Carlist war he had used very arrogant language, and because his *History* had done so much to promote the Napoleonic legend. But this able and cultured man, though as yet he had by no means attained the tranquil wisdom of his old age, had already been ripened by experience. Not he, but the king, was to blame for the distressing diplomatic situation with which he had to deal. When he took over the government he was far, as yet, from cherishing warlike aims, for he was passionately devoted to his country, and had no thought of exposing it to an unequal struggle with the four great powers. Still less did he desire to disturb the Anglo-French alliance, which he regarded as the guarantee of civic freedom. He therefore instructed Guizot the envoy to convey to the English court a serious but friendly assurance that the power of the pasha was no less essential to the integrity of Turkey than the power of the sultan, and that the Egyptian could not maintain himself without Syria. He expressly protested against the armed intervention of Europe, for such intervention, he said, would be in plain conflict with the old-established principles of the western powers.[2] It was perfectly true that Palmerston was once more exhibiting the unprincipled fickleness of his statecraft when he, who had so often solemnly proclaimed the principle of non-intervention, now returned to the views of the Troppau congress, and recommended forcible intervention by the great powers against the Egyptian rebels.

Thiers' warnings were straightforwardly meant, for, like all Frenchmen, he greatly overestimated the power of Mehemet Ali, and feared that the pasha would oppose so obstinate a resistance to European intervention that the total disruption of Turkey would very probably ensue. For the nonce Palmerston was better informed as to the situation, and he believed

[1] Maltzan's Report, March 4, 1840.

[2] Bülow's Reports, London, March 17 and April 3; Arnim's Report, Paris, April 20, 1840.

that coercive measures against the Egyptians would be speedily followed by success. Negotiations dragged on for several months. The envoys of the three eastern powers were loud in their complaints anent the "subversive" policy of the Tuileries, while the London governmental newspapers spoke of France in an offensive tone which secured due response across the Channel. Palmerston, greatly annoyed by the stubborn opposition of the French, had a threatening article inserted in the *Morning Chronicle* to the effect that England would be constrained to renew the old quadruple alliance of the four conservative powers. Brunnow, who in his suave friendliness had ever the advantage over the impetuous peer, quietly helped events to move in the direction he desired. More and more did the envoys come over to the Russian view that the eastern question, too, could best be settled by the four other powers, without French cooperation.

Yet Palmerston hesitated long. The whig government, never a strong one, and feebly led by Lord Melbourne, had long been outworn. In the previous year the premier had sustained a defeat in parliament, and had been saved solely by the ridiculous incident of the ladies of the bedchamber. This was the first occasion upon which the young queen displayed something resembling a political will, and she definitely refused to accede to the tory demand that her whig court ladies should be replaced by others of a different political complexion. It was purely to Victoria's personal preferences that the whigs owed the reinstatement of their power, which for several years previously had lacked the support of a trustworthy parliamentary majority. This effete cabinet was far from being of one mind upon questions of high policy. To Lord Holland, Lord Clarendon, and many others among Palmerston's colleagues and intimates, a breach with France seemed absolutely inconceivable, for they considered that the position which England had acquired in Europe during the last decade was based upon the entente cordiale, or at least upon its name. Even among the tories the opinion was widely diffused that the quadruple alliance of the liberal states of the west safeguarded the European equilibrium, and that on no account ought it to be replaced by a renewal of the earlier conservative quadruple alliance. Thus Palmerston was continually tossed to and fro between considerations and counter-considerations, and recurred always to the conclusion that the first essential

was to keep things in suspense.[1] He had little hope now of changing the mode of the Tuileries court, and yet he wished to avoid a rupture. As late as June 11th he wrote to Neumann, the Austrian envoy, who was pressing for a decision. "I prefer temporary hesitation to immediate disaster."[2]

To complete the confusion, Metternich from time to time sent ill-humoured despatches. It remained a grievance to him that the decision was no longer in his hands, and he continued to dread lest Russia's indiscreet policy should lead to that country's being entangled in English toils.[3] Shekib pasha, the Turkish envoy, contributed to the discords of this remarkable concert, blindly following the advice of Neumann, the Austrian plenipotentiary, whose especial charge it was to gain control over the (s'emparer du) Turk.[4] Notwithstanding the defeat sustained by the Porte, Lord Ponsonby unceasingly urged the renewal of the war, and Shekib, therefore, took an extremely confident line, adjuring the great powers to be speedy in pronouncing a condemnation of the Egyptian rebel.[5]

The complication was intolerable, though almost ludicrous. Heinrich von Bülow, the Prussian envoy, had, after long leave of absence, returned to London at the beginning of March, 1840. In June, when he had spent many weeks in a vain endeavour to reconcile the disputants, he wrote despairingly: "What in such circumstances is to be expected from the continuance of these negotiations? Nothing but ignominy. It would be better to break off the conference."[6] At length the envoys of the three eastern powers agreed upon a final attempt, asking Palmerston to engage in confidential discussions without France, since it was temporarily impossible to come to terms with that power. From June 21st onwards, therefore, the other envoys met regularly every Sunday at Palmerston's, behind Guizot's back, the quiet of the British sabbath helping them to keep the matter secret. Thus did the European congress, to which France had been formally invited, become transformed into a secret conference of the other four powers. Though France had herself to blame for what had happened, it was obvious that this underhand proceeding, when divulged,

[1] Bülow's Reports, May 26 and June 26, 1840.
[2] Palmerston to Neumann, June 11, 1840.
[3] Maltzan's Report, January 2; Metternich to Trauttmansdorff, March 7, 1840.
[4] Maltzan's Report, March 3, 1840.
[5] Shekib pasha's identical Notes to the envoys of the five powers, June 2, 1840.
[6] Bülow's Reports, March 3 and subsequent dates, including June 12, 1840.

would profoundly wound French pride. The danger of a European war was so imminent that Werther, the pacifist Prussian minister, became greatly alarmed, expressed his disapproval to Bülow, and repeated with much emphasis the instructions previously given that whatever happened the neutrality of the crown of Prussia must be maintained.[1] At their Sunday sittings the four came to terms about the elements of a treaty for the rescue of the sultan, but still postponed a formal decision, for Palmerston did not feel sure of the approval of his cabinet.[2]

Vainly did Metternich send several despatches, containing warnings that Turkey could no longer endure the uncertainty, and that if the five powers could not come to terms, four must take independent action.[3] The third Sunday sitting had to be postponed because the British minister had not yet made up his mind. "We stand upon a quicksand," said Bülow tragically. Guizot, though not blind to the danger, believed that it was still remote, and wasted the precious hours in witty converse with his Russian friend, Princess Lieven, who had suddenly appeared in London. The more innocent members of the distinguished world believed that this refined and versatile diplomatist, the eloquent Egeria of high policy, was secretly working on behalf of the French. But those who knew anything of Russian affairs could easily discern that she was in league with Brunnow and had been commissioned to prevent any drawing together of Guizot and Palmerston.

Bülow at length plucked up courage for a decisive step. At the moment he was without valid credentials, for the death of Frederick William III had just taken place. Even though he was aware that the new king was yet more peacefully inclined than had been the old, he confidentially assured Neumann that though Prussia would never participate in the use of coercive measures against Mehemet Ali, he did not for that reason think it his duty to hold back the others. His prolonged residence in London and his close friendship with Palmerston had inspired him with English views to a greater extent than was seemly for a Prussian. In accordance with British tradition he looked upon the Grand Turk as sacred,

[1] Werther, Instruction to Bülow, July 16, 1840.
[2] Bülow's Reports, June 23 and 30, 1840.
[3] Metternich to Neumann, June 24 and 27, 1840.

and therefore considered the eastern policy of France, though there were good reasons for it, simply revolutionary. The consequence was that this able statesman, who in St. Petersburg was regarded with suspicion as a liberal, thoughtlessly played the Russian game, helping Russia to sow dissension between the western powers, and to keep the Osmanli empire for the time being in a state of helpless weakness. He desired that deeds should at length put a term to the eternal hesitation. On July 1st, at the queen's drawing-room, Lord Melbourne drew him aside and anxiously enquired: "What do you advise me to do in the Egyptian matter?" Bülow rejoined: "Have you an adequate fighting force in the Mediterranean?" Upon receiving an affirmative answer from the premier, the Prussian continued in vigorous terms: "Then be quick and bold! Send your fleet promptly to Alexandria, move the troops from Malta and the Ionian islands to Beirut and the Syrian coast, where Mehemet Ali has no expectation of an attack. We four will first conclude a treaty with the Turkish envoy without waiting for ratifications. France will be taken unawares, but not irremediably affronted, and the Porte will be spared the dangerous help of Russia. But I say again, be quick and bold!" Bülow felt quite certain that France would speedily overcome her first anger, and would in the end approve what could not be undone. The envoy said all this, as he himself admitted, without authorization, and on the spur of the moment.[1]

Thus did the improbable happen. The most pacific of all the great powers, the one with no personal interests to consider in the east, now gave through the mouth of its envoy the momentous advice which would infallibly lead to a conflict in the Mediterranean, and might even conjure up a European war. Palmerston drew a breath of relief. The idea dawned on his timid colleagues that it might be possible for them to attain their ends without the armed help of Russia and without open offence to France. As early as July 8th he was able to inform the representatives of the eastern powers that he had won over a majority in the cabinet and had promised the Turkish envoy that England would render armed aid to

[1] This remarkable incident was recorded with considerable accuracy as early as 1849, appearing on page 270 of Usedom's Political Letters and Characteristics of Latter Day Germany, but no historian has hitherto noted it. Usedom's account is confirmed and supplemented by Bülow's report of July 3, and by Bülow's despatch to Maltzan under date July 9, 1840.

the sultan.[1] With Punic faith, the island realm had already made preparations for the struggle. British agents, garbed as merchants and with well-filled purses, had been traversing the Syrian uplands and inciting the inhabitants to revolt against the harsh rule of the pasha—a notorious fact which Palmerston subsequently denied with his usual brazen assurance. By July all Lebanon was under arms. Later Metternich, as he himself told Count Maltzan, despatched an emissary to the Maronites to promise them security of life and belongings together with the free enjoyment of the Christian faith in the event of their fighting on behalf of the sultan against the rebel pasha.[2] If Mehemet were to be thus simultaneously attacked by the insurgents on land and by the British fleet on the coast, his power in Syria would speedily collapse. The powers made their decision with a light heart. Their consultations were now held in rapid succession, on week-days as well as on Sundays. Bülow received general congratulations for his shrewd advice, and complacently reiterated his words, "Be quick and bold!" The idea was that when matters were a stage further advanced the Parisian court would be asked to approve what had been done, and even to give indirect support.[3] Neumann promised that Austrian warships should cooperate with the British; Brunnow was all smiles, for the court of St. Petersburg naturally had no objection to the friendly powers doing its work at their own charges.

On July 15th the envoys of the four powers and Shekib pasha signed a treaty which subsequently became known to journalists by the somewhat inflated name of the London Quadruple Alliance Convention. The sultan promised that the pasha should remain hereditary ruler of Egypt and should hold sway for life over the pashalic of Acre. The four powers pledged themselves to exercise joint influence upon Mehemet Ali to induce him to accept this offer, "purposing to cooperate for this end according to the extent of the means (moyens d'action) which each of us has at its disposal." This clause was introduced by Bülow so that in case of need he might declare that Prussia had no moyens d'action except moral support to use against the Egyptian. England and Austria were to intervene first with their fleets; should the Egyptian

[1] Bülow's Report, July 10, 1840.
[2] Maltzan's Report, September 7, 1840.
[3] Bülow's Report, July 14, 1840.

advance through Asia Minor the four powers would consult further regarding common measures for the protection of Constantinople by land and sea. In the future, however, both straits, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, were to be closed in time of peace to all nations. Therewith the czar abandoned the treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi. It was true that this magnanimous renunciation meant very little, for the treaty was in any case on the point of expiry. Russia would still remain mistress of the Black Sea, and would, owing to her geographical position, be the first to be summoned to protect Stamboul. Since there was danger in delay, the envoys, as Bülow had advised, took all responsibility upon their own shoulders, and agreed without ratification to the immediate despatch of the Anglo-Austrian fleet.

In Berlin these tidings aroused both joy and concern. Indisputably Bülow had exceeded his instructions, although at the moment when the decision was made he had not yet received the latest despatches, which expressly commanded him not to sign any treaty of quadruple alliance until the three other powers should have formally recognised Prussia's neutrality in the event of war.[1] Two alternative courses were now open to Prussia. The unruly envoy might be recalled and ratification might be refused. On the other hand, what had happened might be condoned, the treaty might be approved, and its hazardous consequences courageously accepted. It certainly accorded ill with the dignity of a proud state to urge the other powers to bold deeds and then to declare itself a neutral. Yet the new king believed the third course to be possible. On this very first occasion when he had to deal with the great problems of European policy he displayed his disastrous preference for shifty diplomatic attitudes, for everything which contrasted with simple, manly straightforwardness. He desired to condone Bülow's arbitrary steps, for he regarded it as his royal duty to support the rightful sultan in his struggle against the revolutionary Egyptian, whilst he was delighted to see his beloved England reconciled with the eastern powers. Upon this turn of the diplomatic wheel all the cherished memories of the War of Liberation once more became active. "We must not," such were the instructions he conveyed to Vienna, "enfeeble the first treaty by which the British cabinet openly detaches itself from France

[1] Werther, Instructions to Bülow, July 16 and 18, 1840.

and resumes its place among the conservative powers." [1] Yet he saw plainly enough that the heaviest burden would fall upon Prussia should a general war ensue. To avert this disaster from his country he had a definite declaration sent to all the powers that he adhered firmly to his father's pacific policy. The clause which Bülow had introduced into the treaty did not suffice the king, and he demanded that the neutrality of his state should be formally guaranteed.[2]

The three friendly powers received this communication with comprehensible astonishment. Palmerston bluntly declared that all four powers were pledged by the treaty to cooperate proportionately to the means at their disposal, and had an enquiry made in Berlin what Prussia now proposed to do for the common cause.[3] Nesselrode, greatly incensed, informed Liebermann the Prussian envoy (who secretly could not but agree with the Russian), that it was an unprecedented idea for the state lying nearest to France, the one primarily threatened in the event of war, to propose to remain neutral after joining the quadruple alliance; whilst the czar gave a friendly admonition to the effect that these reservations were arousing the contempt of England.[4] Even Metternich, when he met the king at Pillnitz in August, could not refrain from telling Frederick William that a formal declaration of neutrality would awaken the mistrust of England, "whom we have just induced to rally to our flag"; and Thiers, he added, would take it as a sign of the weakness of the quadruple alliance.[5] And this is what actually happened, for directly the French minister was informed regarding the changed situation he exclaimed with relief: "Then, after all, we are faced only by a triple alliance, not by a quadruple alliance." [6] These secret negotiations lasted for several weeks, producing the impression at all the courts that under the modest old regime Prussia's diplomacy had been conducted with far more intelligence and firmness than under the new and comparatively ostentatious system. Metternich was at length successful in mediation, and on August 14th the four powers signed a secret

[1] Werther, Instruction to Maltzan, July 24, 1840.
[2] Werther's Report to the king, July 22; Instruction to Bülow, August 4, 1840.
[3] Werther's Report to the king, July 28, 1840.
[4] Liebermann's Reports, September 26 and 29, 1840.
[5] King Frederick William to Werther, Pillnitz, August 12, 1840.
[6] Maltzan's Report, August 26, 1840.

protocol whereby in the event of war Prussia reserved for herself "complete freedom of trade and above all the right of strict neutrality." [1] Now only did Prussia ratify the treaty. The terminology of the protocol was extensible, and implied very little, for should a European war break out it would be impossible for Prussia to evade participation in the struggle. But never to be forgotten was the unfortunate experience that the state which had been boldest in counsel should have proved the most pusillanimous when put to the test of action.

§ 2. THE RHINE FRONTIER THREATENED. GERMANY'S MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

By the July treaty the Egyptian dispute was transformed into a European question, and all at once Prussia, whose interests were so remote from this oriental affair, was pushed into the foremost rank of the disputants. With the solitary exception of Russia, not one of the four powers had any design to offend French pride. They all considered that their independent action had been fully justified by the evasive and dilatory attitude of French diplomacy. At the very last, when Palmerston had asked Guizot whether France did not at least wish to prevent the complete severance of Egypt from Turkey, the Frenchman had merely shrugged his shoulders, and replied, "Alors, comme alors!" [2] They all believed that, as Bülow put it, Thiers would make the best of a bad job, would effect a dignified withdrawal, and would be careful to avoid allying himself with the Egyptian rebel to defy an obviously superior force.[3] On the very day when the treaty was signed Palmerston wrote to Guizot with unwonted politeness. Only with deep concern, said the foreign minister, had the four powers detached themselves from France in order to get something done; they trusted that this separation would be of brief duration, and would do nothing to impair mutual feelings of genuine friendship; they even ventured to hope that France would give them moral support, and would use her great

[1] Secret Protocol of the four powers, London, August 14; Letters from Palmerston, Neumann, and Brunnow to Bülow, August 14, 1840.

[2] Palmerston, Memorandum of his conversation with Guizot, July 18 and 20, 1840.

[3] Bülow to Maltzan, July 9, 1840.

influence in Alexandria to induce Mehemet Ali to yield.[1] Still more pacific was Prussia's language. Bülow wrote to Paris: "In point of form we have to separate from France, but substantially we hope for her helpful cooperation." Minister Werther recommended that before ratification the Tuileries court should be invited to join, so that all semblance of discord might be avoided.[2] The Austrian chancellor, indeed, cherished an intense hatred for Thiers, "the positive embodiment of the revolution of 1830." In his private letters he railed without measure at "this person who is in every respect wretched," speaking of him as one who stimulated the evil passions of the French, as one who like a toper could only keep up his strength with brandy. With a malicious play upon words he wrote: "This ne'er-do-well wishes to become the Napoleon of the July revolution, and to bring it back like a tertian fever [il veut la faire tourner en Thiers]."[3] Yet not even Metternich had any wish for a war with France.

But these diplomatic calculations had overlooked the elemental energy of French national pride. The French had long felt with well-grounded discontent that since the July revolution their country had been of less account in Europe than when they were under Bourbon rule, and they had marked the undignified manner in which their bourgeois king wooed the favour of the eastern powers. The nation was becoming weary of the dominion of the great capitalists, and Lamartine merely gave expression to the inmost feelings of the majority of his fellow countrymen when he exclaimed, "La France s'ennuie." And now the darling of the French, the enlightened reformer of the east, the man idolised by the Parisian press, had been sentenced by a manifestly unjust arbitrament of Europe, concerning which France had never been consulted. The underhand method by which this decision had been secured could not fail to be even more offensive than an open breach. When the news from London became generally known, the nation gave way to an attack of fierce anger which came as a surprise to the other courts, for only the St. Petersburg cabinet, with the keen vision of hatred, had foreseen the issue. The French imagined themselves to be menaced once more by a coalition. According to the national tradition, which found

[1] Palmerston to Guizot, July 15; Bülow's report, July 31, 1840.
[2] Bülow to Arnim, July 21; Werther to Bülow, August 4, 1840.
[3] Metternich to Werther, August 5, 1840.

such eloquent expression in the historical works of Thiers, the wars of the Napoleonic age had been caused, not by France, but by the lust for power that had inspired the European coalition. Since it seemed impossible to cope with the British at sea, whereas there was hope of a victory by land, louder and louder throughout the country resounded the cry, "To the Rhine, to the Rhine!" Europe suddenly became aware that the experience of a quarter of a century had not yet taught France to regard as irrecoverably lost the ephemeral structure of the Napoleonic world-empire.

At the outset Thiers spoke with moderation, for he did not believe that the measures of coercion proposed by the quadruple alliance would be carried out, or that the defeat of Mehemet Ali was possible. He made no secret of his fear that peace was endangered, and frankly disapproved the hostility displayed towards the Egyptian, while for the rest his attitude was one of reserve.[1] But he was too much the Frenchman to withstand the national mood. Public feeling flamed fiercer from day to day. Since the tone of the English press was intolerably arrogant, the papers bluntly demanding that France should be compelled to obey the orders of the quadruple alliance, the Parisian journals rejoined with revolutionary threats, and even the duc de Broglie, the pacifist doctrinaire, was of opinion that the time had arrived for the reopening of the war of the propaganda. By August 5th Thiers found it necessary to issue a royal ordinance demanding an extraordinary credit of fifty-six million francs. French loans and the levying of troops followed. Everything seemed drifting towards war.

Louis Philippe contemplated with increasing alarm the warlike activities of this detested minister. There were moments, when he, too, bitterly deplored the humiliating position of his country, and angrily declared that he would have to don the red cap. But such ebullitions were short-lived. As a prudent merchant he knew perfectly well that to his illegitimist dynasty a victorious commander would be just as dangerous as a defeat. The demand for the Rhine frontier left him cold, and he continued to repeat like an axiom, "Whoever begins a general war will infallibly succumb." He desired peace at any price, and at the very outset he declared to

[1] Arnim's Report, July 23; Thiers' Memorial in response to Palmerston's despatch, July 15, 1840.

the Austrian envoy that he would rather destroy his ministry than forsake the paths of peace. He shuddered at the prospect of the radicalism which would inevitably be promoted by the war. He could not understand how the innocence of his aims could be so misconstrued, or how he could be thus exposed to the danger of a revolutionary flood. He implored Werther, junior, as the representative of the most pacific of the great powers, to do his best to promote an understanding, saying: "Europe is sitting on a powder barrel as long as France is isolated!" [1] During these sultry weeks Prince Louis Napoleon landed at Boulogne with a handful of devoted followers and made a second attempt at a rising. The affair was a failure, and the bold adventurer ran the risk of being overwhelmed with ridicule. But the king was ill at ease, for he felt that his throne, obtained by usurpation, might readily fall prey to a rival usurper.

The two German great powers did not hesitate to fortify the bourgeois king in his praiseworthy views. Frederick William, not unaffected by the half unconscious self-deception of rhetorical extravagance, conveyed an ardent assurance that his personal affection for Louis Philippe was as immutable as his friendship for France. But Metternich thought it expedient to display the spectre of revolution before the eyes of the timid Orleans ruler, saying that if Thiers wanted war he would pursue the policy of the convention, would dethrone his own king, and would make Mehemet Ali ruler over the sultan's dominions.[2]

The attitude of Russia and of England harmonised little with these pacific exhortations of the German powers. Czar Nicholas maintained a benevolent protectorate in Stamboul, such as his grandmother had of old maintained in Warsaw. Notwithstanding a few trifling concessions to the other powers, he purposed to continue this tutelage, and thus by slow degrees to prepare his Turkish protégé for destruction, as Poland had formerly been prepared. The fate of Syria troubled him little: His immediate aim was to effect a thorough and permanent estrangement between the western powers. This was why Brunnow had, as was plain to Berlin, been reserved in his behaviour during the last few weeks, for he had foreseen that

[1] Werther, junior, Reports from Paris, July 26 and August 26, 1840.

[2] Minister Werther, Confidential Instruction to Werther, junior, August 8; Metternich, Confidential Instruction to Apponyi, August 4, 1840.

England and France would never come to terms. But when the quadruple alliance had been actually formed, the soft-spoken man came to the front once more, and suddenly began to use very challenging language towards the Tuileries. The czar now openly admitted that his aim was to isolate and humiliate revolutionary France. Nesselrode arrogantly declared that if France were at this juncture to offer cooperation with the four powers for the defence of Constantinople the suggestion must be repelled as of hostile intent, and he instructed the sultan to reject by force of arms any such attempt that might be made by the French fleet.[1] Writing to Vienna a few weeks later he unambiguously revealed to the Hofburg the leading ideas of Russian policy, as the following sentence will show: "The existing differences of opinion between the two constitutionalist powers must not be so completely overcome as to involve the danger that these powers will unite once again to oppose monarchical interests."[2]

Whilst Russia was thus working for the destruction of the entente cordiale, Pamerston's mind was wholly occupied with the question of English supremacy in the Mediterranean. Being of a passionate nature, he was greatly incensed by the opposition of France, which he had already found so exasperating in the Spanish affair. His language grew increasingly violent; he wished to intimidate France, and anger inspired him with blind obstinacy. "The aims of the four powers," he wrote bluntly to Paris, "are unselfish and just"—a contention which could not but appear preposterous to the French in view of the great commercial interests which were at stake for England.[3] Such being his mood, Palmerston gave ear more readily than usual to the advice of Lord Ponsonby, who fiercely demanded the destruction of the Egyptian.

Mehemet Ali, meanwhile had been treating with two envoys from Thiers, the first being a son of Casimir Périer, the second a son of Napoleon, Count Walewski, who was then on intimate terms with the French historian of the empire. The Egyptian finally offered to cede to the sultan a considerable part of his acquisitions, including Crete, the important frontier-land of Adana, and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina,

[1] Westphalen's Report, St. Petersburg, August 7; Nesselrode, Instruction to Meyendorff in Berlin, July 27, Instruction to Titoff in Constantinople, July 20, 1840.
[2] Nesselerode, Instruction to Tatishcheff in Vienna, September 10, 1840.
[3] Palmerston to Bulwer, August 31, 1840.

provided that Egypt were left to him as a hereditary dominion, and Syria for his lifetime. These offers from the victor of Nisib seemed far from unreasonable. The Prussian court regarded them as satisfactory; but to the other powers, and above all to the Porte, they were inadequate.[1] Now that the sultan had again found a source of support in the quadruple alliance, the long-standing hatred of the Osmanlis against the Egyptian became mightily inflamed, and in September, upon Lord Ponsonby's instigation, the Grand Seignior issued a firman deposing Mehemet Ali, although the Divan had promised not to act independently or without the advice of Europe. It was impossible that the four powers could approve this arbitrary decree, which would necessarily remain inoperative, like the outlawry which eight years earlier Sultan Mahmud had pronounced against his Egyptian vassal. But it showed that the quarrel between the two eastern rulers could not be adjusted without an appeal to arms. The peril of general war drew nearer.

Wonderfully powerful and enduringly beneficial was the reaction of these occurrences upon German national life. The Germans had heard very little of the involved London negotiations, and had barely given a thought to the possibility of a European war. It seemed like thunder from a clear sky when, at the unveiling of the July column in the Place de la Bastille, the Marseillaise was sung in threatening earnest, and when all the French newspapers vociferated for a Rhine campaign. On our side of the frontier it could only seem a proof of rabid arrogance that France should menace the western mark of Germany for the sake of a Syrian pashalic; and from all the valleys of our land there arose in answer to the Gallic war-clamour the old battle-cry of the Teutons: "Her, her!" Germany was unanimous in the resolve to defend in knightly fashion her ancient and gloriously regained inheritance. The foreign ideals of the previous decades seemed to have been dispersed by a current of fresh air; the heroic figures of Dennewitz and Leipzig scintillated once again before German eyes; and æsthetic enthusiasm for lovely Rhineland played its part, for the pictures of the Düsseldorf school and the songs of the last of the romanticists had of late spread this enthusiasm far and wide. In any other nation

[1] Thiers, Instruction to Bresson in Berlin, September 27; Minister Werther, Report to the king, September 23, 1840.

such a resolve would have been taken as a matter of course; but the foreign world had not yet realised that the Germans knew anything of national pride; and overwhelming was the impression when, suddenly, freely, and spontaneously, popular passion raised its mighty voice in a hundred places at once. Universal was the feeling that this sentiment was deeper and more powerful than the warlike enthusiasm of the French, for though the latter, too, sprang from the heart it was artificially fostered and led by the Parisian press. Even the Alsatians, who had ever been a pugnacious people, were alarmed, and the Strasburg newspapers pusillanimously declared that France would have for ever to renounce the thought of acquiring Prussian Rhineland, and that only the Palatinate was still within her grasp.

It was at once placed beyond the possibility of doubt that should war come the Germans would prove more united, if possible, than they had been in the Belle Alliance campaign, for warlike ardour was fiercest in the very territories which had previously shown a peculiar preference for French ideas. How often over their beer had the Prussian Rhinelanders mocked at Ehrenbreitstein and at their king's other "Zwing Uris"; now they were all grateful to find themselves so well protected by these bulwarks of German freedom. But the South Germans were heavy-hearted when they recognised how grossly their governments and diets, through false economy, had sinned against the fatherland. They saw themselves defenceless, and all looked eagerly for help towards the new king of Prussia. From the very hearts of thoughtful South Germans came the words written by Nebenius in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *South Western Germany and its Moods*: "Above all our south needs a Landwehr after the Prussian model, that it may at length learn to defend itself with its own forces." The Bavarian Palatinate, too, which eight years earlier had been the focus of arid radicalism, was now so exemplary in its behaviour that President Wrede was able to assure the Palatiners with perfect justice that their patriotic sentiments had filled him with genuine admiration.[1] The wild speeches of the Hambach festival had, after all, been inspired by nothing more than the vague yearning for a great fatherland. Since then, the tedium of the bourgeois regime

[1] Farewell Address from President Wrede to the Palatiners, Spires, April 30, 1841.

in France had led to a marked cooling of sympathy towards that country, whilst the irresistible mutuality of interests created by the customs union had powerfully promoted the growth of German national sentiment, so that when the need for men came, it was at once apparent that the Palatiner was just as good a German as the Marker or the Pomeranian. All voices were joined in a glorious harmony—or at most in the kingdom of Saxony and the other petty states of the east, which were not directly menaced, could a quavering note of philistine pacifism from time to time be detected.[1]

As was the people, so were the princes. There was no trace now, of that Rhenish Confederate sentiment which even in 1815 had found such bold expression in Stuttgart and Carlsruhe. All the high nobility of the nation rallied honourably to the banner of the fatherland, from the old Guelph, who as an ardent reactionary longed for a war of annihilation against the revolution, to the most German of the Germans, King Louis of Bavaria, whose hope it was to hail his native city of Strasburg as the strongest federal fortress of the German south.[2] The French envoys in Germany felt as if they had been betrayed when they saw the spirit of wrath flame up of a sudden in this good-natured and hospitable nation. Count Bresson in Berlin, a noted hotspur, behaved like one who had lost his senses. France, he complained, was debased, dishonoured, despised by Europe.[3] At the next levee, in order to avoid having to speak to the king, he took refuge behind a curtain, where he was left in quiet hiding. The envoy in Munich simply could not understand why there was any feeling against him, seeing that France had always defended the German equipoise.[4] The envoy in Darmstadt begged that his residence might be protected, for he considered himself personally menaced by the outcry in the journals.[5] It was obviously a complete surprise to the French that the Germans could feel as one nation.

Public opinion remained quite free from the ridiculous gallophobia of the old Burschenschaft days. No one even ventured to demand the reconquest of Alsace, the only wish being to provide for the valiant defence of Germany's rights.

[1] Jordan's Report, Dresden, October 24, 1840.
[2] Dönhoff's Report, Munich, November 10, 1840.
[3] Minister Werther to Bülow, August 10, 1840.
[4] Dönhoff's Report, December 9, 1840.
[5] Du Thil's Sketches.

It is true that Major Moltke, in an able essay upon the problem of the western frontier, declared that when France and Germany came to settle accounts, all the debits would be found on the French side, all the credits upon the German; and he expressed the hope that in the event of war Germany would "never sheathe the sword until France has paid her debt to the uttermost." In private quite a number might cherish such aspirations, Prussian officers above all; but they were rarely voiced in the press. During the very height of the war fever, public collections were made in Germany on behalf of the sufferers from the inundations at Lyons. Since the national sentiment was thus simple, it found its natural expression in the plain words of a man of the people. Nikolaus Becker, a young clerk of the court in Prussian Rhineland, wrote in a fortunate hour the song:

They shall not, shall not have it,
Our free-born German Rhine,
Though, hoarse as famished ravens,
They round it croak and whine,
So long its winding current
Shall wear its dark green vest,
So long as splashing boat-oar
Shall cleave its rippling breast.[1]

When the men of Cologne paid allegiance to their new king in October, this song was sung for the first time, and ardent Rhenish patriots, who were still half-unconsciously influenced by the French misculture of the last decade, proposed that the poem, as a counterblast to the Marseillaise, should become known as the Colognaise. Stupendous was the effect of the verses. More than two hundred musical settings were composed for the Rhine song, but precisely because of this excessive enthusiasm it was impossible for it to live in the hearts of the people, since not one of the countless melodies could drive all the others out of the field. Becker found a host of imitators, among whom was an obscure young Swabian named Schneckenburger. He wrote in Switzerland *Die Wacht am Rhein,* which as poetry was greatly inferior to Becker's verses. But in the case of a folk-song, the melody counts for far more than the words, and a generation later, thanks

[1] This translation, by Charles White, was originally published in the *Morning Chronicle.*

to Wilhelm's vigorous and popular setting, Schneckenburger's poem was to become the stimulating war song of the German conquerors. At that epoch no one spoke of it, whereas everyone was enthusiastic about Nikolaus Becker, though that writer's poetical powers had in truth been exhausted by the one fortunate venture. King Frederick William displayed his approval in word and deed. Louis of Bavaria, as palsgrave of the Rhine, sent the poet a goblet of honour, and wrote: "From this gold and silver tankard, a gift from me to you, drink often, singing the while, 'They shall not, shall not have it!'"

From the French side Lamartine rejoined with *La Marscillaise de la Paix*, which was full of the dreams of universal philanthropy:

L'égoïsme et la haine ont seuls une patrie,
La fraternité n'en a pas!

It was impossible for French pride to be satisfied with such sentimentalism. Alfred de Musset found the apt expression for the national feeling when he cried to the Germans:

Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin allemand.
Son sein porte une plaie ouverte . . .

and scornfully told them to wash their liveries in the free Rhine. In a similar tone Victor Hugo extolled France, the cyclops, and her one eye, Paris; whilst another poet sang, "nous l'aurons quand nous le voudrons," and had to be reminded by the Germans of the fable of the fox and the grapes. This poetic contest, wherein the Germans unquestionably maintained the upper hand, persisted for months. Of all the menacing and boastful lyrics of the French, none could compare with Georg Herwegh's vigorous Rhenish drinking song:

From strands where such a jewel glows,
Where such a wine in radiance flows,
Ne'er must we be by foeman's blows
Forthdriven once again!
Raise glasses. Drink: The Rhine!
And, were't but for the wine.
It German shall remain!

The mood of the nation was so irresistible that Jacob

Venedey, editor of the Paris monthly *Der Geächtete* and a declared enemy of Prussia, in his verbose book *The Rhine*, could not refrain from the honest admission that for Germans the Rhine question could not be a question at all. Even in Austria, German blood stirred at times. The Rhine song was sung in the streets of Vienna, and to the columns of the *Oesterreichische Beobachter*, which quite recently had been so fiercely opposed to the dangerous idea of German unity, Franz Schuselka, the young liberal, contributed *German Words by an Austrian.* Among the opponents very few ventured into the open. W. Cornelius, the demagogue of Hambach days, was one of the exceptions, and, in a spiteful poem, he made Father Rhine answer the lyrists by saying: "Name me not German, nor yet free." Heinrich Heine felt absolutely stupefied when the artificial edifice which during the last decade had been laboriously constructed out of foreign phrases so ignominiously collapsed, and when the detested Teutons showed themselves full of such unrestrained enmity towards his beloved France; but at this juncture silence seemed to him the more prudent part.

The cosmopolitan liberalism of the thirties had been annihilated at a single blow. No one felt this more keenly than Rotteck, whom the tragic justice of destiny summoned from life at this very hour, in November, 1840, amid all the turmoil of the Teutonic enthusiasm for war. The good doctrinaire had always loved his country after his own fashion, but of late years the very possibility of a war against liberal France had become to him inconceivable. He felt quite out of place in the transformed time, and enquired mournfully upon his death-bed, "Into whose hands will care for the law of reason now pass?" He was unable to foresee that no one was ever to accept this charge. Creative science had long outstripped the dreams of the law of reason; intelligent liberals, following Dahlmann's example, were beginning to adapt their ideals to existing conditions; whilst the youthful enthusiasts who still cherished the illusion of immutable rights written in the stars, went far beyond Rotteck, and hoped for a realm of absolute freedom and equality. Thus it came to pass that the leader of Badenese liberalism died in a fortunate hour for his reputation, at a moment when it would have become impossible for him to remain a German.

For the first time in immemorial years the German nation

was wholly at one with its princes. Metternich, aging now, and fond of looking at the comfortable side of things, complacently opined that this national movement was untainted with the revolutionary ideas of the War of Liberation. Czar Nicholas, on the other hand, said concernedly to the Prussian envoy that it seemed desirable to keep a careful watch upon this passionate outburst of national feeling, for it was most exuberant among the very men whom the government had up to now treated as adversaries.[1] The Russian had more insight than the Austrian. The spirit of all these poems, speeches, and newspaper articles was in truth the spirit of 1813. The pride of a strong nation was at length awakened; and it was inevitable that this nation, now possessed of a fully mature self-consciousness, would be no less dangerous to the Austrian dominion over Germany than to the empty forms of the federal constitution. The ball was resting on a steep incline, and the least touch would set it rolling. War would have been declared had Prussia made a serious enquiry of Paris concerning the French military preparations, and had the answer been made public.

A king Frederician in his boldness would hardly have been able to resist the temptation. All the most fearless men in the Prussian army, those who had ever regarded the third Punic war as inevitable, were agreed in the belief that the time had now come to strike. The prince of Prussia was wholly occupied with thoughts of the Rhenish campaign. He exhorted the officers of the guard to foster a patriotic spirit in the army, "this creation of the king of blessed memory," which to an increasing extent was inspiring confidence in friends outside of Prussia.[2] He copied out the Rhine song, and beneath the closing words,

> They shall not, shall not have it,
> Our free-born German Rhine,
> Till buried 'neath its surges
> Our last man's bones recline,

he subscribed his name with the flourish which was in the end to become known to the whole world as part of the signature of the victor of Sedan. Radowitz, too, advised his beloved king to win for himself an unparalleled position

[1] Liebermann's Report, February 23, 1841.
[2] Berger's Report, January 6, 1841.

by a dauntless resolve. The situation seemed marvellously favourable for Prussia. Thiers hoped to begin the war in Italy, in order to keep Germany neutral; but it would have been quite beyond his power to divert French lust of war, once unloosed, from its true goal in Rhineland, and the Prussian government was therefore perfectly right in informing Paris that any attack upon Italy would be regarded as a casus belli. If France were thus compelled to divide her forces, as far as human foresight could go it seemed inevitable that victory would accrue to the Prussians, however pitiful the assistance Prussia could expect from her German federal allies. But though a military success seemed almost certain, no less certain was an ultimate diplomatic defeat, for this war, like the Belle Alliance campaign, would suffer from the rivalries and the weaknesses that inevitably attend coalition wars. The only probable upshot would be that Prussia, after making incredible sacrifices, would find that she had enabled the czar to gratify his revengeful feelings, that she had strengthened England's power in the Mediterranean, and that she had secured nothing for herself beyond a few valueless frontier positions in Alsace-Lorraine.

King Frederick William was quite unaffected by such considerations. The thought of a third entry into Paris had no charm for him. He desired peace, nothing but peace. Not until our western frontier was endangered by the French menace did he arm for defence; and in this modest aim of protecting Germany, Prussian policy, which had been so weak and contradictory in the international negotiations of London, now displayed admirable circumspection and firmness. It was the king's idea to seize the opportunity for reinvigorating the federal military system, and for reinvigorating therewith the whole of German federal policy, which was ever dear to his heart. "In Frankfort," he declared to one of his confidants, "I hope to make my best brew; I have more direct relationships with this embassy than with any other." [1] He knew how zealously of late years his father had endeavoured, through Radowitz' instrumentality in Frankfort, to bringa bout an amelioration in the pitiful military organisation of the Germanic Federation, and how lamentably all such attempts had been frustrated by the supineness of Austria. During the very days of the change of regime Radowitz had sent a despairing report concerning

[1] King Frederick William to Rochow, April 9, 1842.

the attitude of the Hofburg: "Although there exists full awareness and understanding of existing defects, nothing is done, either because there is not sufficient interest in improvement, or else because other motives exercise a countervailing influence." [1] The new king hoped to overcome this resistance through the charm of his eloquence. At the Pillnitz meeting the king had said movingly to Metternich that a new era must now dawn for federal policy no less than for other matters. But the Austrian evaded the issue, and was careful thereafter to shun any discussion of the affairs of the Germanic Federation.

Metternich spent August and September at Königswart, whither he had invited the papal nuncio and the envoys of the great powers. The diplomatic world looked on with strained attention at the proceedings of this mysterious congress. Metternich's pen worked more diligently than ever before; countless despatches issued in all directions from his Bohemian castle, every one of them being couched in an exalted tone. "The question is a very simple one," he wrote to Frankfort; "it is that of the pasha of Egypt, who desires to devour the Porte for his own benefit." For him the eastern imbroglio was and remained nothing more than a struggle between the revolution and the legitimist sultan. He endeavoured to alarm the bourgeois king by the report of an Austrian agent who had for years been a member of all the Parisian revolutionary clubs, and who gave a definite assurance that the radicals were planning a new coup against the crown.[2] In truth these multiform activities were dictated solely by alarm. The chancellor positively refused to believe in the possibility of a European war, because he did not consider that the decaying realm of Austria had power to withstand the dangers which such a war would entail. His intention from the first had been that the assistance promised the sultan should merely take the form of the despatch of a few warships; he had absolutely determined to send no troops, and he displayed a careless security utterly incomprehensible to Count Maltzan, for it was notorious that military preparations in Austria were always slow and difficult.[3] At length the Prussian's

[1] Radowitz, Report to Werther, June 2; Eichhorn to War Minister von Rauch, July 9, 1840.

[2] Metternich to Münch, September 9; to Apponyi, August 20, 1840.

[3] Maltzan's Reports, August 8, 26, and 29, 1840.

eyes were opened. On September 11th, reporting to his sovereign, he declared: "We have all been humbugged by Metternich in the most farcical manner; the prince has detained us at Königswart solely because he did not wish to go to Vienna, and because he desired to avoid disagreeable disputes with his rival Kolowrat, who is parsimonious and detests the dangerous quadruple alliance." [1] Such was, indeed the fact. Metternich no longer ruled Austria; he could not count upon the support of the other members of the triumvirate; all the rusted cogwheels of the clumsy machine of state were groaning and grating as they turned.

To such a court the Prussian plans for defence, which were certainly somewhat bolder, could not fail to appear alarming. On August 25th Maltzan explained that his master thought it necessary for the two German great powers, first to come to an understanding as to joint measures, and subsequently to ask the lesser courts to cooperate. Within eight weeks Prussia could station 200,000 men on the Rhine; how many soldiers could Austria muster in Vorarlberg—where at the moment the available force hardly exceeded a thousand? Metternich, "charmed with the idea," answered with vague generalities.[2] Matters went on like this for weeks without noticeable progress. As late as the beginning of October the Austrian was still talking of armed neutrality, and he wrote to Neumann in London that precisely because France was equipping herself for a struggle the four powers ought to avoid doing anything of the kind. Maltzan, profoundly exasperated, exclaimed: "What logic! And Prussia is France's neighbour!" Plucking up heart, he wrote to Berlin: "To-day Austria and Prussia have changed roles. The spirit of the imperial cabinet is essentially pacific. Prussia, on the other hand, strong in her physical and moral energy, now excels Austria, and it is plainly the mission of the former to initiate and to guide the movements of the two great powers and those of Germany." [3] Subjected to further and vigorous pressure from the Prussian court, on October 9th Metternich sent a dispatch to King Frederick William, wherein, though he gave no definite pledges, he at least suggested a hope that Prussia and Austria

[1] Maltzan's Report, September 11, 1840.

[2] Maltzan's Report, August 25; Metternich to Minister Werther, August 26, 1840.

[3] Maltzan's Reports, October 3 and 5, 1840.

"would stand shoulder to shoulder as the two leading members of the Germanic Federation." But these, too, were but empty words, and no further advance was made. Four months had now elapsed since the July treaty, the French preparations became more and more menacing, the threats in the Parisian press waxed ever louder, and the only things which had as yet been done to safeguard Germany had been the quiet equipment by Prussia of her Rhenish fortresses and the taking of preliminary steps for the mobilisation of the Prussian army.

Everything depended upon the new king, and he at length came to recognise that he must overcome his veneration for the archducal house of Austria, and must himself assume the leadership. On November 16th Grolman, Prussia's most distinguished military commander, appeared in Vienna accompanied by Colonel Radowitz, who on the way had paid a visit to the Saxon Court. Whilst the foreign diplomats, anticipating the usual tedious negotiations, were still on the watch, the two Prussians had within a few days settled matters with General Ficquelmont. Grolman's splendid directness of mind and Radowitz' wide knowledge of affairs formed a happy combination. They were able to secure the revival of the Prussian plan of campaign of the year 1831, which nine years earlier had been the subject of such arduous deliberations.[1] But on this occasion it was proposed to act more boldly, and in the event of war to undertake a prompt offensive. A Prussian North German army was to move downwards from Mainz; a South German army, stiffened by Prussian troops, was to operate from the Upper Rhine; finally, in Upper Swabia there was to be an Austrian reserve army whose strength was estimated by Ficquelmont at 150,000 men.[2] It is true that Grolman gave as little credence to this confident statement of numbers as he did to the boastings of Metternich, who persisted in assuring the envoys of the minor German states that Austria was fully prepared—for the general knew only too well how wretched was the condition of the Austrian army, and how urgently Radetzky, though ever in vain, had prayed that the army of Italy at least might be reinforced.[3] But he did not cavil. It sufficed him that the Hofburg, aware

[1] See vol. V, pp. 259 et seq. and pp. 621 et seq.

[2] Werther, Instruction to Liebermann, December 3; Maltzan's Reports, November 20 and 24, 1840.

[3] Maltzan's Report, December 24, 1840.

of its weakness, should surrender to Prussia the supreme command over the German petty states, and should not attempt to revive the ancient and favourite plan of the Austrian war council, which had been to conduct the campaign by way of Switzerland. As always happened when the peril of war was serious, not a word further was now heard of the preposterous federal military organisation.

Since in the interim the favourable news from the eastern military arena had done something to raise the spirits of the Hofburg, the two powers determined to issue a circular despatch to the German courts exhorting them to watchfulness, and decided at the same time to make confidential enquiries in Paris concerning French military preparations. But, despite all, the aims of Berlin and of Vienna remained entirely peaceful. The Prussian court had in advance given the Tuileries friendly information regarding the two officers' mission to Vienna, adding an assurance that general tranquillity would best be promoted by the harmony of the Germanic Federation.[1] It was merely felt to be essential that the German powers should be prepared, in the event of the bourgeois king's peaceful inclinations being overborne by the war party. According to the new fashionable phrase of the diplomats and the press, the military equipments of France had brought about a condition of "armed peace." Germany must be on her guard. This innocent aim had in fact been fulfilled by the king through the sending of the two officers to Vienna, and Maltzan said to Metternich with much complacency: "Our monarch respects Austria's position in Germany, but he is absolutely determined to shake the Germanic Federation out of its present degrading position, and to restore it to the ranks of the powers."[2] Frederick William's poetic fantasy had actually led him to cherish the illusion that the Germanic Federation might become an independent power side by side with Austria and Prussia, and that Germany might thus intervene in the destinies of the world with the formidable momentum of three great powers. Metternich was too sober-minded to share these dreamlike visions of the titanic strength of Bavaria and Darmstadt, but he deemed it expedient to chime in with the ecstatic tone of the Prussian court, so that henceforward in his conversations and memorials he made emotional references to "the Germanic Federation,

[1] Werther, Instruction to Arnim in Paris, November 14, 1840.
[2] Maltzan's Report, November 27, 1840.

the European continental state which has attained the premier position in virtue of the extent of its military forces." In the war against the armed peace of France, he said, it was predestined to play the leading role, and must join the quadruple alliance as a fifth power.[1]

The characteristics of this fifth power were promptly to become apparent to Radowitz when he now paid visits to the courts of Munich, Stuttgart, Carlsruhe, Darmstadt, and Wiesbaden, all of which had already been enlightened by the Prussian embassy concerning the European situation and the peril of war.[2] Somewhat later, bearing similar instructions, came General Hess, an able soldier of the same school as Radetzky. The Prussian was received everywhere with open arms. Everywhere he was given friendly federal pledges, and was confidentially assured that South Germany had no confidence either in the energy or in the goodwill of the Viennese court, and would fight only under Prussian leadership.[3] Count Bismarck, Würtemberg envoy in Berlin, formerly in ill repute as a Bonapartist, now talked enthusiastically of a national war, and urged the Prussians to act quickly. King Louis of Bavaria, who shortly before, during the Cologne episcopal dispute, had shown himself so hostile to Prussia, seemed to have become a new man during the year that had intervened. He realised that he had gone too far, seeing that the customs union treaties, which were so advantageous to Bavaria, were about to expire. Again and again he assured the Prussian envoy that he had never ceased to favour the Prussian cause, and only in appearance had departed from this system; and still more ardently did he asseverate his enthusiasm for the customs union, whereupon the late King Frederick William had made the dry comment: "I can well believe this, for Bavaria gains by the union as much as Prussia loses."[4] At length, when his beloved brother-in-law had ascended the Prussian throne, the Wittelsbach ruler enthusiastically sang: "More splendid now uprises the sun, and will shine brilliantly upon us, radiating affection and vital energy, to the general weal of Prussia and of Germany." He seemed to have adopted

[1] Maltzan's Report, December 14; Metternich's Memorial concerning the European Situation, December 18, 1840.

[2] Sydow's Report, Frankfort, October 23, 1840.

[3] Rochow's Report, December 14; Otterstedt's Reports, December 17 and 21, 1840.

[4] Marginal Note of the king to Dönhoff's Report of March 28, 1840.

Prussian policy in its entirety, overwhelmed Radowitz with distinctions, and delighted to pay marked attention to Count Dönhoff before the eyes of the French envoy.[1] In Hanover, too, Radowitz was warmly received. The old Guelph sovereign was the first of the federated princes to forbid the export of horses to France, and this compelled Prussia, and subsequently the Germanic Federation, to follow his example.[2]

But what did the petty courts, which were thus overflowing with patriotic words, do for the defence of the fatherland? Hardly credible was the degree to which this new decade of constitutionalist glories had undermined the very foundations of military defence in the German south. In Bavaria, the company on a war footing numbered 172 men, 62 of whom had never been levied at all. Of the remaining 110, after a brief period of drill, 85 were always given furlough, so that in the infantry battalion, for the greater part of a year, no more than 100 men (those of little faith said no more than 60) were to be found with the colours. In view of such conditions, King Louis actually believed himself to be doing a great thing when, having regard to the menace of war, he had two batteries placed on a war footing, and purchased for his whole army about 250 horses instead of the 5,000 that were actually required.[3] He promised to put an end to the bad practice of protracted furloughs, but did not get beyond good intentions. Matters were little better in Würtemberg. There an infantry regiment, divided into two battalions, had 401 men with the colours in summer and 307 in winter. Under the stimulus of the serious news from Paris, King William had once more much to say concerning a Swabian Landwehr. He did not, however, propose to introduce the Prussian Landwehr system, which his parliament considered far too costly, and thought only of a law which would render it possible to levy new and quite untrained troops in the event of the line and the reserve having already been sent on active service. There was no thought of providing for universal military service, which was detested by the Ritterschaft and the officialdom. Rochow reported: "The substitute system is established here like a wall of brass," and added that a Prussian could

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, November 15 and December 5, 1840.

[2] Berger's Reports, December 27 and 29, 1840; February 8, 1841.

[3] Report of von Canitz, secretary to legation at Munich, October 22; Dönhoff's Report, November 30, 1840.

hardly conceive the extent to which a misguided public opinion was dreaded in Würtemberg.[1] In Baden very little was done for the army because Minister Blittersdorff suspected that all these preparations for war served only to mask Prussia's lust for hegemony.

In Darmstadt, too, du Thil regarded military equipments as superfluous. He had long noted that Austria was no more than half-hearted in the matter, and that the Hofburg merely participated in the military negotiations to avoid relinquishing the field entirely to Prussia.[2] In any case these lesser states all imagined that they had fulfilled their federal obligations to the utmost. During the previous autumn, on the lower Neckar, they had conducted joint manœuvres of the eighth federal army corps; these had passed off tolerably well, and had subsequently been extolled as a proof of efficient federal fidelity by no less a man than Krauseneck, the Prussian chief of general staff.[3] Moreover, slackness was able to entrench itself behind patriotic considerations. When Nesselrode, tactlessly enough, sent a circular despatch to the lesser courts exhorting them to make ready for war, a universal cry arose that the proud land of Germany would never permit herself to be dictated to by Russia.[4] Only one immediately tangible result was secured by Radowitz' tour. In February, 1841, representatives of the South German states met at Carlsruhe, and decided that the future command of the future southern army was to be entrusted to Prince Charles of Bavaria, this being done from deference to Bavaria, but to the profound annoyance of the ambitions Swabian king. In North Germany even so much unity was unattainable, for the lesser princes of the tenth army corps all objected to entrust their troops to the leadership of the discredited Hanoverian Guelph.[5]

The Bundestag, meanwhile, notwithstanding the difficult times, was disporting itself in customary fashion. The estates of the sixteenth curia had hitherto shared the services of an exceedingly inexpensive federal envoy, Leonhardi, a wealthy Frankforter, who had done just as much or as little federal

[1] Rochow's Reports, December 6, 1840; January 17, June 29, and July 18, 1841.

[2] Du Thil's Sketches.

[3] Otterstedt's Reports, September 21 and 22; Rochow's Report, September 12, 1840.

[4] Nesselrode, Circular Despatch to the embassies in Germany, December 2, 1840.

[5] Rochow's Report, February 27; Berger's Report, April 28, 1841.

business as he pleased. This pious citizen having lately died, the states concerned squabbled so persistently anent the salary of his successor that the post remained unfilled for three years. The landgrave of Homburg, which had joined the Federation in 1817, fiercely demanded the vote to which he was entitled, and at length, after the dispute had lasted twenty-five years, he secured admittance to the sixteenth curia. The Ernestines found it impossible to agree about precedence in the affixing of signatures, and their new federal envoy had therefore to be furnished with four distinct credentials couched in identical terms.[1] While these amusements were in progress, Count Münch, disregarding the urgent exhortations of the Prussian envoy, endeavoured for months to frustrate any discussion of the Federation's readiness for war. He knew that this procrastination was in conformity with the tacit wishes of nearly all the petty courts. Even King Louis of Bavaria had had a cautious suggestion conveyed to Berlin that the Federation should not address any enquiries to Paris until the military equipment of South Germany had been definitively completed.[2]

At length, on March 13, 1841, eight months after the July treaty, Münch proposed that the military committee should be asked to furnish a report concerning the immediate conditions of preparation for war. He introduced the proposal by a long address whose ultra-patriotic tone was in ludicrous contrast with the paucity of content. "The duty of all the German governments to care for the honour of the German name and for the safety of the peoples of Germany, demands that the defensive powers of the federal states shall everywhere suffice for all possible eventualities." These profound words had been introduced into the presidential address by Metternich himself, in substitution for a somewhat more incisive phrase drafted by General Hess.[3] The Hofburg wished to avoid anything which to the sovereign pride of the petty courts might suggest even the semblance of coercion. As a matter of course the proposal was most deferentially adopted with the usual expressions of gratitude for the presidential forethought, and it was left entirely to the two great powers to make confidential enquiries in Paris. There had been no

[1] Bülow's Report, October 15, 1841; Schöler's Report, October 17, 1840.
[2] Gise, royal Instruction to Lerchenfeld, December 20, 1840.
[3] Sydow's Report, March 13, 1841.

change since the days of Ratisbon. The Bundestag could give itself up to the agreeable expectation that its resolve would have no consequences whatever, and that any decision would be rendered superfluous, either by a peaceful turn in European affairs, or else by a French declaration of war.

The late king, shortly before his death, had received another plain demonstration of what was to be expected from the self-sacrificing disposition of his German federal allies. In 1839, at a cost of several millions, he had placed three of his army corps upon a war footing in order to enforce the conclusion of the disgraceful Luxemburg dispute. Although this undertaking concerned nothing but the safety of federal territory, the Federation gave him no support whatever, not even in words. Frederick William IV was now to have a similar experience, immediately after his ascent to the throne. No longer was it possible for him to deceive himself about the matter. It was plain that the petty courts were ready enough to allow Prussia's strong arm to help them in their need, but that they had absolutely no intention of doing anything to put an end to the scandalous defencelessness of quite a third of the territory inhabited by the bravest nation in the world. Nevertheless the new king held firmly to his plan of federal reform, for he found it impossible to question the plasticity of this admirable federal constitution. On January 6, 1841, he sent an instruction to the Viennese embassy, definitely declaring his intention to take independent measures should Austria refuse to cooperate.[1] For the moment the threat proved effective. Upon Prussia's initiative, on June 29th, the Bundestag resolved that henceforward at intervals of three years federal inspectors should inform themselves concerning the condition of the fighting forces of the federated states,[2] and in the autumn of 1841 the first federal inspection was begun.

At length, therefore, a modest step forward had been made, for hitherto the only troops mustered by the Federation had been the ridiculous forces of the reserve infantry division. The decision was effected in the face of strong resistance, and many of the well thought out proposals of Colonel Radowitz, who had now resumed his seat on the federal military committee, had to be sacrificed. Austria exhibited a natural reluctance to expose her army to others' criticism, seeing

[1] Maltzan's Reports, January, 1841. [2] Sydow's Report, June 24, 1841.

the motley nationalities of which it was composed. The Mecklenburg courts instructed Shack, their federal envoy, to enter a formal protest against the federal inspection, and did not withdraw opposition until Frederick William had had a personal interview with his relatives in Strelitz. Notwithstanding the federal law, the petty states were absolutely unwilling to muster their totally neglected reserves, and Mecklenburg declared with great indignation that the annual calling up of the reserve would be "a national disaster." [1] Nor could any decision be arrived at concerning the duration of the annual drills. "In this matter," said Würtemberg, "a special prescription regarding duration would not do good but harm"; everything must be left to the intelligence of the particular national members of the Federation; "our own infantry, though it may not cut a very remarkable figure on parade, is for that very reason all the more serviceable." [2] The Federation could not even come to terms upon common regulations for guard duty and the military salute.

When, with much labour and pain, agreement had been secured for a decision as void of content as possible, fresh disputes ensued over the question which states were to appoint the federal inspectors. King William of Würtemberg had long stood out against the decision, and in the end had only been convinced by the arguments of General Latour, his old companion-at-arms, that his sovereignty was nowise endangered. But since he had not overcome his long-standing and intense animus against the Hofburg, and since he was still disputing with the detested Guelph king about precedence, he would not agree to have his Swabian soldiers inspected either by Austria or by Hanover. He insisted that a Danish general should come to Stuttgart instead of the Hanoverian inspector; but he had to tolerate the visit of the Austrian, and he avenged himself characteristically by treating General Sunstenau with studied rudeness. [3]

At length this dispute, too, terminated, and each of the ten inspection districts was actually visited by three generals from other federal states. When the reports of the inspectors were handed in, they showed with terrible clearness how the great lie of the federal constitution infected everything which

[1] Sydow's Reports, May 13 and June 4, 1841.
[2] Sydow's Report, June 18, 1841.
[3] Rochow's Report, October 2; Maltzan's Reports, October, 1841.

came in contact with it, and corrupted even the proverbial honesty of the German officers' caste. The inspector generals, many of whom were princes of the blood, had in numerous cases been influenced by political considerations. Moreover, inspired with tacit anxiety concerning the pitiable condition of the military systems in their own territories, most of the inspectors took a lenient view of the conditions prevailing in other regions. Even the Prussian generals, who aroused universal alarm throughout the petty states by the strictness of their inspection and the candour of their criticisms, were far less outspoken in official reports than in their private letters. The result was that the federal military committee, when after the lapse of nearly two years it reported in July, 1843, concerning the general outcome of the inspection, was cordial in its praises of "the genuinely federative spirit" of the governments, and declared that the army corps seemed "*for the most part* in a condition of perfect readiness for war." The Prussian federal envoy, however, made the sarcastic comment that the Bundestag would hardly decide upon a second inspection, since the first had not led to the discovery of any defects in the federal army.[1] Anyone who chose to read between the lines of the politely worded reports could, however, discover such defects readily enough, and many of these were defects of a truly marvellous character.

In Bavaria the inspectors were given no confidential information by the military authorities, the king having issued a privy instruction that such information was to be withheld.[2] In Bavaria a Landwehr service was in force which extended to the sixtieth year of every man fit to bear arms, but which existed merely on paper; the artillery and infantry of the line were only subjected to four months' training every second year. The muster rolls were so poorly filled that even the federal military committee could not refrain from expressing the modest hope that in future the infantry would have at least one-sixth of the privates in continuous service. Nevertheless the three inspecting generals (from Austria, Saxony, and Darmstadt) declared that the Bavarian army was in a praiseworthy condition, saying amiably of the cavalry that only half the peace strength was enrolled, and that the men served for no more than six months, "but these special deficiencies

[1] Bülow's Report, October 15, 1841.
[2] Dönhoff's Report, October 4, 1841.

may reasonably be excused." The obvious question whether the Bavarian system of calling up cavalrymen for no more than six months' service was permissible, was quietly ignored. Nor was a word said about the infirmity of the veteran staff officers, or about the evil results of the prolonged peace, which were more conspicuous in Bavaria than anywhere else. Prince Charles of Bavaria observed sadly to Count Dönhoff: "The report is far too lenient, and will make no impression upon King Louis." [1] In Saxony the standing army was in excellent condition, but the reserve was utterly neglected. When the federal military committee hazarded a mild censure, the court of Dresden pointedly replied that it could not understand why Saxony should not receive in Frankfort the same consideration as the other federal states, which had done just as little for their reserves as had Saxony.

In Luxemburg it was impossible to muster the troops, for no federal contingent had hitherto been formed in that territory. The king of Denmark positively refused to permit his Holsteiners to participate in the joint manœuvres of the tenth federal army corps, for he dreaded a comparison with the Hanoverian forces, which were much better equipped, although even these had never assembled for divisional manœuvres.[2] Quite despairing was the tone of the reports sent in by Ditfurth, the Prussian general, concerning the condition of the Bückeburgers and most of the other contingents which were to constitute the reserve infantry division of the Federation. An unsparing review of the matter showed that Prussia was the only federal state in which the federal law had been conscientiously carried out. In Prussia one-third of the army sufficed to comply with the extremely modest demands of the federal law. The late king had always refused to set aside a definite portion of his army under the distinctive name of federal contingent, for he regarded all his troops simply as German soldiers. Now, three of the nine army corps were submitted to the federal inspection, and the manœuvres in Silesia were so successful that even Archduke Ferdinand, despite his typical Austrian mistrust of every national army, had frankly to admit that he had at length overcome his doubts concerning the Prussian Landwehr system.[3] Since, owing to the Landwehr

[1] Bülow's Report, December 17, 1841; Dönhoff's Report, November 2, 1842.
[2] Berger's Report, May 8, 1841.
[3] Maltzan's Reports, October, 1841.

system, the composition of the Prussian army corps was not in perfect conformity with the numerical specifications of the federal military organisation, in March, 1843, the king decreed that henceforward five of his army corps should constitute the federal contingent, so that the federal laws might be fulfilled to the last letter.

Such was the condition of the German military forces at a time when the liberals of the minor parliaments were perpetually complaining of the extravagant cost of the army. Nevertheless, there was some justice in the opposition criticism, for money spent upon such an army was in truth wasted. The only upshot of Frederick William's well-meant proposals was that henceforward some of the utterly unconscientious petty courts mended their ways a trifle out of dread of the federal inspection. But it was impossible that such gentle measures could provide a remedy for the thirty-headed anarchy, though the king, being a warm admirer of the immutable federal constitution, could not be expected to grasp the fact.

His efforts on behalf of the federal fortresses were rather more successful. Within the last few years Bavaria had constructed the fortress of Germersheim. But the indispensable bridgehead upon the Badenese right bank of the Rhine was still lacking because Baden obstinately refused to cede the small area of territory that was requisite. The landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, Austrian governor of Mainz, was induced by the menace of war to send in a report upon the condition of that federal fortress, and this document contained such humiliating information that the federal assembly resolved not to incorporate it among its protocols. At the Rheinkehle, the most important point in the fortifications, the wall, wrote the landgrave, had almost completely disappeared; a number of different industrials had established their workshops here; "the principal point of entry into the German lands lies utterly defenceless." The Weisenau camp and the few other new fortifications were little to the credit of their Austrian constructors. The bulk of the money provided for the fortifications had been used to build barracks (most of which had now fallen into decay) and to provide furniture for the dwellings of the commanding officers. Scandalous as all this was, Count Münch merely shrugged his shoulders, saying that to undertake fresh fortifications would be of no avail for the war now imminent, and would serve merely to attract undesir-

able attention. Even Radowitz considered it inadvisable at the moment to ask anything for Mainz, for were this done, the discussions concerning the South German federal fortresses, about which the king was much more strongly concerned, would never be brought to a close.[1]

Since 1836 no further serious consideration had been given to this shamefully procrastinated affair. The division of parties was just what it had been two decades earlier. Whilst the South Germans, taking their stand upon the meaning and the wording of the treaties, demanded that there should be a federal fortress "on the Upper Rhine," viz. at Rastatt, Austria continued to insist upon the fortification of Ulm. The Austrian war council wished to defend its imperial city against the dangers of a new Napoleonic campaign on the Danube, obstinately maintaining the doctrinaire contention that the French would infallibly begin the next war by a campaign through Switzerland, and would therefore evade the upper Rhenish regions by a circuitous route. These views recalled only too plainly the marvellous plan of campaign of the year 1814; in Berlin they were shared by but one officer of note, Knesebeck to wit, ever a man of Austrian leanings. The other generals, led by Rauch the minister for war and Krauseneck the chief of general staff, supported the upper Rhenish courts. With Prussian common sense Krauseneck said: "The South Germans wish to have a protective fortress without putting themselves in thrall to the Austrians; but the Austrians, who use the revolution as a bogey with which to intimidate the cabinets, wish to have an Austrian fortress built with German money." The agreeable practice of exploiting German energies for Austrian aims had been traditional in Vienna for centuries, and the imperial war council was unteachable. Frederick William III, therefore, had not been slow to recognise that the only way of ending the unworthy dispute would be to have Ulm and Rastatt simultaneously fortified. General Aster, too, was of opinion that there was no other way out of the difficulty. The court of St. Petersburg which continued to regard the defence of our western frontier as an affair in which it was directly concerned, expressed a similar view.

The old king lived to enjoy the pleasure of seeing

[1] The landgrave of Hesse-Homburg to the presidential envoy, August 21; Schöler's Reports, September 4 and 12; Sydow's Report, October 31, 1840.

representatives from the South German states assemble in conclave at Carlsruhe in April, 1840, when they came to an agreement concerning the Prussian proposal for mediation, and when Baden at length ceded a strip of land for the Germersheim bridgehead.[1] But it was left for the new king to bring the matter before the Bundestag. Turning the warlike mood of the moment adroitly to account, he sent the indefatigable Radowitz upon yet another round of visits to the South German courts, magnanimously promising to make a considerable addition to the French contribution funds which were still in the keeping of Amschel Rothschild. Since the twenty million francs out of these funds which had been ear-marked for the construction of the fourth federal fortress would presumably prove insufficient to build two fortresses, he declared himself ready to pay a further sum of ten million francs, although Prussia had already constructed the lower Rhenish fortresses, largely at her own expense. The result of this offer was that on March 26, 1841, the federal assembly at length decided to build the two fortresses. Ulm was to be the main arsenal of South Germany, while Rastatt was to be merely a frontier fortress for linking-up purposes. At the same time, however, Rastatt was to serve as arsenal for the eighth federal corps, although no state had ever before entertained the singular notion of establishing a depot of military stores in a frontier fortress. Only for such a compromise, making due allowance for the claims of all, could a majority be secured. King Frederick William was overjoyed, and conveyed to the assembly his delight at its federative sentiment. But Privy Councillor von Sydow, who had taken over the duties of the federal embassy after the death of General Schöler, ventured upon a doleful prophecy. "The working season of this year," he said, "will draw to a close without a shovel having been set to work either in Ulm or in Rastatt.[2]

He knew his men. When the vote was taken Herr von Mieg had registered one of the favourite Bavarian provisos, on the ground that "the German patriotic sentiment" which King Louis had displayed in the construction of Germersheim deserved special consideration.[3] Shortly afterwards he expressly demanded that the governor of Ulm should alternately be

[1] Dönhoff's Report, April 25, 1840.
[2] Sydow's Report, January 22, 1841.
[3] Sydow's Report, March 27, 1841.

appointed by Bavaria and by Würtemberg, for while the ancient imperial city was in Würtemberg, the little town of Neu-Ulm on the right bank of the Danube was Bavarian. The Swabian king indignantly protested that he had already sacrificed enough in handing over his good town to be a federal fortress. There consequently ensued between these two kings whom the liberal party had at one time acclaimed as the banner-bearers of national unity, a fierce dispute concerning the military command of a fortress which was not yet built. This drama of neighbourly harmony did not display all its charms until Mieg had for a time to represent the Würtemberg vote, and was consequently compelled to read aloud to the Bundestag with due solemnity the pointed observations that issued from Swabia. A premature decision on the part of the Bundestag, said Würtemberg, would only increase the difficulty of coming to an understanding.[1] Prussia was, in fact, once more compelled to intermediate. In January, 1842, the sorely tried Radowitz journeyed again to Vienna, Munich, and Stuttgart, and with incredible pains secured the acceptance of a compromise in virtue of which Würtemberg was to appoint the governor, Bavaria the commandant, of the future fortress.[2] It was fortunate that Major Prittwitz, one of the ablest Prussian engineers of Aster's school, should by his unpretentious manners and incontestable talent have acquired the personal confidence of King William, so that he was given a fairly free hand to carry out his plans for the construction of the Ulm fortress.

In October, 1844, the foundation stones of the two fortresses were laid, and thereafter the building proceeded slowly but uninterruptedly. Rothschild had gradually to disburse the twenty million francs which had brought him so much advantage. Of late years, owing to the urgent representations of Prussia, he had paid interest at the rate of from three to three and a half per cent., somewhat higher than before. Now, from each instalment he repaid he deducted one half per cent. commission, and the Bundestag agreed to this imposition, for the Frankfort bankers, who wished to keep on the best footing with the powerful house of Rothschild, were loud in their assurances that no one could possibly grant more favourable terms.[3]

[1] Bülow's Report, Frankfort, December 24, 1841.
[2] Rochow's Report, February 16, 1842.
[3] Bülow's Report, March 7, 1842; Dönhoff's Report, February 2, 1847.

This was the one valuable gift for which the Germanic Federation had to thank its enthusiastic royal admirer, and it was bestowed with a generosity which ignored the well-grounded claims of Prussia. Frederick William never even attempted to secure for his troops a joint right to garrison the High German federal fortresses, but heedlessly agreed that Austria should in peace time provide for Ulm part of the artillery garrison and for Rastatt the engineers, whilst in war time Austria was to furnish a third of the garrison to both fortresses. But by thus allowing the Austrians access to the Upper Rhine, the Prussian state seemed to be voluntarily renouncing responsibility for the defence of South Germany, which in 1831 and 1840 she had demanded as her special charge. By no one was it as yet conceived as possible that Rastatt could be used to support an attack on Strasburg, as actually happened in the year 1870. The new federal fortress seemed built only to serve the purposes of defence, and the labours even of the South German officers of general staff were still concerned solely with attempts to answer the pitiful question, to what point a withdrawal was to be effected in the event of a French attack.

In the spring of 1841 the war cries of the French had become fainter, and the political zeal of the minor courts had consequently slackened. Everywhere tacit satisfaction was felt that the Germanic Federation had relapsed into inertia. As late as the beginning of the year, Baden had elaborated an excellent Landwehr scheme for South Germany, the only scheme which proposed to form the Landwehr out of trained soldiers who had served their time in the line, thus following to some extent the well-tried Prussian example.[1] A few months later there was no longer to be heard any talk of the matter, and subsequently Prince Emilius of Hesse said regretfully to the Prussian federal envoy that the best opportunity of introducing the Prussian military system into the south had been lost.[2] In the spring Metternich wrote in triumph to the king of Würtemberg: "Through the awakening of national sentiment, the Germanic Federation, the sturdiest of the powers in respect of internal energy and population, has for the first time since its origination shown itself upon

[1] Badenese Memorial concerning the Formation of a Landwehr in the various South German states, 1841.

[2] Dönhoff's Report, March 9, 1843.

the field of European politics. This experience has proved what the Federation is capable of when united." The Swabian king's answer was couched in dubious terms. "The same results," he wrote, "will always be attained when the fundamental rules of the Federation (equal rights and equal duties) are observed, and when solely in the German interest such sacrifices alone are demanded as governments and peoples are able to make." [1] Among friends, King William expressed himself more incisively, complaining to Nostitz-Jänkendorf, the Saxon envoy, that even Napoleon had not gone to the length of having the Rhenish Confederate troops mustered! [2]

Moreover, how were the lesser princes to be inspired with confidence, when they saw the Hofburg, the old enemy of the national idea, now of a sudden engaged in extolling German national sentiment? The ultimate cause of German disintegration was to be found in Vienna. "The moral energies of Austria are slumbering; everything that breathes this atmosphere becomes infected with drowsiness," wrote Maltzan, a friend to Metternich, in the new year of 1841. Canitz, his successor, an even closer ally of the imperial chancellor, declared a year later: "The belief seems to prevail here that the machine of the Germanic Federation will break as soon as any attempt is made to set it in motion. Owing to the continual dread of doing too much, people prefer to do nothing at all, or as little as possible." [3] As long as the king of Prussia failed to recognise this truth, it was inevitable that his high-spirited plans for reform should remain ineffectual. But he could not recognise it. He ignored the action of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which chose this precise moment for attacking the Prussian state in a series of peculiarly offensive articles, manifestly issuing from Metternich's entourage. He did not even take offence when Councillor Berly, Count Münch's confidant, writing in the *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-zeitung* under date April 3, 1841, mockingly observed that Prussia had no thought of "the bogey of German unity" with which the French imagination was filled; this sort of thing might have been appropriate to the days of the battle of Rossbach; but Frederick William IV knew full well that

[1] Metternich to King William of Würtemberg, April 26; Reply, May 5, 1841.

[2] Dönhoff's Report, April 20, 1844.

[3] Maltzan's Report, January 5, 1841; Canitz' Report, January 26, 1842.

Frederick of Hohenzollern became burgrave in the very year in which Rudolf of Habsburg had received the imperial crown.

The fine national enthusiasm of these unquiet days did not remain quite without beneficial after-effects; it was impossible that German liberalism should ever again suffer a complete relapse into the cosmopolitan frenzy of the previous decade. Very noteworthy, none the less, was the cooling of sentiment when the danger of war disappeared. Since war-cries which are not followed by fighting inevitably appear comic in the sequel, jesters did not refrain from sharpening their dull wits with references to Nikolaus Becker's "defensive enthusiasm"; whilst among radical philistines the opinion came to prevail that any German movement approved by the princes was corrupt from the outset. The federal military committee sank before long into its customary semblance of life. It engaged in lengthy discussions concerning the replacement of a rope bridge which had been prematurely destroyed in Luxemburg; it devoted years to establishing peace between the contentious states of the ninth army corps. For this corps, the kingdom of Saxony had hitherto, as by treaty bound, alone provided the pontoneers, but now it suddenly occurred to the prince regent of Hesse that Electoral Hesse, too, ought to have a pontoon-train of its own, and he therefore arbitrarily denounced the treaty. The polite court of Dresden could not refrain from expressing "the lively concern felt on our side on account of the intentions which you on your side display," and was supported in its remonstrance by Nassau and by Luxemburg. The Hessian, however, indignantly rejoined that he had expected to be thanked for his patriotic zeal, seeing that his pontoon-train was to provide bridges one hundred and twenty-six feet in length, whereas by the federal law Electoral Hesse had merely to provide for bridges one hundred and ten feet long.[1] Amid such weighty discussions, a veil of oblivion was almost everywhere drawn over the censures of the federal inspectors. In Würtemberg, before long, the effective strength of the military company was again reduced to fifteen men, and when the Stuttgart garrison had to line the streets for the opening of the diet the soldiers on furlough had to be hastily summoned.[2]

In other domains of federal policy Frederick William found

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, May 17, 1844, and subsequent dates.
[2] General von Thun's Report, Stuttgart, January 22, 1848.

it impossible, or wellnigh impossible, to carry out his good intentions. Having himself set an excellent example by declaring an amnesty, he was able to secure the final abandonment of the persecution of the demagogues, and in August, 1842, the sittings of the federal central authority were prorogued—for to abolish this body entirely seemed too rash a step to the Viennese statesmen. The king expressed the hope that the home-coming of the members of the central board would be joyfully acclaimed throughout Germany "as a new and certain sign of a more favourable state of affairs and of the confidence of the governments." His own officials, however, did not share these hopes. After the death of von Mieg, the worthy Bavarian envoy, Privy Councillor von Sydow regretfully admitted that the Bundestag had now become incompetent to fulfil the most modest expectations, and that nothing but a radical change of personnel could bring new life to the assembly.[1] The monstrous futility of Frankfort diplomatic life was driving into the liberal camp such brilliant young men as Adolf von Schack, son of the Mecklenburg federal envoy. The Hofburg, however, regarded this pitiful state of affairs with imperturbable equanimity, and Metternich, to the despair of King Frederick William, thought fit on several occasions to revive his old suggestion that it might be well to replace the permanent Bundestag by a conference of envoys meeting only at intervals.

How remote the Germans still were from a living and instinctive national sentiment was manifested during these very days of patriotic enthusiasm by a preposterous dispute which was fought out on the loudly celebrated green waves of the free German Rhine. Minister du Thil, though in domestic policy he was conservative to the pitch of petrifaction, was none the less the best German among the South German statesmen. In connection with the foundation of the customs union he had shown himself far superior to particularist pettiness, and he did not trouble to conceal his opinion that the military supremacy of the lesser princes was injurious to the common weal. Nevertheless, and this was the curse of the federal constitution, as long as the sovereignty of the minor states existed, he would not abate a tittle of his grand duke's dignity.[2] The vigorous sense of self importance animating Hesse-Darmstadt led to many ludicrous dissensions. Darmstadt

[1] Sydow's Reports, May 7 and June 11, 1842. [2] Du Thil's Sketches.

inaugurated an order of merit in honour of Philip the Magnanimous. But in Cassel the joint tribal ancestor of the Hessian houses was looked upon as an Electoral Hessian national hero, and the arrogance of the younger line was universally condemned. Some years elapsed before passion had sufficiently cooled for Electoral Hessian officials to be granted permission to wear the order. Yet more vigorous were the manifestations of Darmstadt pride when the new Taunus railway was opened, the line running from Frankfort to Biebrich by way of Castel. Since for part of its course the railway passed through Hessian territory, it had been built with du Thil's cooperation. Before long, however, it became apparent that it was interfering with the trade of Mainz. Whilst the shipping traffic on the lower Main, hitherto so lively, began to flag, the Nassau government opened a free port at Biebrich, with the friendly intention of securing for itself in addition the Rhenish traffic of the port of Mainz, and began construction works to divert the navigable channel away from Mainz to the right bank of the Rhine.

Since the Bundestag had entirely renounced its duties in the matter of German navigation, all rights upon the Rhine had become solely dependent upon mutual good faith and upon agreements between the sovereign riverine states. No one had ever dreamed that it would be possible for any German state to arrogate to itself the right to modify the accepted channels of the river. All the fiercer, therefore, was now the anger of the Rhenish Hessians who would suffer from the proposed change. The men of Mainz raged. The Darmstadt officials, they said, had already done harm enough by approving the Taunus railway; now they must at least save the old navigable channel for golden Mainz. Of late, steam navigation on the Rhine had been increasing merrily, fostered as it was by Prussia through the remission of the navigation dues; on the Moselle, too, steamboats were beginning to ply; for every town on the Rhine it was vital to secure a share in the advantages of the new means of transport. The Rhenish nagivation committee of the riverine states, which held its sittings in Mainz, could not settle the difficulty. For years this body had sedulously endeavoured, through negotiations wherein Nassau and Darmstadt were always the most acrimonious disputants, to secure agreement upon a common tariff for the navigation dues, and in this matter the committee

at length proved successful in the year 1845; but it possessed no supreme authority, and could not coerce the sovereign state of Nassau. Mainz, moreover, could not be compensated by the building of a railway on the left bank of the Rhine, for in military circles the timid view was then prevalent that a railway connecting the great Rhenish fortresses would serve only to facilitate the conquest of the country by the French. For many years the little line from Bonn to Cologne remained the only line on the left bank.

Du Thil was gravely embarrassed. However contemptuously the Darmstadt officials might look down on public opinion, they were nevertheless afraid of the liberal Rhenish Hessians' impetuous eloquence, for this eloquence often proved decisive in the diet. The Hessian minister first endeavoured by urgent representations and complaints to induce the Nassau government to restore the old navigable channel. Receiving nothing but scornful replies, he finally determined to have recourse to club law, and prepared a coup de main with the eager assistance of the Rhenish Hessians. During the night of February 28, 1841, a train of one hundred and three heavily laden barges passed down stream through the opened boat bridge at Mainz. The boatmen informed the authorities of the fortress that they were conveying stone to Cologne to be used in building the cathedral, and as they passed through the bridge they sang, "they shall not, shall not have it"—the "they" of course referring not to the French but to the Nassauers. Close to the port of Biebrich the progress of the fleet was suddenly stayed; several of the boats were scuttled and sank with their loads; the others discharged their cargoes in the Rhine; workmen set to their task under the protection of an officer and twenty gendarmes; and within a few hours the right arm of the Rhine was barred by a strong stone dam extending from the island of Petersau to the Biebrich shore.[1]

High was the glee with which next morning the building of this remarkable dam was acclaimed by the Rhenish Hessians. Du Thil had his whole country behind him, and even when quite advanced in years he continued to plume himself upon this heroic deed of the Darmstadters.[2] Similar neighbourly good offices had been common enough on the Rhine in the days of the Holy Empire. How often in those times had the peasants of Electoral Cologne or of Berg been incited by their

[1] Sydow's Report, March 4, 1841.

[2] Du Thil's Sketches.

officials to sally forth by night and destroy the fascines on the opposite bank. The Nassauers, however, vomited abuse at "our neighbours at the other end of the new stone dam"; the foreign diplomats of the Bundestag made merry; all the jesters of jovial Rhineland cracked jokes about "the new Wasungen war." A song widely current in the Frankfort region described the calculous troubles of poor old Rhine with a cynical wit worthy of the topic, concluding with the consolatory assurance that the Germanic Federation would relieve father Rhine's troubles—in seventy years.[1] But the breach of the peace was too flagrant. Even the patient government in Mainz found it necessary to lodge a complaint because its dignity had been outraged, and also because the cyclopean Hessian dam had been built within the precincts of the fortifications.[2] The federal envoys vied one with another in the endeavour to settle the vexatious dispute. Count Walderndorff and du Thil, the ministers of the two embroiled powers, met at Count Münch's hospitable board.[3] The Hessian promised to have the stone dam destroyed sufficiently to enable two steamships to pass through abreast, but was all the more insistent that the old navigable channel should be restored. Thereupon the quarrel flamed up anew, and not until August, 1843, after the lapse of two and a half years, did the Federation succeed in effecting a compromise by which the Hessians' wishes were substantially realised.[4] It was du Thil's agreeable experience that under the rule of the Bundestag self-help was the surest means for reaching the goal.

§ 3. PEACEFUL SOLUTION. THE STRAITS CONVENTION.

The European crisis, meanwhile, amid manifold vacillations, was approaching its inevitable peaceful solution. With the possible exception of Russia, not one of the great powers seriously desired a general war, for they were held in check by mutual mistrust. On September 17th, therefore, in a

[1] Open Despatch to our Neighbours at the other End of the New Stone Dam. By a Biebricher, printed for private circulation, Wiesbaden, 1841. Broadsheet: Selbst der so lange die Franzosen, etc.—very spicy, but quite unprintable.

[2] Report from the Austrian governor, General Count Leiningen to the presidential envoy, Mainz, March 2, 1841.

[3] Sydow's Reports, April 1 and 23, 1841.

[4] Dönhoff's Reports, August 16, 1842, and August 3, 1843.

supplementary protocol to the July treaty, the four powers made a solemn declaration to the Turkish envoy that they had no desire to secure in the east either special advantages or enlargements of territory.[1] Thiers, however, was in a most difficult position. He had no bold design to win for France a dominant position in Africa, his thoughts being rather directed towards continental affairs. But it was hardly possible for a man of his record to accept with equanimity the public humiliation of France, and he was greatly incensed by the hypocritical language used in the newspaper press and in the memorials of the four powers. "You accuse us," he said to Apponyi, "of having fostered revolt by favouring Mehemet Ali, when you yourselves are sending agents into Syria to stir up the tribes to rebel against their pasha!"[2] But how was he to venture the unequal struggle? His cautious enquiries whether Prussia and the Germanic Federation would not remain neutral met with a sharp repulse.[3] The Turin court, which was at first inclined towards a neutral attitude, was informed by Metternich that if war took place at all it must involve the entire world.[4] Were the sword once drawn, France would have to face the closed phalanx of legitimist Europe. Thiers hesitated long, and in the interim prepared vigorously for war; as late as the end of September his mind was still open.[5] The press once more displayed its power for evil in the new France, and Thiers was less able than most men to withstand its savage impulsion, seeing that the press had been the main foundation of his own political career. In the *Constitutionnel*, his nearest friends used menacing language, writing: "We raised him to power, and we will overthrow him should he sacrifice France. To a government, disgrace is more dangerous than war."

News now came to hand that the Anglo-Austrian fleet had begun an attack upon the Syrian seaports and that the Egyptians' powers of resistance had proved far weaker than Paris had hoped. The minister's hot Provençal blood began to boil, and he fiercely exclaimed that it was better to drown in the Rhine than in the kennel. In the ministerial council

[1] Metternich to Neumann, October 5; Liebermann's Report, October 3, 1840.
[2] Werther, junior, Report from Paris, September 13, 1840.
[3] Werther, junior, Report from Paris, October 5, 1840.
[4] Metternich to Schwarzenberg in Turin, October 11; to Trauttmansdorff, October 13, 1840.
[5] Werther, junior, Report from Paris, September 30, 1840.

he demanded that a fleet should instantly be sent to protect Alexandria, but was unable to get his own way;[1] while in his despatches he talked as if he proposed to reopen the war of the revolutionary propaganda. The league of the four powers, he insisted, "resembles only too closely those coalitions which during the last fifty years have drenched Europe with blood"; and the new league, he said, had already broken up the beneficent league of the western powers. "Ask the nations from Cadiz to the banks of the Oder and the Elbe! Ask them and they will tell you that for a decade this league has maintained peace and independence for the states without endangering the freedom of the peoples."[2] But he was still careful to avoid any gross infringement of diplomatic formalities. When Attwood the Chartist came to Paris with a fraternal delegation from British radicals, Thiers refused to receive him, for the English envoy told the minister that this would be taken amiss in London.[3] But when the chambers reassembled, Thiers counselled the king to take a firm stand and to declare in the speech from the throne that he would not sacrifice to peace the sacred treasure of national independence and honour entrusted to him by the revolution.

Louis Philippe had merely been waiting for this blunder to rid himself of the detested minister, and he refused his assent to the dangerous menace. Thiers thereupon resigned, and on October 29th Guizot formed a new cabinet with the express intention of effecting a reconciliation with the four powers.[4] Throughout this period the bourgeois king had made no secret of his pacific intentions, and as early as September had assured the Prussian envoy that he looked upon the alarm of war as a means for securing the fortification of Paris, and the long needed augmentation of the army. The "embastillement de Paris," as the radicals mockingly termed it, had a quarter of a century earlier been recommended to the Bourbons by Emperor Francis, but Louis XVIII had refused to entertain the idea on the ground that he was too well assured of the loyalty of the French. The old projects were now

[1] Werther, junior, Reports from Paris, October 6 and 11, 1840.
[2] Thiers to Guizot, October 3; to Bresson, October 9, 1840.
[3] Werther, junior, Report from Paris, October 17, 1840.
[4] H. Wagener's contention (The Policy of Frederick William IV, p. 28) that the king of Prussia contributed to the peaceful turn in French policy by sending General Dohna to Paris, is based upon a confusion of dates. Count Dohna was not in Paris at all in 1840, but visited that city in 1837 to attend the manœuvres.

revived, for Louis Philippe wished to protect himself against a street rising in Paris, whilst Thiers, more far-seeing, recognised that in the event of war the fortified capital could do much for the defence of this centralised land.[1] The popular name of Thiers eventually secured support from the liberal press for a scheme which had at first been little liked, and once this end had been attained the king could light-heartedly witness the fall of the inconvenient minister. The new peace ministry was peculiarly his work, and after his old manner he now endeavoured to induce the four powers to yield a few points by exhibiting to them the spectre of revolution. "Be under no illusions," he wrote, "as to what will happen should the present cabinet fall; there will then be war at all hazards, followed by a perfect 1793."[2]

His son-in-law King Leopold earnestly endeavoured to promote peace. From the first the king of the Belgians had regarded the July treaty as a mistake, and had at once written warningly to Metternich: "Bethink yourself what combustible material you have placed in the hands of Lord Ponsonby, Napier, and others of that kidney." His own dominion rested upon the friendship of the western powers, and since he shrewdly recognised that on this occasion the disturbance of the peace emanated from England and Russia, he hastened in much concern to Windsor to warn his royal niece against this "monstrous" war, simultaneously endeavouring through Bülow (with whom his relations had long been intimate) to influence Palmerston.[3] As soon as the new cabinet had been formed in Paris, he strongly urged Bülow (November 3rd) that it was incumbent upon the four powers to build a golden bridge for the French court. "If we allow the present ministry to fall, we shall have Thiers in the ministry as chief of the entire left; the unhappy king will then have to submit, and war and all kinds of disaster will inevitably ensue." Yet more pressingly did he write four days later. "We may naturally assume that we have to do with Downing Street and not with Bedlam. Your hand was one of those which signed this wonderful treaty, and you therefore must be the man to free us from its blessings, which

[1] Werther, junior, Reports from Paris, September 16 and 30, 1840.

[2] King Louis Philippe to King Leopold, November 5, 1840.

[3] King Leopold to Metternich, communicated in Maltzan's Report of August 21, 1840; Bülow's Report, August 21, 1840.

have overwhelmed us as if we had been struck down with apoplexy. Should the present ministry, which is well-disposed, be overthrown in Paris, I shall certainly arm for my defence, and that will encourage Germany to take like measures." [1]

It was inevitable that these busy intrigues on the part of the cunning Coburg ruler should be highly suspect to the four powers, for he was plainly nothing more than his father-in-law's mouthpiece. Since in so many treaties, and quite recently in the treaty of April 19, 1839, they had stipulated for the complete neutrality of Belgium, they had all set out from the preconception that France alone could threaten the independence of the young state. They now learned how slender was the foundation upon which all such paper promises had been erected. They could not endure that this neutral land should arrogantly pose as a European power, and they therefore had extremely definite communications conveyed to Brussels that in the existing posture of affairs the armed neutrality of Belgium would be regarded as tantamount to adhesion to France and as a breach of all the European treaties.[2]

These manifold vicissitudes did not disturb the king of Prussia in his almost unconditionally peaceful designs. With a cordiality which went far in advance of his true sentiments he gave the bourgeois king repeated assurances of his personal respect. He wished to transfer the London conference to Vienna, where France could be asked to participate, and where there would be no occasion to dread Palmerston's domineering ways. Not succeeding in this design, he had the Russian court informed that Brunnow's unconciliatory attitude caused him profound personal distress.[3] Werther wrote yet more plainly to St. Petersburg. Russia, he said, was interpreting the July treaty in a restricted and provocative sense which Austria and Prussia could not approve; it had never occurred to them that France was to be permanently excluded from the oriental negotiations. Russia was surrounded by deserts and by peaceful neighbours, and could therefore afford herself the satisfaction of destroying the phantasm of the league of the western powers, a league which had in fact ceased to

[1] King Leopold to Bülow, November 3 and 7, 1840.

[2] Schleinitz' Report, London, September 18; Liebermann's Report, St. Petersburg, September 23, 1840.

[3] King Frederick William to Minister Werther, August 26 and October 7, 1840.

exist. Prussia, on the other hand, though firmly resolved, should war be forced upon her, to defend herself with the utmost energy, could not fail to desire peace, seeing that in view of the weakness of Austria and of the petty states "the whole burden of a German war would fall upon Prussia. Such help as Russia could give us would, as experience has shown, be tardy, incomplete, and attended by a thousand inconveniences." Upon no account would Prussia participate in the destruction of Mehemet Ali; her aim must be to maintain the Osmanli empire with the cooperation of France.[1] No less conciliatory were the utterances of Metternich, although he expressed in strong terms his detestation for "the abject personality of Thiers."[2] In lengthy and erudite despatches he endeavoured to indicate to the powers how France could be led back into the European concert.

For a considerable period the court of St. Petersburg stubbornly and arrogantly opposed this conciliatory policy of the German powers. Nicholas made no secret of his malicious delight concerning the London treaty. He hoped to provide for the French usurper, if not a defeat on the battlefield, at least a grave public humiliation. Upon various pretexts, Brunnow rejected all proposals for compromise.[3] In any case, contended the czar, France must make the first advances: "If the initiative is not easy for the French cabinet, it is far more difficult for us, and nothing whatever will induce us to undertake it."[4] Nesselrode wrote to the German courts to the effect that any suggestion of compromise could serve only to increase French presumption; now was the time "to give the French nation a lesson which will prove no less salutary to France than advantageous to ourselves"; in view of the war menaces uttered by the French, much that the powers might formerly have accepted had become impossible.[5] The language of the British cabinet was scarcely less challenging at times. Though Palmerston, like the other statesmen, had at the outset discountenanced the notion of deposing Mehemet

[1] Werther, Privy Instruction to Liebermann, October 31; Report to the king, November 9; Instructions to Bülow, November 9 and 11, 1840.

[2] Metternich to Werther, September 3, 1840.

[3] Liebermann's Report, October 3; Schleinitz' Reports, London, October 5 and 27; Bülow's Report, October 24, 1840.

[4] Liebermann's Report, October 17, 1840.

[5] Nesselrode to Tatishcheff in Vienna, October 5 (old style); Nesselrode to Mezendorff in Berlin, October 12, 25, and 31 (old style), 1840.

Ali, in the end he was not uninfluenced by the reports of Ponsonby, who with bluster and invective did his utmost to outbid the fanatical hatred of the Porte. The very "Lord Firebrand" who in Europe delighted to favour every capricious uprising, was not ashamed to apply to the east the doctrines of rigid legitimism, although these doctrines had no bearings whatever upon the eastern situation; and he now agreed with Ponsonby in holding that it was impossible to deny to the sultan a right that must be conceded to every sovereign, the right to depose a rebellious viceroy. Since the Prussian government continued to disapprove of the sultan's coup d'état, Palmerston declared with his habitual discourtesy that Prussia had "not taken the trouble to look closely into this matter and its consequences.[1] The foreign minister did not, indeed, wish to go the length of destroying Mehemet Ali, desiring rather that the rebel pasha should speedily submit himself to his lord paramount, that he might then be pardoned by the sultan and thereupon be reenfeoffed with hereditary dominion over Egypt.[2]

The differences between the four powers were waxing serious when the issue was settled by events in the eastern theatre of war. The allied fleets, with a handful of Turkish troops on board, and with some aid from English gold, took the Syrian ports of Jebeil, Beirut, and Saida. On November 2nd, after a brief bombardment, the banner of the Grand Seignior was planted beside those of Austria and England upon the ramparts of the irreducible fortress of Acre. The young Archduke Frederick, son of the victor of Aspern, distinguished himself in these actions, and loud were the rejoicings in Vienna when the world was now for the first time informed of a deed-at-arms accomplished by the Austrian fleet. In the interior of Syria, meanwhile, a rebellion had broken out, and the allies made no difficulty about supplying the insurgents with arms. Thus simultaneously threatened by land and sea, Ibrahim pasha resolved to withdraw the shattered remnants of his army to Egypt. His father's dominion over Syria had been destroyed. Commodore Napier, the most celebrated British naval commander of the day, having played a brilliant part in Syria, now moved his squadron upon Alexandria, and

[1] Ponsonby to Palmerston, September 10; William Russell to Werther, October 20, 1840.

[2] Palmerston, Instruction to Ponsonby, October 15, 1840.

there on November 27th signed a treaty with the alarmed pasha. Mehemet Ali promised to submit to the sultan's authority and to restore the Turkish vessels he had seized; in return, with the approval of the four powers, he was to regain hereditary dominion over Egypt as vassal of the Grand Seignior.

The valiant commodore's high-handed proceeding aroused general amazement at the courts. Metternich wrote indignantly: "This is utter madness. Napier has shown that he is an adept window breaker, and he is no less clever as a reason breaker." [1] Palmerston, however, whose arrogance had been greatly exalted by the Syrian successes, once more feigned legitimist scruples. "It is incompatible with the principles of the British government," he wrote unctuously, "formally to guarantee to a subject a political authority which had been entrusted to him by his sovereign." [2] On calm reconsideration it had perforce to be generally admitted that Napier's blunt seaman's understanding had discovered a solution which harmonised with the upshot of the brief campaign and with the new relationships of power. As early as November 17th, before the treaty of Alexandria, Bülow, the indefatigable mediator, had been able at the London conference to secure an agreement that the pasha would be guaranteed hereditary dominion in Egypt. Were a truce to be arranged in the east upon such conditions France could hardly continue to withhold her approval, seeing that in any case Syria was now lost to Mehemet Ali. The understanding between all the European powers which Berlin so ardently desired would, it seemed, in that event be secured almost spontaneously.[3]

Nevertheless the position of Guizot and his peace cabinet long remained embarrassing. For months the French nation had been in a convulsive state of warlike excitement. Clamorous exultations greeted the tidings from Algiers that at Masagran a great victory had been won over the hordes of Abd-el-Kader. When, shortly afterwards, it was learned that the report was a pure invention, not a single Parisian newspaper ventured to publish a contradiction, and henceforward it remained the duty of every Frenchman to believe in the fabled

[1] Il est à la fois un brise-raison. Metternich to Esterhazy, September 21, 1840.

[2] Palmerston to the lords of the admiralty, December 15; Werther's Instruction to Arnim, November 17; Werther's Instruction to Bülow, November 19, 1840.

[3] Bülow's Report, November 17; Arnim's Report, November 22, 1840.

deed of valour, whose glories were immortalised in all the towns of France by the new rues de Masagran. Such being the mood of the nation, the report of the truly modest Syrian victories of the allies could not fail to give rise to yet further embitterment. More especially did the easy conquest of Acre, the city which had once withstood the onslaughts of a Bonaparte, appear to the Parisian boulevardiers in the light of a personal affront. Vociferous demands for war continued throughout the winter, making matters ever more difficult for the government. Public opinion was not even appeased when Louis Philippe had the remains of Napoleon brought back to Paris, and when in the ostentatious funeral procession the worn uniforms of imperial days once more came to light. Guizot, in blind complacency, regarded this as mere play-acting, but Prince Louis Napoleon, who at Ham was expiating his second attempt at a rising, perceived with premonitions of victory that the Napoleonic legend was regaining its power over French hearts. In so proud a nation, the comparison between the great past and the petty present could not fail to arouse painful feelings. But the absolute impossibility of winning back the lost province of Syria was now plain to all men's sight, and sooner or later France would inevitably have to accept accomplished facts.

At the London conference, however, great difficulties still remained to be overcome. With the assistance of Neumann, the Austrian, Bülow was doing his best to untie the knots he had helped to fasten. Palmerston hesitated, for he had involved himself deeply in the dispute, and the Porte, urged on continually by Ponsonby's brutal menaces, remained unwilling for a considerable time to make the slightest concession to the Egyptian rebels.[1] Russia was the first to come over to the conciliatory views of the two German courts. Already, in December, Nesselrode wrote to Paris with unwonted friendliness, confiding to Guizot's "courageous frankness" that not one of the four powers desired to exclude France from the general understanding.[2] Weary of the eternal procrastination of the British government, Bülow at length declared, jointly with the Austrian, that the German powers would be forced to withdraw their support from the Divan.[3] The

[1] Report from the Austrian internuncio, December 21, 1840; Werther's Instruction to Maltzan, January 21, 1841.

[2] Nesselrode's Instruction to Pahlen, November 25/December 7, 1840.

[3] Bülow's Report, January 26, 1841.

threat proved effective. Only four days later (January 30, 1841) the envoys of the four powers sent a joint note to Shekib effendi insisting that the sultan must confirm the pasha in his hereditary dominion over Eygpt and thus bring the quarrel to a close.[1]

"Our chief business is thus nearly finished," wrote Palmerston in a tone of relief; "but it still remains for us to wage war against the armed peace."[2] This care too, however, was soon to be spared the four powers. King Leopold, who revisited London in February, did his utmost to build a golden bridge for the French. Since Guizot had learned meanwhile that the chambers would approve the fortification of Paris, he could unhesitatingly give his assent to the protocol which was agreed between the four powers on March 5th, leaving to the pasha hereditary dominion over Egypt and a life-long tenure of Acre.[3] If only the powers could come to terms with France for a treaty dealing with the eastern question, the European harmony would be formally restored. Such an agreement could not be expected to involve any strikingly new elements, for although with the solemnity of augurs all the statesmen of the day insisted that the inviolability of Turkey was "a political axiom," neither France nor Russia would undertake a formal guarantee for the integrity of the Ottoman realm.[4] With naïve insolence which recalled the most odious traditions of Muscovite policy, Brunnow observed that such guarantees were useless—that this had been proved in the days of the partition of Poland.[5] The so-called straits convention, signed by the four powers and Turkey on July 15, 1841, and immediately afterwards accepted by France, therefore contained, in addition to the stipulations about Mehemet Ali, nothing more than the pledge which the court of St. Petersburg had given at the outset of the imbroglio, namely, that both straits, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, were henceforward in peace time to be closed to the warships of all nations. Thus was the dreaded treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi sacrificed shortly before its expiry, and great was the pride with which the Russian diplomatists trumpeted this

[1] Note from the four powers to Shekib effendi, January 30, 1841.

[2] Palmerston to Bülow, February 1, 1841.

[3] Protocol of the four powers, March 5; Guizot's Instruction to Humann in Berlin, March 20, 1841.

[4] Nesselrode to Meyendorff, December 10 (old style), 1840.

[5] Bülow's Report, February 23, 1841.

new indication of the magnanimous and conciliatory spirit of their czar.

Such was the undignified termination of the great diplomatic struggle, the most wearisome which Europe had known since the Belgian dispute. The sultan alone could congratulate himself upon the upshot of the affair. The four powers had saved him from the consequences of a shameful defeat, and he could, now hope, unmolested by a vigorous mayor of the palace, to continue for a considerable period his life of futile slumber. Even the rebel's hereditary dominion on the Nile could in the last resort be suffered. To the Osmanlis it did not seem an unalterable fact, for the line of Mehemet Ali was not sacred, and the east hardly recognises a definite right of succession to the throne. The decay of the sultan's realm had, indeed, been so plainly manifested, that H. von Moltke, who had sacrificed so much fine energy to the Turks, now bluntly declared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* that a Christian Byzantine realm must some day take over the heritage of the Bosphorus. For the time being, however, the crescent was firmly reestablished upon the dome of St. Sophia, and in view of the mutual jealousies of the Franks it seemed extremely doubtful whether the cross would ever again surmount the fane of Justinian. Moreover, for the first time Turkey had participated in a European conference as a treaty-making power, and had thus, chiefly through England's fault, acquired in the society of nations of the west a position to which she was nowise entitled; for the European law of nations is founded upon the Christian idea of the brotherhood of the peoples, whereas the Koran recognises only two realms on earth, the realm of Islam and the realm of war, and it is therefore impossible for a Mohammedan state to give an honest endorsement to the fundamental ideas of equality and mutuality established among the powers by the law of nations. It was inevitable that the oft-promised equal rights of the rayah peoples should remain an empty word,—for the sway of the faithful over the infidel constituted the very essence of this immutable theocratic organisation, and not a single Christian was as yet to be found in the Turkish army, which existed for the express purpose of subjugating Christians. To accept such a state into the community of the Christian nations was a detestable incongruity. By the enlightened liberal world, which is not fond of recalling the Christian basis of our

civilisation, it was, however, acclaimed as a splendid sign of progress. For practical purposes it proved tolerable, for the Porte, aware of its own weakness, submitted to the leadership now of one, now of several, of the Christian powers.

The view taken in St. Petersburg of the London treaties was expressed by Nesselrode in 1850. The czar's jubilee was celebrated in that year, and the minister took occasion to send in a report upon the foreign policy of the last quarter of a century. Speaking with a frankness which was possible in this private document, and displaying an almost Mongolian vaingloriousness, he explained that by the July revolution there had been first impressed upon the emperor's regime "the true character, the character which would distinguish it in the future." Since then, Nicholas had "by the world at large been recognised as the embodiment of the monarchical idea, the chief support of the principles of order, the disinterested defender of the European balance of power." Though often hampered by the "timidity" of his German allies, he had at length in 1841 been successful in dissolving the hostile and sinister Anglo-French alliance. Writing of Russia's eastern policy, Nesselrode declared in plain terms: "Whilst your majesty carefully avoided giving any guarantee for the territorial integrity of a decaying state, lest you should shackle in advance the future of Russia, you were ever guided by the principle of maintaining for the time being the inviolability of the Ottoman possessions, for the neighbourhood of this state in the condition of comparative inferiority to which our earlier conquests have reduced it is in existing circumstances exceedingly favourable to our political and commercial interests. Singular have been the vicissitudes which fortune has brought to pass in our mutual relationships. The power which was formally regarded as Turkey's natural enemy has now become her firmest prop and her most trusty ally." In accordance with this policy, Russia had twice saved the sultan from the Egyptian rebel. "The second of these crises, less brilliant, perhaps, furnished more solid results. . . . The treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi, against which France and England had fruitlessly protested, was ostensibly annulled, but was in reality perpetuated in another form. The new treaty by which it was replaced, one recognised by all the powers, forbade warships to pass the Dardanelles, and secured us henceforward against any attack from the sea." [1]

[1] Nesselrode, Memorial concerning foreign policy from the years 1825 to 1850 St. Petersburg, November 20 (old style), 1850. See Appendix XXXII.

Russia's successes had been less striking than this boastful memorial contended. It was true that the czar could plume himself upon having sown dissension for a time between the members of the detested western league, but their severance was by no means irrevocable. It was true that by the straits convention the court of St. Petersburg had sacrificed little or nothing, seeing that the Black Sea was now almost as much a Russian possession as a century earlier it had been Turkish. Nevertheless, Russia's position at Pera had been shaken, for the Divan now had more confidence in the British, who were wholeheartedly his friends, than in the Russian patron whose intentions, all self-praise notwithstanding, remained suspect. How insecure, too, was the newly established friendly understanding between Russia and England. Nicholas overwhelmed the English envoy with courtesies, and sedulously displayed everywhere his preference for British ways.[1] But these Gottorp antics could not do away with the profound opposition between the two powers which were struggling for the hegemony of Asia. This became apparent to Brunnow when during the London conference he sounded Wellington as to whether England and Russia could not come to an agreement regarding their respective spheres of influence in Asia. Neither Palmerston nor the iron duke would enter into any negotiations upon this matter, for at the moment England was pressing victoriously forward in various parts of Asia, in Syria, in Afghanistan, and in China, whereas the Russians had just been unsuccessful in a campaign against Khiva. Moreover, it was not the custom of the English to tie their hands in advance.[2] Thus the czar was estranged from France, was but loosly united with England and the Porte, was looked upon with suspicion by the Hofburg, and could count even upon Prussia's friendship with less certainty than of yore.

Nor could England congratulate herself upon an unqualified triumph. It was true that her sway in the Mediterranean had been secured afresh, but Palmerston's offensive behaviour had incensed the French to such a degree that Louis Philippe regarded the British foreign minister as the primary cause of the French misadventure, whilst even in the dispassionate heart of Guizot there remained a feeling of rancour. Reprisals might speedily ensue, and though the league of the western

[1] Liebermann's Reports, September 3, 1841, and subsequent dates.
[2] Bülow's Report, November 27, 1840.

powers, which even the Tories regarded as indispensable, had been reestablished, it stood upon a very precarious footing. As far as the internal tranquillity of France was concerned, the effect of the eastern complications was disastrous. Despite all that might be alleged in excuse, after such loud and persistent threats of war the pliability of Louis Philippe (in a matter wherein, after all, right was largely on his side) could not but seem to involve the humiliation of France. Notwithstanding their pacific disposition, the Germans were not wholly able to keep their wit in leash, and when Thiers visited Berlin shortly after the signing of the straits convention, the students assembled beneath his windows to sing, "they shall not, shall not have it!" It was impossible that an ambitious nation, ever accustomed to keep a suspicious eye upon foreign policy, should forgive a reverse of this nature. Guizot's conduct had been shrewd and reasonable, for he had succeeded in avoiding a hopeless struggle; but moderation is not always the statesman's highest virtue, nor can a political leader always afford to despise the prejudices of his fellow countrymen. In the case of many previous unpopular cabinets a mocking sense had for a time been attached to the name of "ministry for foreign affairs," but whereas on former occasions the nickname had speedily been forgotten, it clung to the government of Guizot, for on this occasion there was some justification for the taunt. Through the king's favour and with the aid of official means for the control of the elections, the peace ministry was able to maintain itself in power for many years, but was never liked by the nation. The French now knew that the Orleans ruler cared little for the honour of the country, and this stigma was one which an illegitimist dynasty was ill able to endure. The straits convention was a nail in the coffin of the July monarchy.

Nor, in this diplomatic game, were any laurels gained by the well-meaning policy of Prussia. Frederick William had heedlessly allowed Palmerston and Bülow to entangle him in a quarrel which was remote from the interests of his state; he had then marched in the Anglo-Prussian ranks until he was at length constrained, having recourse to various and far from commendable expedients, to save himself from the false position in which his own fault had placed him. Though he had formerly detested the July monarchy, he had now come to esteem it as a last bulwark of civil order, and he honestly

desired that it should be maintained; nevertheless, by the July treaty, he helped to shake the foundations of this monarchy, and to pave the way for a new French revolution from which the sparks might readily be scattered across Germany. When the Rhine frontier was threatened, he honourably fulfilled his duty to the fatherland, but his magnanimous federal policy was obscure in its aims. Where was that Germanic Federation which in the despatches of the Hofburg was extolled as the leading European power? It had not even a single representative at the London conference. To the shame of the fantasy-mongers it had been made plain that, apart from Austria and Prussia, a Germany did not exist for Europe. Frederick William's German policy counted upon factors which were non-existent. To crown all, came the lamentable weakness of senile Austria, a weakness which could no longer be cloaked by Metternich's pretentious memorials.

After the great festival of reconciliation of the straits convention the cleavage in Europe was profounder than ever. Not one of the old alliances now possessed a firm foundation, and no new alliances had been formed. The state system of the Vienna treaties was drifting rudderless towards a terrible disaster from which nothing could save it unless at the eleventh hour a man of genius, a man firm of will, could be found able to unite the dispersed forces of central Europe and to constitute of them a compact power.

§ 4. THE BISHOPRIC OF JERUSALEM. PRUSSIA AND ENGLAND.

King Frederick William would hardly have drawn so near to the dangers of a general war had not religious enthusiasm cooperated in his resolves. In declaring himself in favour of the inviolability of the Turkish dominions, he believed himself, strangely enough, to be nowise unfaithful to the philhellenist sentiments of his youth. The dictatorial intervention of the European powers in the internal affairs of the east seemed to him like the renewal of the crusades, like a victory of the cross over the crescent; and from the first he expressed the expectation that this opportunity would be utilised to ensure for all the Christian churches a home upon the holy hill of Zion. Jerusalem was the most sacred site in Christendom, though it was also the site where the religious

hatred of ecclesiastical parties manifested itself most rudely; during every great festival of the church it was necessary at the chapel of the holy sepulchre for the Mohammedan kavasses, armed with staves and sabres, to keep the peace between the turbulent monks of the Latin and the Orthodox faiths. Under the strict rule of Mehemet Ali order had been tolerably well preserved, and he had even permitted the Protestant missions to the Jews to begin activities in the promised land. But upon the reestablishment of the sway of the Porte by the might of Christian arms there ensued the humiliating experience that the situation of the Christians had changed for the worse.

The crude Turkish law would recognise those churches only which possessed a visible supreme head, and the Protestants therefore were without the pale of the law. Frederick William, consequently, in a memorial drafted for him by Radowitz, demanded that three residents should be appointed at Jerusalem, whose function it would be, with the aid of a joint garrison furnished by the great powers, to protect the rights of the three leading churches of Europe. The aims of the memorial were purely religious. The king had not the remotest thought of inaugurating a German-Christian principality of Palestine, such as H. von Moltke then considered possible. Russia, however, was by no means inclined to share with other churches the privileges which since ancient days the Orthodox had enjoyed in Asia Minor. Nesselrode conveyed a friendly warning against an undertaking which threatened to infringe the sovereignty of the Porte; both he and Orloff objected that the creation of a religious Cracow in Jerusalem could serve only to increase the sultan's embarrassments. Metternich, too, professed alarm at the political dangers that would be entailed by the founding of a religious republic of such a character; but the real trouble was that the court of Vienna, like that of St. Petersburg, looked suspiciously at anything which might tend to strengthen Protestantism. France alone seemed favourable to the Prussian proposals.[1]

Frederick William had therefore to abandon a portion of his plans, and must perforce content himself with securing for the Protestant church in Jerusalem equal rights with those enjoyed by the Latins, the Greeks, and the Armenians. Since

[1] Nesselrode, Instruction to Meyendorff, March 12; Liebermann's Report, February 9; Arnim's Report from Paris, February 12, 1841.

the church of England had already secured a site upon Mount Zion and had formed a congregation, the king wished that an Anglican bishop should assume the direction of Protestant religious life, and should be recognised as visible head by the German Protestants who were scattered throughout Palestine. Such an arrangement seemed to him quite compatible with Protestant freedom, for he regarded bishops consecrated by the laying on of hands as the rightful successors of the apostles, and was prepared to provide half the costs of endowing this Anglican bishopric, a sum of £15,000, if only the English church would accord a "sisterly position" to the Prussian.

In the summer of 1841, when the oriental complications were drawing to a close, Bunsen was despatched to London, and the hopes of the diplomatist theologian now rose even higher than they had done in former years on the Capitol. In imagination he saw the ark of the church already grounded on Ararat; he saw Christianity reunited in a Catholic apostolate; he saw the Jewish people won over in its original home to the Christian faith, furnishing in this way the first stage for the reestablishment of Israel—and all these advantages were to be secured by the youthful energy of the Protestant church, seeing that, as Bunsen declared with his habitual assurance, "the death of the two old churches" was "nowhere more apparent than in the promised land." Even the king had thought it expedient to damp these extravagant hopes a trifle. For the present, said Frederick William, it would suffice if the Protestants were to make front against the Turks under a visible supreme head, if Protestant Germans could have a common religious meeting place in the east, if this Protestant church might perhaps constitute a centre for the Jewish converts. At the outset, however, Palmerston received Bunsen's proposals coldly. As a true Briton he suspected some malicious hidden design when Irus thus suddenly came offering gifts to Crœsus—although the king's national ambition was as weak as his religious ambition was strong. All that Frederick William had at heart in this matter was the position of the Protestant community as a whole, and he asked no exclusive privileges for the Prussian national church. He was willing to put up with the fact that the Anglican church would not recognise the clergy ordained in Prussia, whereas the Prussian church unhesitatingly accepted Anglican ordination as valid. All that he asked was that as co-founder he should alternatively with

the queen of England have the right of nominating the bishop of Jerusalem.

Not even the archbishop of Canterbury, who had at first spoken with pharisaic arrogance of "the less complete institutions" of continental Protestantism, could refuse so modest a sisterly position to the German Evangelical church. After all, two Germans, Nicolaysen and Pieritz, had been the pioneers of the Jewish mission in Palestine, and German missionaries were active throughout Asia Minor. By the favour of fortune, Pusey, Newman, and all the crypto-catholic fanatics among the high Anglicans, were fiercely opposed to the king's plans, and it was precisely the wrath of the detested Puseyite party which inclined public opinion to regard with somewhat less suspicion a friendly approximation to infidel Germany.

In November, 1841, the first Protestant bishop of Jerusalem was consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. He was a Breslau Jew, who had chosen Alexander for his baptismal name, and he worthily fulfilled his difficult function. The sermon on the occasion of the consecration referred to the episcopal see on Zion as the first-fruits of the union of all Protestants. Thus did Prussia provide for the new Anglican bishopric the bishops as well as one half of the costs of maintenance. Bunsen was in the seventh heaven of delight. Having persuaded the British to accept the Prussian gift, he believed he had achieved another great diplomatic victory, and listened with rapture when his devout friend Lord Ashley extolled Prussia's Christian sovereign as "the best and most glorious king of this world." It gave him a certain malicious pleasure that the other great powers should all look askance at the Protestant bishopric.[1] Since the Dardanelles treaty, Russia and France had again been vying each with the other for England's favour, and were naturally unwilling to be outbid by Prussia. Metternich, on the other hand, feared that the friendship between the two Protestant powers might entail vague dangers for the Catholic church, and Neumann, his trusty henchman in London, had anxiously declared that Bunsen was on the way to establish a new Schmalkaldian league.

Even the German Protestants were suspicious. Vainly did General Gerlach endeavour in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg and Hengstenberg in the *Kirchenzeitung* endeavour to justify

[1] Bunsen's Reports, January 6, 1842, and subsequent dates.

the work of their royal patron.[1] People were positively alarmed by the solemn booklet *The Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem*, produced by Bunsen in collaboration with young Abeken, another theologically inclined diplomat, wherein the future of Christianised Palestine was discussed with an assurance which suggested that there could never be any change in the centres of historical interest. The liberal world looked with disfavour upon religious enterprises. Laughing at the Berliners' "diplomatist romanticism," it mockingly enquired why this king, who showed remarkably little affection for his Prussian Jews, should care so tenderly for the chosen people in its primal home. Moreover, even "persons of thoroughly sound views" in Prussia and South Germany found (so General Thile reported) the subordination of German congregations to an Anglican bishop extremely distasteful. Rumours had long been current that the king had Catholic leanings, and it was considered that the new move gave strong confirmation. When Bishop Alexander proposed to celebrate the first anniversary of his entry into Jerusalem by a thanksgiving service, and the king issued a suggestion to the congregations of his territorial church that "in all freedom" they should cooperate, there were but few places in which the suggestion met with cordial response.[2] Since the Evangelical church is mainly sustained by the spoken word, it leaves great scope, often excessive scope, for the personality of the preacher, and consequently for the peculiarities that may achieve popularity, and in the dry, routinist addresses of the Anglicans, the Germans felt the lack of the cultivated homiletic art of their native preachers. The dominant opinion of the territorial church was voiced by two rigidly orthodox theologians, Schneckenburger and Hundeshagen, in an impassioned writing entitled *The Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of St. James*. It was unworthy, they said, that Germany's Protestantism should assume a position inferior to that of the younger sister church. Was Germany's simple sincerity in any way less Christian than the sanctimonious self-complacency of that state church which Milton had long ago compared with Diana of the Ephesians?

The king did not allow any such protests to perturb him, and after some years he was able to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing that his pious foundation was in a thriving condition,

[1] Thile's Report to the king, December 14, 1841.

[2] Thile's Report to the king, August 14, 1842. Cabinet Order to Thile and Eichhorn, January 9, 1843.

although its development was far more modest than had been figured by Bunsen's imagination. As will be readily understood, the mission to the Jews secured an extremely ungrateful reception in the fatherland of Israel. Nevertheless, the number of the Protestants was gradually increased by immigration and by occasional conversions. Before long, there were established beside the chapel of St. James on Zion, a hospital, an orphanage, and an excellent school. Three congregations, respectively German, English, and Arabic, recognised the bishop as their spiritual chief, though without relinquishing independence. The German congregation celebrated divine service in accordance with the liturgy which, years before, Bunsen had introduced upon the Capitol. When Bishop Gobat, Alexander's successor, endeavoured to establish everything upon an Anglican footing, he soon found it necessary to change his methods, and was even compelled at times to celebrate divine service in accordance with the German liturgy.[1] There thus came to flourish upon Zion a healthy Evangelical religious life, multiform and yet harmonious, in conformity with the ideal of Protestantism; and the power of the young bishopric soon became sufficiently great to enable it to furnish support to the Protestants throughout Asia Minor. In the long run, however, the Germans found it impossible to endure that their clergy should be refused equal rights; and since British arrogance would not yield a jot, in 1887, after the lapse of nearly half a century, the crown of Prussia found itself compelled to abandon the fantastical united bishopric, and to institute an entirely independent congregation upon Zion.

As a political treaty, the agreement concluded by Bunsen was a monstrosity, for all the advantages were on the English side, and experienced diplomatists were of opinion that the theological interloper would at length be given his quietus. Frederick William held other views. In these negotiations he had not been pursuing any political designs, but had again and again issued the modest exhortation, "let us efface ourselves." Now that the work of Christian love, about whose performance he had alone been concerned, seemed secure, he determined to bestow a brilliant reward upon his negotiator. Since the autumn of 1841 he had been engaged upon a long-designed shuffle in the diplomatic corps. Minister Werther

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, October 5, 1847. Heinrich von Thile, junior. Report to the king, Jerusalem, April 3, 1848.

received a high post at court, and was replaced by Count Maltzan, hitherto envoy in Vienna. Bülow, of whose talent the king had a very high opinion, was transferred to Frankfort to infuse fresh energy into federal policy. In the nomination of his successor Frederick William displayed a gallant consideration unprecedented in the history of diplomacy, submitting to the young queen, Victoria, the choice between three names, Count Arnim, Count Dönhoff, and Bunsen. There could hardly be any doubt about the answer, seeing that in the recent negotiations Bunsen had yielded so complacently to all the British wishes. Having consulted the queen, Lord Aberdeen rejoined that they could not be better satisfied than by Bunsen remaining as permanent envoy, for they were not personally acquainted with the two other nominees.[1]

It was impossible for England to make a better choice, and impossible for Prussia to make a worse. The weakest of the great powers needed as its representatives men inspired with vigorous Prussian pride, men who in their relationships with the older great powers would relentlessly maintain the independent dignity of a state which by these was still hardly accepted as an equal. Were it simply because in the course of years Bülow had so fully adopted English views, the retiring envoy had been inclined to fail in this respect. But Bunsen, when he entered upon his office, had through the influence of his British wife been already half transformed into an Englishman; several of his children adopted the mother's nationality; it was absolutely impossible to avert from this family the disaster of internationalist vagueness which attaches to so many diplomatist stocks. What a gratification for the self-satisfied man that so soon after his Roman reverses he should be suddenly transported from the quiet country house at Berne to the stately Prussian embassy in Carlton House Terrace. Close at hand were Buckingham palace, Westminster, the foreign office in Downing Street, the old trees of St. James' Park—everywhere the witnesses of a great history. Fiercely flamed the fire of his inflammable enthusiasm; state and church, land and people, of the wealthy island were viewed by him in a rose-tinted light. He looked upon his own office as the most important of Prussia's diplomatic posts, and rejoiced to feel

[1] Report from Chargé d'Affaires von Schleinitz to the king, November 16, 1841. There was no personal objection to either of the nominees. The account given in Stockmar's Memoirs (Denkwürdigkeiten. p, 385) is not perfectly accurate.

that it was his mission to cement more firmly than ever "the historic alliance" between the two kindred nations. Since the beginning of the new reign, the historic alliance had been a favourite topic of Prussian diplomacy. No one troubled to enquire what the Prussian state had formerly gained from British friendship, and whether Prussia were not now strong enough to dispense with that friendship entirely.

In London, no less hopefully than in Rome, did Bunsen regard as a political victory every mark of personal kindness he received; and he seriously believed that the most ungenial of all nations could be won by geniality. He imagined in the innocence of his heart that the British would offer no opposition to the expansion of the customs union, and that if Germany should acquire colonies they would gladly protect these with their navy. The English contemplated their ardent admirer with subdued irony, and did not hesitate to turn to advantage his unrequited affection. "Ritter Bunsen," for thus he was known at court, soon became a lion of London society and a favourite of newspaper reporters. Amid the mass of his able but unpractical despatches and memorials he managed to find time to write his book upon *The Historical Position of Egypt* and to continue his liturgical studies. Being thus simultaneously in touch with the diplomatic, the learned, and the religious circles of London, he could report with ever-renewed and well-grounded satisfaction how at a banquet given by the lord mayor or by the archbishop of Canterbury he had been the only foreigner present, how some public speech made in his faultless English had charmed the audience, or how the university of Oxford, more grateful than the sister bodies in Germany, had awarded him an honorary doctorate. He availed himself of this brilliant social position to found numerous institutions for the benefit of Germans in London, and was at the same time able to extend a helping hand to the young German scholars who assisted him in his labours. In the opinion of the great public it was an asset to the Prussian state that in the greatest city of the world everyone should be singing the praises of the Prussian minister. As a matter of fact, in London as previously in Rome, his political activities wrought nothing but injury to the fatherland. It was impossible that an enthusiast who was ever ready to swallow soft words could acquire any influence over the cold English men of affairs. At the Prussian court, through Bunsen's

sanguine reports, utterly false ideas became current regarding England's German policy, disastrous errors, for which heavy payment was exacted in later years when Schleswig-Holstein's destiny was at stake.

In Berlin the soil had been only too well prepared for such agreeable self-deception. Frederick William's long standing preference for England, which in the first instance had doubtless been awakened by Niebuhr's teaching, had recently become even more marked, now that with the accession of the young queen the loose manners of the English court had been replaced by a middle class respectability strict enough to satisfy even the censorious views of the Prussian royal pair. The few persons of decided monarchical views who were still to be found in England had the extremely reasonable wish that Victoria should marry George, the son of the duke of Cambridge. Thus the country would be spared a change of dynasty, which is ever injurious to the prestige of the crown. The queen, however, in good middle class fashion, desired to marry according to her own inclinations, and her uncle King Leopold had already taken steps to secure that her heart should not stray far from the paths of the house of Coburg. His nephew, the handsome Prince Albert, who had been sedulously prepared for his predestined function, won the hand of Victoria; the position of English prince consort, long and fruitlessly desired, had actually been gained by a Coburger; the fourth kingly crown was in prospect for the Wettins, and a roof had been provided for the airy edifice of Saxon family policy. At the outset Prince Albert had much to suffer from the Germanophobia of the British. He was depicted in numerous caricatures in the midst of his bearded, smoking, and beer-drinking retinue. Malicious doubts were expressed whether this scion of the oldest of all the great Protestant families was himself really a Protestant, seeing that his cousins, the Coburg-Koharys had gone over to Rome. The allowance voted him by parliament was grudgingly low. The title of king consort, which his affectionate spouse hoped to secure for him, encountered universal opposition, and a member of the privy council said mockingly to Bunsen: "If a certain event should happen, we really could not speak of him as the king dowager." [1] Even the title of prince consort was not accorded the German until after the lapse of years, and throughout

[1] Bunsen's report, January 6, 1842.

his life he never succeeded in completely allaying the suspicions of the island race.

Nevertheless, he gradually made headway through prudence, tact, and genuinely useful activities. The ladies were from the first on the side of the handsome prince, and both the great parties of the nobility soon found it advisable to make sure of his support.[1] The British were delighted with the queen's well-ordered domestic life, with her family happiness, with the manner in which year after year, with the utmost punctuality, and at the briefest intervals permitted by the laws of nature, this happiness was embellished by the birth of a child. The court had at length become a social force, although it could never be what it had been in the days of the Stuarts, the centre of the life of the metropolis; and London good society, though essentially frivolous, had at least in outward semblance to conform to the rigid morality of court life. For the first time since the founding of the Guelph dynasty did the royal house prove itself able to exhibit some understanding for the spiritual life of the nation, although this participation did not go very deep. Prince Albert, like all the Coburgers, was devoid of genuine religious feelings. A man of unenthusiastic and prosaic nature, he soon adapted himself to the English way of finding everything "very interesting." In Brussels he had adopted the mechanical philosophy of Quetelet the statistician, who explained all the phenomena of social life, moral phenomena not excepted, as the outcome of the operation of blind natural laws. Art-industries ranked higher with Albert than art, technique higher than science, the remarkable higher than the ideal. The peculiarly dry tone of this moral court was in later years faithfully reflected by Victoria in her *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands*, unquestionably the most tedious among celebrated books of the nineteenth century.

The prince, like his uncle Leopold, took William III of Orange as his model; and though he lacked the force and the genius of this exemplar, he exercised an enduring influence on the development of the British constitution. He accustomed the crown to assume unresistingly and with the maintenance of outward dignity the neutral position which the course of English history had necessitated, a position, not above party, but subordinate to the parties. When he came to England the whigs were

[1] Bülow's Report, June 2, 1840.

still in the saddle, and it was the queen's earnest desire to maintain these friends of her youth in power. Albert, as a foreigner, could regard the parties with an unprejudiced eye, and was strongly urged by the trusty Stockmar to maintain this aloofness. When, shortly after its last success, the securing of the straits convention, the whig government hopelessly collapsed, Albert induced the queen to extend a welcome to the now inevitable tories, and even to choose the ladies of her entourage from among the dominant party. In later years he more than once had it in mind to strengthen the power of the crown, and to make the personal will of the monarch effective after the German fashion. But as soon as he recognised the impossibility of carrying out such a design, he advised the queen to give frank support to any ministry which possessed an assured majority in parliament. The counsel was followed, and the crown gradually became so unexacting that the queen no longer even ventured to make suggestions regarding the personnel of the cabinet, but left the leading statesman of the majority in the lower house a free hand in forming the new government.

Harmony prevailed henceforward between crown and parliament, whereas the earlier sovereigns of the house of Guelph had continually endeavoured to injure unwelcome ministers by petty acts of spite, and the result was that an ably advised wife proved almost more competent than a man to play this role of parliamentary shadow sovereign. For a princess, with the naïve pretentiousness of women, can unashamedly give out as her own work everything that is done in her name, and the gallantry of men always permits women to talk confidently about matters which they do not understand. Queen Victoria made extensive use of these two privileges of her sex. She conversed glibly concerning all the details of administration. To General Natzmer, who listened in ironic mood but with respectful mien, she spoke with the utmost assurance of the reforms she had introduced into army administration. She was fond of hearing herself referred to as a second Elizabeth, although this descendant of the Guelphs had in truth nothing beyond feminine wilfulness in common with the less virtuous but great daughter of the house of Tudor. Thus was the monarchy taught by the prince consort to put a good face upon its futility, and thus did it come to pass that the wearer of the crown was everywhere spoken

of in terms suggesting the utmost devotion. The phraseology of servility, the constitutional cant of the British, flourished as it had never flourished before. Anyone straightforward enough to express the opinion that the young queen was homely in appearance, ran the risk in upper circles of being regarded as positively insane.

It was inevitable that moderate German liberals, above all, should be filled with admiration by such a spectacle of inward peace. Disillusioned by the intrigues of the July monarchy, they were now turning away from the ideas of freedom which had been current in the France of the thirties, and were inclining to consider that the constitutionalist ideal had been realised in the state over which Queen Victoria held sway. Few noted how the aristocratic foundations of Old English parliamentarism had crumbled since the reform bill, how the decision of affairs in the lower house was gradually passing into the hands of the Scottish and the Irish, and how new democratic transformations were in course of preparation. Simultaneously, Great Britain was passing through an epoch of unprecedented economic expansion. British industry had increased to such an extent that the country now aspired to dominate the markets of the world, and this aim led to the unfurling of the banner of free trade. A vigorous movement of emigration secured extensive colonies for the British empire, and even if these be perchance destined in days to come to shake off the political dominion of the mother country, they will continue to embody her civilisation, and to secure for the Anglo-Saxon race a great advantage over the German. No long time elapsed before in every quarter of the globe there was found a territory commemorating the fortunate names of Victoria and Albert. Preoccupied with their own party struggles and their mutual jealousies, the nations of the continent scarcely noticed the manner in which the greatest empire in history was quietly growing. The German anglomaniacs, indeed, were accustomed to sing the praises of England as an exemplary pacifist power, as a country so harmless in its aims as to be able to content itself with a small army of mercenary soldiers; they ignored the fact that this modern Carthage was at war even more frequently than Russia, was the only state to be practically at war without cessation—though it is true that in these English campaigns gold was of more account than iron.

As life companion of the ruler of such a world empire

it was inevitable that the situation of a German princeling should come to resemble that of a princess who has married abroad: it was inevitable that he should lose his own nationality. Prince Albert speedily became the complete Englishman, although in the family circle he continued for the most part to speak German, and although his loving spouse, to the horror of all respectable Britons, actually permitted him to use a silver knife when eating fish. Returning to Germany on a visit a few years after his marriage, he made a parade of British manners. When reviewing the Mainz garrison he wore a light summer overcoat so that the Prussian generals indignantly asked whether this young Wettin had forgotten that German princes were accustomed to pay honour to the flags of their fatherland by donning uniform. In the cold and cheerless life of England he lost the geniality which distinguishes the cultured German, becoming stiff and pedantic, abrupt and unamiable in the expression of his opinions, so that his training of his children, a task to which he devoted himself with notable zeal, proved successful only in the case of some of the daughters, for with the heir to the throne he was by no means fortunate. His self-conceit was greatly increased by the calculated flatteries of the British party leaders and by the simple-minded adulations of the continental constitutionalists. He looked down with contempt upon the serene highnesses of his native land. Though in actual fact, during his prolonged absence, he had got quite out of touch with German affairs, he believed that he possessed more insight than they possessed into the politics of the fatherland, and could not realise that there was anything amiss in his reiterated promptings to the effect that the German princes would do well to walk in England's footsteps. The queen cherished similar views. So devoted was she to her husband that she took his country to her heart, and considered it her right, womanly fashion, to preside over its welfare. Her predecessors as kings of Hanover had belonged to the Germanic Federation, and she imagined that as duchess of Saxony she occupied a similar position—though she found that the German courts furnished a far more ungrateful soil than did the British parliament for the delicate arts of feminine politics.

To keep the adepts of the house of Coburg regularly informed of one another's doings, a courier system was established between London, Brussels, Wiesbaden, and Coburg, with

ramifications in Paris and Lisbon. Whilst the English press, in its blind hatred of foreigners, was fighting the alleged "German influence" at the London court, Germany had far stronger reason to complain of the English-Coburg influence. The prince consort's elder brother, Duke Ernest of Coburg, a man of thoroughly sound German sentiments, was well aware of this. Shortly after ascending his petty throne, he wrote to his uncle Leopold saying that the Coburgs "must become genuinely German once more"; hitherto they had on the whole made too much of their kinship with the great courts of the west, and for this reason Coburg was regarded as a nest of ungerman intrigue and ultra-liberal ideas. Unfortunately, matters went no further than good intentions. Shrewd calculators like Leopold and Albert could not but regard the great western European interests of their cosmopolitan dynasty as more important than those attaching that dynasty to the little German principality whence it had sprung. Again and again were the counsels of the Coburgs to prove injurious to the German nation, and all the more so since this house, universally favoured by fortune, had the rare good luck to secure the literary adulation, not only of vulgar court flatterers, but also of honourable writers of high repute. All the Germans of light and leading who, when visiting London, had enjoyed the patronage of Bunsen and Stockmar, became apostles of the Coburg legend, and on returning home assured their fellow countrymen in good faith that the prince consort had marvellously succeeded in the difficult task of becoming a good Briton whilst remaining a thorough German.

No one gave readier credence to such tales than King Frederick William. To the prince consort he announced his own accession to the throne in a holograph letter which delighted the queen;[1] and henceforward he continued to pay delicate attentions to the young couple. His father, a man of far more sagacity, had never failed to recognise that Palmerston was deliberately fanning continental dissensions.[2] Frederick William IV, however, imagining himself to know better, unhesitatingly accepted the reports of Bülow, who, honestly basing his communications upon the assurances of English statesmen, declared that Palmerston had unwillingly been compelled by the brusqueness of the eastern powers to detach himself from these latter for a time, and that with the

[1] Bülow's Report, July 7, 1840. [2] See above, p. 24.

formation of the quadruple alliance of 1840 the British minister for foreign affairs had returned to his original views.[1] When the tories now came into power, and when Lord Aberdeen, the old and well-tried adherent of Metternich, was reappointed to the foreign office, confidence reigned supreme in the Prussian capital. A ministerial despatch to the embassy declared that even during the whig regime there had never been a complete rupture of the historic ties connecting the two powers, but that under Aberdeen's control of foreign affairs the relationships between England and Prussia would become more cordial than ever.[2] Robert Peel, the leader of the new cabinet, won the heart of Frederick William by his straightforwardness and earnest piety. Sufficiently independent, in case of need, to discard party dogmas, he was free from national prejudice, and had considerable sympathy for Germany. When Bunsen spoke to him of the Germanic Federation as a power of the first rank, Peel was polite enough to give his good wishes to this latest doctrine emanating from the court of Berlin.

When, shortly afterwards, an heir to the throne was born to the new Saxon-Guelph royal house, the parents, acting on Stockmar's advice, determined by a shrewdly designed mark of respect to confirm the king of Prussia in his friendly sentiments, and begged him to act as godfather. For their own part, since they were guided by Coburg principles, they attached little significance to religious ceremonial. To Frederick William, on the other hand, the invitation seemed a solemn token of the alliance between the two Protestant great powers, and he expressed his willingness to attend the christening. Aberdeen, declared Bunsen, was beside himself with delight; and so, said the envoy, was the noble and heroic new bishop of Jerusalem. Metternich, on the other hand, dreaded lest this English journey might act as a dangerous stimulus to Protestant partisan passion; whilst Czar Nicholas, with much concern, had a representation conveyed to his brother-in-law that the latter would find it difficult on his journey to evade a meeting with the "blouse-king," Leopold, or with one of the French princes.[3] In January, 1842, Frederick William came to England for thirteen days, securing a brilliant reception from the official

[1] Bülow's Memorial concerning the internal situation in Great Britain, July 17, 1841.

[2] Werther, Instruction to Schleinitz, September 13, 1841.

[3] Bunsen's Reports, December 10, 1841, and January 7, 1842; Liebermann's Report, December 28, 1841.

world A section of the press, however, railed against the German spy, idiot, and hypocrite; whilst in the upper house Lord Brougham expressed the civil hope that the Prussian would take the opportunity of learning something of England's freedom, and would at length decide to carry out his father's promises. One festivity succeeded another, and formal toasts celebrated the friendship of the two Protestant nations. Victoria displayed all her amiability, investing her guest with the order of the garter, and wearing during his stay a bracelet adorned with his likeness in miniature. There was likewise present on the occasion one of the young Coburg-Koharys, for whom the indefatigable matchmaker of Brussels (so everyone declared at court) had already determined to secure the hand of Queen Isabella of Spain.

The king expressed himself charmed with all British institutions, though he had not the slightest intention of imitating them in his own realm. He attended the opening of parliament, not as simple spectator, but, strangely enough, as kinsman of the royal house, wearing ceremonial robes, and being allotted a special seat between the throne and the peers' benches. He attended divine service in St. Paul's, not shunning participation in the repeated genuflexions, so repulsive to German Protestant sentiment; he visited Newgate accompanied by the devout quakeress Mrs. Fry; and with all the attention characteristic of the literary connoisseur he witnessed the representation of Shakespearean comedies in their original setting. Thus the brief visit was made extremely enjoyable, but was quite uninstructive, and had no political results. The sober-minded British statesmen were far more pleased with the king's travelling companion, the indefatigably communicative Humboldt, than with Frederick William himself, for the monarch, despite his talents and his suavity, did not convey the impression that he was endowed with commanding political intelligence. Stockmar was positively terrified at the king's fantastic suggestion, made with much detail and in all seriousness, that Belgium, for the sake of her own safety, should enter the Germanic Federation. The plan was obviously one whose execution was utterly impracticable in time of peace, seeing that Belgium, at Prussia's own instance, had been recognised as neutral by all the great powers.

Despite the pressing invitation extended by the envoy Bresson, the king was careful to avoid putting his foot on

French soil, and sedulously shunned all contact with the house of Orleans. Leopold of Belgium, however, to the great indignation of the czar, had greeted his German neighbour in Ostend on the outward journey. Since Frederick William desired to effect a peaceful settlement of the Belgian-Luxemburg frontier difficulties, a matter of importance to the customs union, he resolved with a heavy heart to do a friendly service to his beloved cousin William II, the new king of the Netherlands, and on his way homeward to visit the Belgian usurper in the very castle which had once belonged to his Orange relatives. "Je vous porterai un véritable sacrifice," he wrote to William II, "j'irai le trouver en chemin (à Laeken ! ! !—!—!—! ! !) pour le travailler,"[1] Despite this visit to the liberal Belgian, the English journey remained highly suspect to enlightened Berliners. In their censoriousness they considered that across the water the king had been enmeshed in the nets of the high tories and the anglicans. In Frederick William's mind the religious moods aroused by this baptismal journey were long persistent. After a fine design by Cornelius he had a silver scutcheon prepared for his godchild. In the centre was a head of Christ; beneath were representations of the two Protestant sacraments; around the margins were shown the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem and a picture of the godfather's voyage; the Christian king was represented as a pilgrim wearing hat and cloak decked with cockle-shells, on a ship guided by an angel, and driven forward by the puffing and fettered demon of steam; beside the monarch stood Humboldt bearing an olive branch, Anton Stolberg, and General Natzmer; on the further shore, awaiting the advent of the ship, was St. George patron saint of England, with the prince consort and Wellington —a composition which to the Coburg worldling might well seem no less questionable than it must seem to the infidel German man of science. In the radical camp the gift gave occasion for much mockery.

The foreign ministry continued for a prolonged period to send the British cabinet asseverations of affection which remained unacknowledged. It was all the more expansive now that Bülow had succeeded Count Maltzan, who a few months after taking office had fallen irrecoverably ill. As minister, no less than as envoy, Bülow was so unconditional

[1] King Frederick William to King William II of the Netherlands, January 29, 1842.

an admirer of England that Stockmar, with much satisfaction, declared him to be the most capable of all the Prussian diplomatists. When tidings arrived of the new British successes in Asia, he had the congratulations of his court conveyed through Bunsen's instrumentality, rapturously adding: "Leagued with Great Britain by the bonds of an alliance of long duration and by a persistent and deeply felt friendship, we are accustomed to regard everything that increases the glory and the well-being of the British realm almost as if it had been something we had personally experienced." [1] Thus unselfishly did these sentimental politicians accept, as it were, on behalf of their honourable German state, co-responsibility for England's shameful opium war! It is true that Berlin was ill-informed regarding affairs in the far east, for Bunsen believed all that his British friends told him, reporting indignantly that England had been scandalously calumniated in the matter of the opium traffic.[2]

This anglomania, which merely represented the leanings of the king and his intimates, could not long endure. There was absolutely no occasion for a political alliance between the two powers, for their economic interests were for the time being widely divergent. As soon as Prussia raised some of her import duties a trifle, Peel was greatly incensed, implying that the rights of England, whose own tariff was far higher, had been infringed; and although Bunsen pacifically rejoined, "The union remains the best customer for your manufacturers," it was impossible even for Frederick William not to see that it must be the aim of German industry to outgrow this dependence.[3] How little fondness the English nation had for the German alliance was shown at this very time by Macaulay's essay on Frederick the Great. Even the French had never written of Prussia so arrogantly and with so little understanding, for the French had always held the philosopher of Sans-Souci in high esteem; but the brilliant essayist merely gave expression to the opinion of the cultured among his fellow countrymen. Frederick William's artistic friend Count Raczynski had an unpleasant experience of British self-conceit. Having secured a friendly reception at court, he enquired whether German artists should not be invited to England in order to introduce

[1] Bülow, Instruction to Bunsen, November 5, 1842.
[2] Bunsen's Report, December 10, 1842.
[3] Bunsen's Reports, July 25, 1842, and subsequent dates.

into that country the art of fresco painting, hitherto but little known across the North Sea. But the English painters were extremely angry, and Sir Martin Archer Shee proudly rejoined: "Our school is recognised to be the first in the world." [1]

With the lapse of time even the king came to feel that the whole modern outlook of the house of Coburg was essentially alien to his mind. He was rendered aware of this by a ridiculous dispute about titles. The Ernestine dukes had long been aspiring to more exalted rank, for nothing had fallen to their share during the great elevations in rank of Rhenish Confederate days. Now that the house of Coburg had climbed to such a height, the old duke of Coburg, in especial, considered that as father and brother of reigning sovereigns he was justified in assuming the style of grand duke or royal highness. His English kin supported him vigorously in his pretensions; [2] for the Coburgs proved themselves in this matter too to be true disciples of the old enlightenment, inasmuch as, whilst in words they were prone to mock at empty distinctions of rank, in fact they were extremely jealous in the maintenance of their own precedence. According to the strict letter of the law this wish of the Coburgs could be fulfilled in no other way than by a federal decree, for it was the function of the Federation to guard the precedence of its members, and it had been careful to classify even the mediatised as respectively serene highnesses and highnesses. But it was a very unfavourable time in which to approach Frankfort upon such a matter. The presidential court had been rendered greatly indignant by the self-assertion of the duke of Coburg-Kohary, who was unquestionably a subject of the crown of St. Stephen, and its language concerning the Coburg court was extremely acrimonious. [3] The king of Prussia, for his part, was loath to countenance any change in the traditional title of serene highness. As for the lesser princes, they were all of opinion, many of them with good reason, that the proposed change would be unfair to them; and they were not content until Coburg abated its claims, and was satisfied to demand no more than the title of highness. Thereupon Nassau and Brunswick wished, in view of their greater powers, to become grand duchies; in Baden, which had at one time been an electorate, there was

[1] Bunsen's Report, May 6, 1842.
[2] Bunsen's Reports, July 8 and August 25, 1842.
[3] Bunsen's Report, November 5 and 8, 1842.

talk of assuming the kingly title; the elector of Hesse cherished memories of the ill success of his attempt to become king of the Catti;[1] the grand duke of Darmstadt wished to add the title of majesty to adorn the proud old electoral hat of Mainz; Homburg's demand was for a landgravate, Schwarzburg's for a princely highness; the prince of Hechingen would not admit that Nassau was entitled to the rank of highness seeing that his own house had in the old Reichstag taken precedence of Nassau in entering the council of princes.[2] In this dispute, which, however absurd, was extremely violent, sowing much dissension among the federated states, it was rendered plain that the restless social vanity which makes people continually strive for a step upwards in rank, which makes the name of "gentleman" common property, which turns all girls into "misses," which converts simple marshals and seneschals into great dignitaries, continued at work among high and lowly even in this democratic century.

Meanwhile Ernest II, the enterprising young duke, had assumed the reins of government in Coburg. He was not slow to realise that in this market of empty titles nothing but accomplished facts could prove decisive, and in April, 1844, he signed a family treaty with his cousins of Meiningen and Altenburg in virtue of which the Saxon dukes arbitrarily assumed the title of highness. Loud was the wrath at this flouting of the federal authorities, and on June 20th, at Metternich's instigation, Count Münch brought the matter forward for discussion at the Bundestag. At the same time the presidential envoy urgently pressed upon his colleagues the need for secrecy, for the proceedings were stormy from the outset. Whilst several of the governments wished to refuse recognition to the self-made new highnesses, the envoy of the Ernestine dukes haughtily declared that a federal decree upon the matter would be quite inadmissible for it would be an infringement of sovereign rights. To the king of Prussia, who had so profound a respect for the Bundestag, such language seemed intolerable. He wrote indignantly: "The condition of this matter, which is no less ridiculous than it is menacing to the German cause and to German unity, may be reduced after the last unqualifiable declaration of the Saxon ducal

[1] See vol. III, pp. 119 et seq.

[2] Dönhoff's Reports, April 27, 1844, and subsequent dates; Radowitz' Report, May 19, 1844; the prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen to Dönhoff, May 7, 1844.

houses to the question whether the Federation, and in specie whether the Bundestag, is an old donkey which will put up with such an affront." But the Bundestag had to swallow the affront, for it had no power to coerce sovereign princes, while the great courts of the west had hastened in the interim to acclaim the Coburgs as highnesses. Count Dönhoff, the Prussian envoy, might do his best by sharply reproving the antifederal contentions of the Ernestines, but in the end it was necessary to accept what had actually happened, and on August 16th the Federation decreed that all the reigning dukes of Germany should henceforward be styled highnesses.[1] The dispute continued for a year longer and Dönhoff became afraid that France would make the most of the Badenese and Hessian lust for kingship, and would seize the chance of founding a new confederation of the Rhine, but in the end the electoral and grand ducal courts were content with the moderate embellishment of the titles of their rulers.[2]

It was long before Frederick William could forgive the assault delivered by the house of Coburg upon the dignity of his beloved Bundestag; whilst the English court was not backward in proving that by religious and political liberalism and by family interests it was drawn towards the bourgeois king much more strongly than towards the ruler of Prussia. The close alliance between the houses of Orleans and Coburg which had been brought about through the marriages of Leopold of Belgium and that of the duke of Nemours, was further strengthened in subsequent years by two fresh princely weddings, and in the autumn of 1843 a visit took place for which there had been no precedent for centuries, the English sovereign landing in France and going to stay with the French royalties at the Château d'Eu. The lively intercourse which now ensued between the two courts, so closely connected by consanguinity and sympathy, was favourably regarded by men of moderate views on both sides of the Channel, for the ancient national hatred had in truth subsided, and despite many vacillations the idea of the fraternisation of the liberal west continually recurred. It was true that both the courts were presided over by cool-headed merchants who would never lose sight of their distinct dynastic interests, and these avaricious

[1] Dönhoff's Reports, June 20 and 27, August 16, 1844, with marginal notes by the king.

[2] Dönhoff's Report, July 10, 1845.

hidden thoughts might readily destroy a friendship which had never been sealed by genuine mutual confidence.

Prussia, however, was more isolated in the diplomatic world than she had been for many years. Within a brief period her ruler had shaken the faith of old friends in Austria and Russia; he had gained little by his attempts to woo the favour of England; and the danger of war was hardly over when it became apparent that at the lesser German courts too Prussia was not respected as she had been in the days of the late king. The quiet dignity of the father had inspired confidence; the fussy activities of the son aroused doubt and suspicion.

CHAPTER III.

DISILLUSIONMENT AND CONFUSION.

§ 1. PROVINCIAL DIETS OF 1841. POSEN.

DURING the last three years of his reign Frederick William III had refrained from summoning the provincial diets, for he wished to prevent discussion of the Cologne episcopal dispute. The new king, however, summoned regular sessions for the spring of 1841, entertaining, as he announced, "the gratifying hope that more lively activities are about to begin for the estates." At the very time when the first diets were assembling there now came from East Prussia a third exhortation to the fulfilment of his father's pledges. In February was published *Four Questions, answered by an East Prussian*, a pamphlet dedicated to the estates of Old Prussia, providing at length a practical programme and a convenient war cry for the vague yearnings of the liberals. In plain, confident, almost menacing language, it demanded that this highly cultured people, which had long since attained to years of discretion, should be granted "publicity and free representation" in place of the existing system in which the might of officialdom was supreme and in which the independent burghers had no political status whatever. It bluntly maintained that the pledge of popular representation made in May, 1815, was a valid law, and then, with the facile logic of radicalism, without going more deeply into abstruse questions of law, it went on to draw the simple conclusion that Prussia's provincial diets "should now claim as a demonstrated right what they have hitherto begged as a favour." Otto Wigand of Leipzig, an indefatigable publisher for the radical party, had printed the *Four Questions*, though the title-page bore the name of "Heinrich Hoff of Mannheim," an imaginary firm whose name was henceforward to be frequently used as reputed publisher of the works of Prussian writers. During the next few years, as harbourage

for the opposition, Heinrich Hoff of Mannheim was to play a role similar to that which had been played two centuries earlier by the imaginary Dutch firm of Peter Hammer of Cologne.

The anonymous author was Johann Jacoby, a Jewish physician of Königsberg. He belonged to the newer generation of those who had had no practical experience of the wars of liberation and whose ideals had been formed in connection with the July revolution and the Polish rebellion. But he had never been young, and the world of the beautiful was as alien to him as was the vein of the jester. He was a bald little man with a pronounced stoop, but his gait betokened solemnity, whilst his sharply cut features and the penetrating glance of his large blue eyes gave him a mien of intense seriousness. Everything about him disclosed a strictly moral and hard working man of the study, one whose needs were few and simple. Although as a Spinozist freethinker he refused on principle to attend the synagogue, he considered it his mission to voice the demands of his co-religionists, and quite early in life he penned an impassioned booklet on behalf of the civil equality of the Jews. This writing, and a second in still more incisive terms attacking the Prussian censorship, secured for him great prestige among the liberals of Königsberg, and at meetings on behalf of the seven of Göttingen he already seemed to rank as a party leader. Since the East Prussians are the most skilful of all the Germans in the education of their Jews, Jacoby was far more the East Prussian than the Jew. His effrontery was the only quality to convey a suggestion of his descent; the fundamental trait of his character was the stubborn Old Prussian assertion of rights and liberties, which had already brought so much glory and so much misery, which had entailed for the ancient Ordensland, not only the War of Liberation but also the Eidechsenbund (the League of the Lizard) and the Polish dominion. Undismayed and unteachable, he held firmly to what he regarded as right; and to his fanatical intelligence it seemed that one who differed from him could hardly be other than fool or rogue. He shared the vigorous pride of his fellow provincials. If he had occasion to speak of the city "whence Kant once spread a light over the world," his language, ever serious, would assume a tone of high-priestly unction. He was in truth quite without political talent. Like Bailly, Condorcet, and so many other radical men of science

who have from time to time strayed into political life, he cherished the opinion that in politics there is no need for that knowledge of detail which is essential to the exact sciences, for he held that a few abstract principles of natural law and a little bold dialectic were a sufficient armoury. Solely, therefore, in an epoch of expectations, wishes, and programmes, could he acquire an ephemeral reputation. As soon as the days of building and shaping came, his political sterility was made manifest, and the inexorable logic of his hard understanding, which never learned veneration for the historic world, drove him from one doctrinaire deduction to another, until at last he lapsed into an abysmal radicalism equally destructive to fatherland and to civilisation. Beyond question when he was writing his booklet he had under his eyes Sieyès' work, *Qu'est ce que le tiers état?* Like the Frenchman, he knew well how to suit himself to the dominant mood of the public; like Sieyès, he loftily ignored the historic world; whilst for him, too, the thought that he might unchain a revolution had no terrors.

The king immediately declared that the *Four Questions* was a revolutionary writing. He did not fail to discern how closely akin were the ideas it voiced with those of Schön's *Whence and Whither?* and since, in his affection for his old friend he considerately desired to spare the latter, he wrote confidentially to Schön saying that the author should remain unprosecuted if the lord lieutenant would divulge his name and intercede for him personally. In the interim, however, Jacoby, convinced of his infallibility, had sent a copy of the pamphlet to the king, declaring himself to be the author, and positively placing his writing under the protection of the crown. Frederick William regarded this as a deliberate insult, for the scathing reproaches, now conveyed to him personally, seemed to him thereby to be given a yet sharper edge. Being anxious to avoid undue haste he summoned in council certain "doctors of laws" (the king attached great importance to this title), and not until these had expressed themselves in favour of a prosecution did he inform Schön that he had decided "to accept Jacoby's challenge." Henceforward all the petitions of the liberal lord lieutenant were fruitless. The prosecution was opened; at Prussia's instigation the Bundestag forbade the circulation of the pamphlet, which was none the less in everyone's hands; whilst the Königsberger acquired, without

trouble or sacrifice, that position of political martyr which is peculiarly agreeable to fanatics of his quality, and which serves only to increase their influence.

It rankled deeply in the king's mind that the Königsberg Jews should make much of their enthusiastic spokesman. "Baptised Jews," he wrote to Schön, "are not numbered by me among my East Prussians. This is a genuine consolation for me. I would that you could secure that uncircumcised men of proved fidelity, men who are devoted to me, may undo the shame which the circumcised of East Prussia have inflicted." [1] In such a tone, henceforward, did he continue to manifest his antisemitism. His violent utterances, unbefitting the dignity of kingship, were busily disseminated by the rapidly increasing tribe of Jewish journalists, and aroused throughout the world of German Jewry an inextinguishable rancour which was gravely to affect the repute of his government in days to come.

Jacoby's writing was sent to all the provincial diets, but met there at first with scant approval, for the estates had assembled everywhere in buoyant humour. By the cordial tone and abundant concessions of his opening address to the diets, the king regained general confidence for a brief period. To show his loyal provincial diets how genuine was his respect for them, how greatly he esteemed the utility of their labours, he permitted them to publish their protocols, and promised in future to summon them regularly every alternate year. For the intervals between the sessions, committees were to be elected from all the diets, so that the monarch could avail himself of their counsel "and enjoy their cooperation upon important territorial affairs"; and he further proposed, as circumstances might dictate, to unite these committees for joint deliberation. Thus began the organic development of representative institutions which had so long been contemplated by Frederick William. He had no conception how far it would necessarily lead. He had indeed imposed very narrow limits upon the increased publicity granted to the diets, for he was only too familiar with all the evils of the constitutionalist system. Dreading the vanity of parliamentary orators, and knowing that the newspapers rarely gave a faithful picture of the proceedings in the diets, he forbade the mention of the names

[1] King Frederick William to Schön, February 23 and 28; to Thile, February 28, 1841.

of the speakers. Yet how easy was it to evade this timid prohibition. The shrewd Rhinelanders soon learned how to draft their protocols in such a manner that everyone could identify the chief participants in the debates. With the disappearance of the secrecy of the proceedings, a fundamental prop of the old system of estates had been broken. Diets which had to face the judgment of public opinion could not permanently content themselves with giving diffident advice, but would be compelled to demand that some right of positive decision should be granted them and that the advisers of the crown should be personally accountable to them. Several of the ministers promptly assured the monarch of this, but he paid no heed.

Even more obscure remained the significance of the united committees and the promised "cooperation." The envoys of the lesser courts were led by their terrors to contemplate the spectre of parliamentary government.[1] But many an unimpassioned man drew the logical conclusion that since the united committees were to be elected from the provincial diets they were to constitute nothing less than the representation of the people promised in the ordinance of May 22, 1815, and that as soon as they should meet in Berlin they would be entitled to demand all the rights of such an assembly. The king, on the other hand, regarded the committees, whose summoning had been first suggested to him by Rochow, as no more than a means by which his Prussians were to be gradually educated for the privileges of a united diet at some future day. Frederick William wrote to Schön as follows: "In the committees I have created elements whereby during those years when the diets are not sitting I shall be able to arrange for the preparation of the most important laws for the ensuing diets and to deal with matters of general interest left unsettled by the previous diets. † In a word, the committees will make it possible for me, at this early day and directly the need arises, to enjoy all the advantages of a general diet without having to dread the disturbances which its sudden introduction would entail. Should circumstances arise rendering inevitable the summoning of a general diet as foreshadowed in the laws of the late king of blessed memory, the exchange of ideas between men from all the provinces and their consultation by the crown will no longer be a

[1] Berger's Report, April 29, 1841.

novelty.† In brief, I have begun an edifice which may be upbuilded into the region of genuine freedom, without the nefarious travesties, the profound inveracity, and the detestable theatricality of modern constitutions and their trash of fundamental laws. . . . To-day, I say it with confidence, none but jacobins, old fogies, or donkeys, can doubt my honest love of liberty. . . . To the diets of all the provinces, and above all to the diet of Prussia, the choice betwixt myself and Israel will be an easy one. . . . To penitents, even among the circumcised, I shall gladly extend a clement hand." [1] The passage in his letter which he had marked off between daggers was, said the king, to be kept a profound secret. It was evident, therefore, that he expected his subjects to submit unquestioningly and unconditionally to the guidance of his superior wisdom; and yet his intentions remained so enigmatically obscure that even Schön, the recipient of the letter, completely misunderstood them, and hopefully answered the monarch to the effect that the summoning of the committees was a fulfilment of the pledge of May, 1815.

Still less was the populace able to comprehend the purport of this mysterious statecraft. Yet the old loyalty was still inviolable; no one desired to forestall the crown, and the king had the pleasure of seeing that not one of his provincial diets stooped to the lure of Israel. One and all gave him heartfelt thanks for his concessions. The Prussian estates bluntly rejected a petition embodying the views of Jacoby and signed by three hundred Königsbergers, on the ground that the king was about to undertake the further development of the representative system. Similar treatment was accorded to a petition from Prussian landowners asking the diet to renew its requests of the previous September. This document referred in bitter terms to disappointed hopes, concluding with a strenuous and hortatory citation of the verse: "Nor horse nor rider guards the heights where princes sit enthroned." Henceforward, in opposition circles, it became customary to make use of these words from the King's Song as a threat against the royal house.[2] The Silesian diet, too, refused to endorse a petition from the Breslau municipality—a document in the liberal vein richly decked with journalistic catchwords—resolving with but

[1] King Frederick William to Schön, March 9, 1841.

[2] Protocol of the Prussian diet, March 25; Report from the deputy von Below to the king, March 25, 1841.

eight dissentients to leave it wholly to the king's wisdom to decide when and how a national assembly should be summoned. Very few of the urban representatives participated in the deliberations of the plenum, and of those who did so several frankly admitted that the desire for a national assembly was as yet far from universal.

It was still left open to the king to complete the constitutional structure exactly in accordance with his own desires, provided only he took speedy action, and adhered strictly to the dictates of law. But time pressed. Even the proceedings of these extremely modest diets showed that a new era had dawned, and that the new pretensions were continually on the increase. For the first time in long years active interest was displayed in the doings of the diets, and a quite unprecedented number of petitions was sent in to these bodies. Moreover, the members of the diets might do their utmost to avoid annoying the king's susceptibilities, but it proved impossible to keep the debates within the prescribed limits, and speakers were continually referring to the affairs of the country at large.

These first gentle stirrings of the new party life of Prussia aroused intense suspicion abroad, where it had long been known, though unwillingly admitted, that the German nation, like a thoroughbred horse, did not as yet know its own strength. In great anxiety Metternich represented to Count Maltzan that Austria's Czechs and Poles were being spurred on by the speeches in the Posen diet, and that all the liberalism of Germany was looking expectantly towards Prussia; he knew from intercepted letters that Rauschenplatt and other refugees were recommending their South German comrades to keep quiet for the present seeing that success in Berlin was at length inevitable.[1] To the French court, too, in view of the liberal spirit of the Prussian officialdom, the victory of the constitutionalist system seemed assured.[2] As for the czar, he imagined his brother-in-law to be already at grips with the revolution. Nicholas was in receipt, not only of the temperate reports of Meyendorff, his envoy in Berlin, but also of communications from subordinate agents of his secret police, who were glad to give the autocrat the kind of intelligence he fancied. To his own court the czar gave free expression of his concern

[1] Maltzan's Reports, April 6, 1841, and subsequent dates.

[2] Report of Minister Resident Rumpf to the Hamburg senate, Paris, April, 1841.

for Prussia. He was not tranquillised until the prince of Prussia visited St. Petersburg on the occasion of the wedding of the heir to the throne, and was able to give Nicholas an account of Prussian affairs which showed that while the prince was reflective about the future he saw no occasion for alarm.[1]

In financial matters no less than in the constitutional question, the diets, in truth, displayed a positively childlike confidence in the king. Frederick William asked their advice concerning a remission of taxation amounting to about one and a half million thalers, which he proposed to concede should the peril of war pass away. With this end in view he commanded that a summary statement of the extraordinary expenditure of recent years should be prepared for the estates. Ministers Alvensleben and Rother, assisted by Privy Councillor Voss, undertook the task, and reckoned that the total of the extraordinary expenditure for the eleven years 1830-1840 had been 63,222,527 thalers. They considered that a detailed report to the diets would be undesirable, for both at home and abroad a more favourable view than circumstances warranted was taken of the state of the finances, upon which Prussia's strength chiefly rested. Moreover, in their opinion, to furnish precise details concerning the cost of mobilisation or the construction of high roads might readily arouse suspicion abroad and jealousy among the provinces.[2] Manifestly alarmed by these warnings from the members of the old officialdom, at the last moment the king had more than two millions deducted from the total, so that his opening address to the diets under date February 23rd indicated an extraordinary expenditure of no more than 61,208,590 thalers.

Thus the trusty estates were for the first time officially informed of that which perspicacious persons had long ere this had an inkling, that in Prussia for many years past there had existed side by side with the published budget a secret extraordinary budget, though even now the latter was not divulged in its entirety. To Kühne's despair, the ministry for finance had adapted all its methods of calculation to this mischievous system of a double budget. The ostensible revenue was not reckoned in accordance with a three years' average,

[1] Liebermann's Reports, March 23 and May 11, 1841.

[2] Summary statement of extraordinary expenditure during the years 1830-40. By Rother, Alvensleben, and Voss, February 11, 1841. See vol. V, p. 228 and vol. VI, pp. 59 and 60.

but the increase in revenue was mainly regarded as the outcome of transient favourable circumstances, so that, thanks to the continuous growth in public wellbeing, it had regularly been possible to devote notable surpluses to the purposes of extraordinary expenditure, the surplus for the year 1840 amounting to 6,800,000 thalers.[1] The estimates for the year 1841, which had just been published, furnished a concise statement of revenue and expenditure at 55,867,000 thalers, and it was impossible that anyone could still believe these figures to be accurate. Nevertheless the diets were unanimous in expressing their gratitude for the promised remission of taxation. No one now seemed to recall that the late king had once expressly decreed the publication of the estimates in order to enable everyone to convince himself personally of the necessity for the burden of taxation.[2]

In candour and self-reliance the Prussian diet and the Rhenish diet excelled all the others. The East Prussians had proud memories of Kant; the Rhinelanders cherished the ideas of '89. In the east and in the west the inhabitants of the respective provinces were delighted at being extolled by the South German press as the banner-bearers of civilisation in the Prussian state. But neither of these two diets ventured formally to demand the abolition of the censorship, seeing that the crown had held out the prospect of certain mitigations. The Prussians voiced their grievances concerning the harsh treatment of the press so respectfully that the king expressly commended them, through the instrumentality of Brünneck, Schön's brother-in-law. In Düsseldorf, Dr. Monheim, the deputy of Aix-la-Chapelle, proposed that the diet should request the crown either to reinstate Archbishop Droste or else to bring him to trial. After a lively discussion, however, the motion was rejected by a two-thirds majority, just as an analogous proposal had previously been rejected in the Westphalian diet. The estates were tranquil for the time being, for the king in opening the diets had conveyed a cordial assurance that he regarded all his subjects with equal affection whether they were Catholic or Protestant, and that he hoped to reestablish the spiritual harmony which had of late been disturbed. It was only the towns of Aix-la-Chapelle and

[1] Privy Councillor von Patow, Memorial concerning the Remission of Taxation, April 4, 1842.

[2] See vol. III, p. 400.

Coblenz which manifested, by the ceremonial receptions they accorded to their clericalist deputies, how deep was the feeling in the Rhenish province upon this matter of the ecclesiastico-political struggle. Very divergent views were taken in the provinces regarding the restricted publicity which had been accorded. Whilst the Brandenburgers and the Pomeranians, conservative as ever, took exception to the king's concessions, and positively refused to publish their protocols, most of the other diets asked for enhanced publicity. A petition signed by one thousand inhabitants of Cologne went so far as to demand that access to the hall of assembly should be made free to all. The self-assertion of the middle classes found yet more impatient expression. Nearly all the diets desired that the inequitably small representation of the towns and of the peasants should be increased; and they further asked that the ministry for commerce should be reestablished, so that the country's growing manufacturing interests might receive due attention.

The estates dispersed in sanguine mood after the completion of their labours. Distressing none the less was their experience of the contrast between past and present when in the late summer and autumn the addresses proroguing the diets were issued. Frederick William III had always informed his estates in simple and dry terms that it was his intention to fulfil their desires as far as he was able to do so. The new ruler's response was couched in gracious and moving phrases, but the king bluntly rejected all the modest petitions, and failed even now to divulge in plain language what he really purposed to do with his committees of the diets. One point only was made clear, that the monarch did not propose to transfer to the committees the powers possessed by the provincial diets. No one had any idea to what goals the heralded organic development of representative institutions was intended to lead. The consequence was that the hopes which had so shortly before been reawakened began to subside, and many a man of proved loyalty was gravely troubled in his mind, feeling that it was impossible for a thinking nation to follow its leader blindfold.

Of all the diets, that of Posen alone displayed a defiant and arrogant spirit, and in Posen the contradictory weakness of the new regime was already bearing evil fruit. The diet

was opened on February 28th by Flottwell, who was still acting as royal commissary, and once again the Polish nobles had to face the fierce eyes of the proud and detested German. In his opening address the king seemed to indicate his intention to maintain the existing system. He informed the estates that he had given his earnest attention to the numerous complaints of the province, but the conduct of the administration had been in strict accordance with the law, and he saw no reason for making any change in the fundamental principles of the government of the province. He pointed out to the Poles that they were mainly responsible for the unfortunate state of affairs, seeing that they had deliberately refused to accept higher educational posts. Did not they dishonour themselves by asking that the Prussian officialdom should exact less extensive qualifications in the case of Polish candidates for office? In conclusion he expressed the hope that the diet would refrain from making more far-reaching proposals. But how could the Poles be expected to take these warnings to heart when everyone was aware that the dreaded lord-lieutenant had been transferred to Magdeburg at the new year and was only remaining in Posen to deal with the affairs of the present session of the diet?

The traditional firmness of German rule had disappeared. Not only was this shown by numerous weakly utterances made in private by the king, but it was manifested most notably by his cabinet order of January 15th concerning the language to be used in the law courts. Since 1817 it had been the rule in Posen that all civil trials should be conducted in the language of the plaintiff, but that if he should be equally competent in German and Polish, German was to be chosen. Assuredly this was a very mild prescription for a territory essentially German, which could with difficulty secure a sufficient number of Polish speaking judges, and which always had a translation of the German documents prepared for the Polish parties to an action. The Sarmatian nobles, however, had made it their customary amusement to show contempt for Prussian laws. Colonel Niegolewski, well known as a skilful orator in the German tongue, bringing a suit before a Posen law court, had indulged himself so far as to write to the court in Polish, and consequently, since the judges would not take a joke, had lost his case and been deprived of a trusteeship. This misadventure, which Niegolewski had brought upon himself,

was reported to the king by Count Raczynski in extremely moving terms. Thereupon was issued the new cabinet order of January 15th decreeing that all civil trials without exception were to be conducted in the tongue of the plaintiff. Henceforward the Polish nobleman was empowered to dictate to the royal judges the language they were to use in the conduct of their official duties. At the same time a further increase was made in the salaries of German officials who learned Polish, whilst the Landrats and district commissaries of the province, even in the German circles, were instructed to append Polish translations to all their orders.

The Poles exulted, believing that the policy of Germanisation was at an end, and with arrogant confidence they began in the diet an attack upon Germanism. When Poninski, marshal of the diet, opened the session with impassioned words, an illegal proposal was made that the opening oration should henceforward be delivered in both languages. There followed a reiteration of the old grievances concerning the undue favouring of the German tongue. If the speakers were to be believed, the ignorance and laziness of the Poles gave their language a right to supremacy, for among the Germans of the province every third or fourth man understood Polish, and the Jews could almost all speak Polish, whereas no more than one Pole in six knew German. Hardly anyone troubled to consider that this bilingual territory belonged to a state numbering eleven million Germans. Eight years earlier the late king had approved the expenditure of the sum of sixteen thousand thalers for the institution of a Posen refectory at the territorial university of Breslau, but after the gift had actually been accepted, Archbishop Dunin had returned it with the defiant request that his theological students, who with rare exceptions were uninstructed boors, should be sent to study in Rome, Munich, Vienna, or Prague. On principle none of the Poles would attend German universities. The professors of the Slav tongues appointed by the new king in Berlin and Breslau had hardly any audience, and there were very few applicants even for the exhibitions to Polish students, which had recently been increased in amount. Such were the facts of the case when the estates demanded that a theological and philosophical faculty should be inaugurated for the town of Posen, that a number of gymnasia where the teaching was to be predominantly Polish should be established in the province, and finally

that Polish should be the language of instruction in the elementary schools of all districts where Polish inhabitants were in the majority. At the same time they complained that the German government was satisfied if German students were able to translate fluently an easy Polish book.

The diet did not hesitate to demand the restoration of the right of electing the Landrats. A scandalous misuse had been made of this right, but the estates contended that it was essential for the protection of the grand duchy. Their real wish was to enable the province to defend itself against the German crown through the instrumentality of its own officials. The diet asked for the abolition of the district commissaries, although their services on behalf of civic order were plain to all; it declared that the purchase of heavily mortgaged Polish estates by the government had filled the hearts of the Poles with grief; and it begged the crown to resume the payment of pensions to the Warsaw officers who had participated in the last revolt. "On grounds of equity" the representatives of the German towns and villages endorsed all these proposals, for the Polish gentry were adepts in the art of intimidation, and were effectively supported by the German liberal press, which, still lacking all understanding of the national struggles for power in the eastern march, made it a point of principle to acclaim any opposition, not excepting that voiced by the enemies of Germany. The true aims of the Poles were betrayed plainly enough when Naumann, chief burgomaster of Posen, urged thereto by the burghers, advocated the summoning of a Prussian national assembly, for on all hands arose the outcry "As Poles we vote against this." The question regarding the remission of taxation was answered by the Poles with the request that instead of this the king should annually allot to each province a sum of money for its free disposal. It was thus their hope to pursue their own ends in every respect.

This excess of ingratitude was too much even for the patience of Frederick William. He wrote wrathfully to his ministers saying that the diet had made a misuse of the words "Polish nationality," and must therefore be expressly informed that the crown could not accord any political separation to this province.[1] In like spirit the address proroguing the diet explained in serious phrases that the grand duchy

[1] Cabinet Order to the ministry of state, June 12, 1841.

was a province like the others, incorporated in the monarchy, to whose German core the Poles were related in just the same way as were the Lithuanians or the Walloons; national contrasts found their point of union in the name of Prussia. Most of the requests of the diet were rejected; the circle diets would reacquire the right of electing Landrats and the old officers would regain their pensions when these had respectively shown themselves worthy of such a favour.

The German liberal press simply could not understand why the liberal king should mete such hard measure to the liberal Poles. But the court of St. Petersburg, which had been watching the troubles in Posen with growing concern drew a breath of relief; the czar exhibited towards the Prussian envoy an expansiveness which had long been lacking; whilst Nesselrode cordially congratulated the envoy upon the king's dignified treatment of Sarmatian truculence.[1] The Polish nobles, whilst complaining loudly, were secretly rubbing their hands with delight, for the address proroguing the diet contained amid its numerous refusals one concession which put an end to the chief of all the national grievances. The king promised that heavily mortgaged estates purchased by the government should in future be disposed of to Poles as well as to Germans. Hitherto the state had purchased hardly any lands except those whose noble owners had been ruined in consequence of treasonable intrigues. Securing these possessions of its sworn enemies by payment on a liberal scale, and subsequently handing them over to trusty Germans, it was working in the gentlest possible way on behalf of the great task of German colonisation which had been in progress here for six centuries, and in addition was benefiting the Poles themselves, the commonalty if not the nobility. There were corveable peasants on all these neglected estates, and whenever a sale was effected by the government Flottwell had the burdens on the peasantry removed or equitably readjusted. The conduct of the German officialdom had been so completely above criticism that even General Thile, who yielded as far as he could to the Polish leanings of his royal patron, could find nothing to adduce by way of censure. Frederick William, however, considered that the administration had cause to be ashamed of this policy of peaceful Germanisation, for he gave credence to the fables which were current in the Radziwill

[1] Liebermann's Report, August 24 and December 28, 1841.

palace, and deprecatingly declared that some of these estates had already been disposed of to Polish buyers, although such sales had in fact been altogether exceptional.[1] Henceforward, he said, no distinction would be made in this matter between the two nations. What was likely to be the effect of such pliability in those circles in which, on the arrest of Dunin, ladies had put on mourning, to discard it promptly when tidings came of the death of Frederick William III?

Flottwell, meanwhile, left the grand duchy, and on March 15th sent the monarch a memorial dealing with his ten years lieutenancy, a splendid testimony to the candour, insight, and vigour of the old officialdom. He explained frankly that for the sake of civilisation he had favoured German culture, which aimed at the overthrow of the Polish customs hostile to Prussian state life; and with well-grounded self-satisfaction he went on to describe all that had been effected in this finest era of the territorial history of Posen. It was but a few years since the late king had praised his loyal officials when Flottwell had proved to him that the apparent increase of crime in the province was not a sign of growing savagery, but was the outcome of the alert campaign which the thirty newly constituted rural and urban law courts, with the aid of the new district commissaries, were carrying on for the suppression of Polish lawlessness. It was impossible for the son to act as simply as the father. By his good nature and his fondness for the peculiar, Frederick William IV was continually led into contradictions which aroused the suspicion of double dealing. The king warmly thanked the retiring lord lieutenant for the report and for his vigorous patriotic administration, and bestowed upon him a distinguished order.[2] The Polish nobles murmured, for Flottwell's memorial had soon been betrayed to them, presumably by their friends at court, and they all regarded it as a most impudent acknowledgment of German coercive methods. This very moment was chosen by Frederick William in which to inform Count Arnim of Boitzenburg, the new lord lieutenant, that it was his definite intention to abandon the old administrative system on which he had just been lavishing praise.

It was his design that all the lord lieutenancies of the monarchy should in future, as far as possible, be held by

[1] Vide supra, p. 77.
[2] Cabinet Order to Flottwell, May 11, 1841.

landowners of distinguished position, men who like the English lord lieutenants would be able to entertain the country gentry in their hospitable homes. Since the Prussians had grown up in a thoroughly democratic atmosphere, and, while therefore willing to show great respect for royal officials, were far from feeling the same veneration for the nobility, it was inevitable that this plan should encounter many hindrances in the other provinces. All the more was this the case in Posen, where the majority of the common people were thoroughly loyal, and where only the gentle classes and the clergy were disaffected. Arnim was given the post in Posen because in his student days he had made the acquaintance of many of the notables of the province, and because as president in Aix-la-Chapelle he had succeeded so well with the Catholic malcontents. The king told the amiable countess that he expected her to win for him the hearts of the Poles. The lord lieutenant proved an excellent man of affairs, and he entertained lavishly. His calm ways made him far easier to get on with than had been his impetuous predecessor, for Flottwell, by his own admission, liked to drive young horses, and preferred to have his hastily formed resolves carried out by spirited young men.[1] The programme which Arnim sent to the monarch was cautiously worded. The grand duchy, he said, must be treated as a province, and the goal of Germanisation must never be lost sight of, though the Poles must be managed with consideration, and only the most upright means must be employed; the Germanism so essential to the Prussias was in Posen, too, as even Prince Sulkowski admitted, the sole sustainer of civilisation. Consequently, whilst all coercion must be avoided, German must remain the official language, and must be taught in the schools as the main tongue or as a subsidiary tongue (this varying according to circumstances). In religious matters it was necessary to ignore public opinion; the church, as the king commanded, must insist upon its full rights, but on nothing more.[2]

Even these gentle words had too German a tone for the monarch's taste, and he responded with the exhortation "to avoid even the semblance of an endeavour to oppress or hamper the Polish elements in favour of the German."[3] Being

[1] Judge Franckenberg-Ludwigsdorf to Thile, August 27, 1841.

[2] Count Arnim, Memorial concerning the Administration of Posen, sent to the king, June 30, 1841.

[3] Cabinet Order to Arnim, July 21, 1841.

inadequately informed, he commended to the lord lieutenant the praiseworthy example of the French in Alsace, whereas in reality the French in that province had taken far sharper measures against Germanism than the Germans had taken in Posen against Slavism. Long ere this the use of French manuals had been made compulsory in Alsatian elementary schools. The French government was now demanding that the French tongue should likewise be compulsory for religious instruction, so that in addition to the Protestants, who at all times fought valiantly on behalf of their Lutheran Bible, even the pliable Räss, bishop of Strasburg, became embittered, declaring that his conscience forbade him to give religious lessons in any other language than the children's mother tongue. Count Arnim was soon to be painfully disillusioned; he was to discover that his predecessor, grown to manhood in this frontier world, had been a more competent judge of the capricious Poles, who, womanlike, are alternately defiant and wheedling. The Polish Friends of Youth, an organisation from which he had expected much help, was smooth-tongued towards him as towards all the royal officials, but manifested neither confidence nor goodwill. The new lord lieutenant, being shrewd and honest, did not hesitate to admit to the king that he had made a mistake. Within two months he reported (August 14th) that the chasm between Germans and Poles seemed far wider than he had imagined, that "the abandonment of methods which had been in use for ten years" would be a matter of much difficulty since it was obviously undesirable to sacrifice the tried results of this decade. "God grant," he added, "that it is not already too late." In this province the officialdom was everything; the Poles seemed to produce hardly any efficient men; "the uplifting of the debased populace" seemed as yet hardly within sight.[1] From this time forward Arnim became more cautious, and was inclined to reflect upon the warning of Frederick the Great, who had said that it was a great mistake to compliment the Poles, for this served only to spoil them. But before he had made himself really at home in his difficult post, after the lapse of a year, the king recalled him to become minister for home affairs.

These sudden changes made the Polish nobles confident that there was no longer a strong hand on the tiller. The

[1] Arnim, Report to the king, August 14, 1841.

state had abandoned the policy of enforcing sales of landed property, and very rarely would the Poles of their own free will sell land to the Germans. The saying became proverbial that great traitors sell their fatherland in bulk while lesser traitors sell it by the acre. The Poles were no longer much afraid of the elementary schools, for the king, wishing to appease the Roman church, frequently had Polish priests appointed as inspectors of schools. There even seemed some hope of subjecting secondary education to Polish control, for a Polish cleric had just been appointed rector of St. Mary's gymnasium in Posen, and the government had agreed that in this institution all instruction should in future be given in Polish, except in the two highest classes, where the German tongue was also to be used. The king never realised how great was the injury he was thus inflicting upon the social position of his Polish protegees—for without a thorough knowledge of German it had long been impossible in Prussia for anyone to attain to a high level of civic efficiency. Even a Polish Society for the Training of the Young whose real aim was plain to every German in the province, secured a friendly welcome from the government. As was customary, the Sarmatian nobles showed their gratitude for German weakness by disloyalty and conspiracies. There was no occasion to fear that this government would deal hard measure to traitors. Notwithstanding what had been said in the address proroguing the diet, no long time elapsed before all the Warsaw officers were once more in receipt of the forfeited pensions.

It was true that there existed, especially among the wealthier landowners and those well advanced in years, a small party of moderates who hoped for the peaceful strengthening of Polish nationality. "If we become better, more highly cultured, richer than the Germans," said Count Eduard Raczynski, "then shall we be masters in Posen." Eugen von Breza was bold enough, in a pamphlet upon conditions in Posen, to declare that the best Pole since Casimir the Great had been Frederick William III, the liberator of the serfs. But these isolated voices were soon shouted down by the terrorism of the revolutionaries, and August Hatzfeld penned a scornful rejoinder to Breza which unquestionably reflected the opinion of the Polish majority. The "Centralisation" of the Polish propaganda in Paris and Versailles had for years, favoured by Palmerston's protection and by the

intermediation of the English embassy in Berlin, been carrying on secret intercourse with the Poles in the province of Posen,[1] and despite the complaints of the Prussian court this treachery on the part of the British friends did not wholly cease even after the tories had come into power. In addition, in order to evade the risks of the post, there was an organised system of private correspondence between Paris and Posen.[2]

The Great Poles in the neighbourhoods of Posen and Gnesen were, more than all their co-nationals, animated by the insanely arrogant and adventurous spirit which had led the Russians to bestow upon the Poles the name of "the brainless." After their experiences of Flottwell's regime they doubtless had good reason to believe that there was danger in delay, and that Germanism might even yet prove victorious in the Polish Rome. They were accustomed to say that as men they were better off but as Poles worse off than their brethren in Galicia and Warsaw. Since 1842 the "Centralisation" had been preparing for a new rising. At Versailles it had founded a military school; Mieroslawski and Wysocki delivered lectures upon military matters; a number of young Poles were attending French military schools. Everyone felt that a storm threatened. Archbishop Dunin, though so recently granted the king's clemency, behaved as if he had been master of the country, and the supple little priest smiled meaningly when the nobles hailed him as primate of Poland. In gratitude for his release from confinement he appointed his official, Brodzizewski, who had been the real instigator of the episcopal dispute,[3] suffragan bishop of Gnesen; and demanded that all the school books used in the province should be submitted for approval to the archiepiscopal curia. In a circular to his clergy he ventured an open attack on the government, whilst to the monarch he addressed so impudent a complaint concerning "the unprecedented arrogance" of the royal officials, that Eichhorn had to administer a sharp rebuke.[4] The personal relations between Germans and Poles became more frigid in proportion as the hand of the government grew lighter. Even Count Raczynski, whom his fellow nobles regarded with suspicion because of his good understanding with the Germans, issued an express

[1] Rochow, to Count Maltzan, December 29, 1841.
[2] Nagler to Minister Werther, May 20, 1841.
[3] Vide supra, p. 265.
[4] Dunin, Petition to the king, January 29; Eichhorn to Dunin, February 22; Eichhorn's Report to the king, February 24, 1841.

warning to the effect that, while the two nations might live peacefully side by side, they would never mingle. The Poles were by no means united. In addition to the secret society of the nobles, there had been formed a radical club among the operatives of the provincial capital, with the aid of some of those idle retailers and taverners who formed in the lesser towns the relics of the decayed order of handicraftsmen. This group issued a periodical, *Das Jahr*, edited by Dr. Libelt, and advocating doctrines resembling communism. But all the parties made common front against the Germans. The word had already gone forth that Poles should trade only with their fellow countrymen, and in the town of Posen there had been established with share capital a bazaar where the shops were to be let exclusively to Poles. Collections were also being made on behalf of a Polish theatre.

In consequence of the repeated warnings of the Russian embassy, the Landrats were instructed to keep the secret intrigues of the Poles under close observation. Since, however, it became apparent that the Muscovite reports had been false or exaggerated, the German authorities speedily relapsed into their good-humoured slumbers. A man named Trzemski, a notorious agent of the propaganda, having been arrested after years of busy intrigue, was set at liberty because he appealed to the amnesty announced by the new king.[1] Regarding Titus Dzialynski, the most dangerous enemy of Prussia in the province, the foreign office innocently remarked that the count was far too distinguished a person to be a conspirator.[2] The king was even more simple-minded than were his officials. In the summer of 1842, having occasion to pass through Posen, he allowed himself to be persuaded (by the Radziwills, it was said) to spend several days there, and the Poles displayed their respect for him in the noisy fashion which comes so easily to the frivolous-minded Slavs. He wrote delightedly that his reception had been enormously better than he had expected, and that at the banquet he had had to entertain two hundred and five guests, nobles for the most part.[3] Departing after his brief stay, he awarded an additional fifty-five orders in this disaffected province, which he had already

[1] Despatch from the ministry for justice to Rochow, October 16, 1840.

[2] Instruction from the foreign office to Arnim in Paris, June 8, 1841. See vol. V, p. 74.

[3] King Frederick William to Thile, Posen, June 25, 1842.

overwhelmed with distinctions on the occasion of the Königsberg act of allegiance. Even Dunin had an order bestowed upon him. Thus heedlessly did the Germans encounter the disloyalty of the Poles. A statesman of genius, one confident of his strength, may at times ignore the old rule that the state authority must lean upon its friends, not upon its enemies. But a weak government merely betrays its own futility when in short-sighted excess of sagacity it endeavours to flatter intractable opponents. Such was the case here. The Poles were not won over, whilst the loyal Germans felt that they had been betrayed and sold, for they saw their king commending Flottwell's policy and yet pursuing a policy that was its precise opposite.

§ 2. RECONSTITUTION OF THE MINISTRY. SCHÖN AND ROCHOW.

By degrees, meanwhile, the ministry had been entirely reconstituted. In March, 1841, Boyen, though seventy years of age, was placed in charge of the war department, to the horror of the old Mecklenburg-Guelph party, which he had for the second time offended a few years back by a candid writing on Scharnhorst. The king was unwearied in his attempts to atone to the veteran statesman for the injustice of earlier years by an almost childish veneration and by judiciously selected distinctions. In accordance with seniority, he gave Boyen the first rank in the ministry; when a memorial to Gneisenau was unveiled at the tomb of that hero at Sommerschenburg, Frederick William bestowed upon Boyen the order of the black eagle; the general was made chief of the first infantry regiment, in which he had begun his military career; and on the occasion of the jubilee celebration of his completion of sixty years' service a fine medal was struck in his honour. Boyen, however, was under no illusions as to the significance of this display of graciousness. He had grown up amid the ideas of Kant, and being clear-headed, resolute, and reasonable in all things, as well as sincerely pious, he was shrewdly aware how little it would be possible for him to assist in the promotion of Frederick William's romanticist dreams, and he held aloof as a rule from high politics. On rare occasions only, when he dreaded that some disastrous blunder would be committed, he would caution the king with vigorous East Prussian loyalty.

Even in the work of his own office he speedily realised that five-and-twenty years earlier, despite the much-deplored irresolution of the late king and despite the hostility of the moles (as Boyen termed his opponents), it had been possible to advance far more rapidly than to-day. At the outset of his new ministerial career he had, as the king phrased it, "a bit of a tiff" with General Lindheim, the chief of the military cabinet, and Boyen was able to oust his quarrelsome opponent, openly saying, "I have accepted office solely in order to display to the king my genuine devotion, and directly I find that my activities are paralysed, the post will be of no value to me." [1]

Nevertheless this did not secure him a free hand, for in Boyen's case, as in that of all the other ministers, carefully planned work was rendered difficult of execution by Frederick William's proneness to bring forward sudden proposals and schemes which in many instances were no less suddenly abandoned. "In his majesty's mind," said Thile, "there are still to be found the germs of very numerous projects for the speedier development of our political conditions in many directions." Even the forms in accordance with which work was carried on were no longer fixed. It is true that the king, like his father, made it a practice to receive regular reports from the cabinet minister, but he would at times suddenly summon one or several of the other ministers, or would unexpectedly put in an appearance at the ministerial council, thus overburdening himself with work which it was hardly possible for him to perform.[2] In order to protect himself from the monarch's incalculable incursions, Boyen made it a practice to appoint consultative committees more frequently than he had done in earlier days, and in the cumbrous proceedings of these bodies many an excellent design underwent an arrest of development. The consequence was that the minister's second term of office, though not sterile, was far less fruitful than the first had been. He suffered much from the burden of his years, although others marvelled at his youthful vigour, and although there still flamed in his eyes that masked ardour which had of old secured for him

[1] Boyen to Thile, March 28; King Frederick William to Thile, March 25 and 29, 1841.

[2] Thile, Report concerning the simplification of the conduct of public affairs, February 15, 1842.

the name of the resting lion. But insecurity of tenure was a greater hindrance to him than age, for all the advisers of Frederick William suffered from an oppressive consciousness that they were living in a treacherous and unstable epoch.

In the ministry of justice, too, a change of personnel was inevitable. Immediately after ascending the throne, on June 29, 1840, the king had effected an excellent reform in the administration of justice, declaring that he found it repugnant to undertake the formal confirmation of death sentences. The crown therefore renounced the direct exercise of its ancient prerogative of supreme jurisdiction, contenting itself henceforward with the right of clemency; should it desire to make no use of this right, it simply commanded that justice should take its course, so that henceforward the formal independence of the courts was secured. This first reform was to be followed by others of more importance, and notably by a reorganisation of criminal procedure. How would it have been possible for Frederick William, when carrying out such plans, to avail himself of the services of Kamptz, a man personally repulsive to him? Kamptz, notwithstanding his diligence, had as yet made little headway in the work of revising the laws, and, ensnared in the dead erudition of his beloved court of chancery, he deplored publicity and oral procedure as vestiges of the childhood of the law. Shortly before, on the occasion of his jubilee, the persecutor of the demagogues had received a number of distinctions, and Berlin had actually granted him the freedom of the city. Regarding himself as indispensable, he had in good cheer gone to spend the summer of 1841 at Gastein, the fountain of youth for men of his years, and he was hardly able to believe his eyes when he received a letter from General Thile to the effect that the king needed younger servants. Kamptz resisted dismissal even more strenuously than he had three years earlier when deprived of the ministry for justice in the Rhine province.[1] He besought the general to judge for himself, asking, "Have I ever shown any sign of failing energy?" He implored the king to leave him the work of revising the laws, seeing that God had preserved intact "the energies requisite for this labour."[2]

All was vain. The king had already determined to give

[1] Vide supra, p. 68.

[2] Thile to Kamptz, August 5; Kamptz to the king October 5; Kamptz to Thile, October 5, 1841.

tlic position to his friend Savigny, and asked Savigny to send in proposals for the systematic work of revision. The memorial which Savigny submitted to the monarch in January, 1842, contained in a polished and moderate form a definite challenge from the new historical doctrine of law to the Wetzlar erudition of the old century. Sentence was passed upon Kamptz' official career, and a victorious demonstration was given that the civil code, with its elaborate and detailed codification, had paralysed the scientific spirit of the admirable Prussian bench. The aim should not be, as heretofore, to redraft the entire code, but first of all to remodel legal procedure, so that the judges might be given more freedom in all their activities, might be made more independent of pressure from above, liberated from the burden of extraneous official duties, and enabled once again to enter into living mutual relationships with science. In respect of legal detail, Savigny proposed a change in those points merely which experience had shown to need change, and in those which conflicted with the requirements of modern society. His demand was therefore, as his favourite disciple Ludwig von Gerlach phrased it, not for dead codification but for living legislation; and in view of the friendly understanding with which Frederick William had always welcomed the ideas of his teacher, there seemed good ground for the hope that Prussian legislation would henceforward be on a level with the altitudes of science.

When in March, 1842, Savigny was appointed minister for legislation to enable him to carry this programme into effect, almost all persons of intelligence at the universities and in the law courts were agreed that the king could hardly have made a better choice, for by his activities in the council of state, and of late by his *System of Modern Roman Law*, the greatest jurisconsult of the century had secured high prestige among practical men no less than among theorists. Stein had once predicted that Savigny would some day prove a worthy successor to High Chancellor Carmer. Only the radicals, who could not forgive him for his campaign against the law of reason, indulged in cheap witticisms concerning the man who had at one time denied to our epoch the vocation for legislation and had now accepted the ministry for legal revision. They reproached him for that, himself a Protestant, he had had his son educated as a Catholic; for that in former days he had fought Gans and protected Stahl; for that now he

promptly summoned Gerlach to join his ministry. They foretold a bad end for the "Christo-Germanic Solon." Strangely enough, events were to prove that these fanatical partisans had been more in the right than perspicacious and unprejudiced persons. It speedily became obvious that, on this occasion, too, Frederick William had appointed a notable man to the wrong post. Savigny's activities in the ministerial council deprived science for some years of a scholar of incomparable energy, whilst it did little to further Prussian legislation.

Count Alvensleben surrendered his office more willingly than Kamptz. In earlier years he had been a member of the romanticist Cockchafer Club of the brothers Gerlach, and was still accounted by these friends of his youth one of their most trusty associates. But in his long tenure of office he had become habituated to the steady and noiseless course of the old regime, and from the outset of the new reign he had said to Rochow that there was now no place for them in the government, for the successor to the throne would wish to rule in all things, would personally regulate the details of the administration by the frequent issue of arbitrary or unpractical commands, and would therefore deliberately surround himself with men over whom he could exercise complete control. Thus the count had already long made up his mind to retire as soon as opportunity offered, when in October, 1841, he received a sharp reprimand because in the negotiations concerning the sugar tariff he had acted counter to the monarch's views, and he thereupon promptly begged leave to resign.[1] It had by no means been Frederick William's intention to bring about this resignation, for he esteemed Alvensleben highly, and in the previous year had been on the point of transferring him to the important ministry for public worship and education. Wishing to appease the offended minister, in the first flush of his perplexity it occurred to the king that he could lay all the blame for the dispute upon the pedantic old General Tax Director Kuhlmeyer. Thile, however, remonstrated, saying that his majesty, for the first time in his reign, now proposed to commit a really unjust action, for Kuhlmeyer had invariably and strictly followed the minister's instruction.[2] The upshot was that Alvensleben retired from the ministry of finance, and that Kuhlmeyer resigned with him.

[1] Kühne's Memoirs.
[2] Thile's Report to the king, undated (January, 1842).

The king however was by no means disposed to break completely with his old friend, with whom he now negotiated, first through Leopold Gerlach, and subsequently through the queen; and in the end Alvensleben agreed to become cabinet minister, reporting to the king jointly with General Thile. Meanwhile Lord Lieutenant von Bodelschwingh had been offered the vacant office, and in accordance with the views of the old officialdom he felt it his duty to obey the king's summons, although he was loath to quit his sphere of activities on the Rhine.[1] In May, 1842, he took over the new office, and Privy Councillor Kühne became general tax director. It seemed that at length a fresher spirit was to animate the somewhat petrified financial administration, now that two such distinguished officials, both in their prime, on very friendly terms and fully agreed concerning commercial policy, had taken over the reins.

To public opinion the obstinate struggle between Schön and Rochow seemed of far greater importance than all these ministerial changes. Everyone believed that the character of the new government would be decided by the issue of the contest. Rochow was now regarded as the banner-bearer of reaction, although the estimate was not wholly just. Fully in accordance with the wishes of the provincial diet he had just completed the rural communes' ordinance of October 31, 1841, for the province of Westphalia. The new ordinance replaced four Rhenish Confederate communal laws of French origin, and was obviously designed to steer a middle course between Napoleonic administrative despotism and the patriarchal self-government of the east. The traditional district communes were reestablished in so far as they possessed independent financial resources; in conformity with the French practice, the president of the communal council appointed the Landrat, but the communal councillors were henceforward to be elected by persons with a considerable property qualification, and the powers of the council were enlarged. One or several communes constituted a rural administrative district or bailiwick, presided over by a bailiff appointed by authority. The manors could as a rule separate themselves from the commune only by mutual agreement between the lord of the manor and the commune. The law was quite lacking in statesmanlike ideas; it was the expedient of a well-meaning officialdom, endeavouring to go as far as possible to meet the views predominant in the west

[1] Bodelschwingh to Thile, November 25, 1841.

and for that reason regarded as liberal. But not even this concession to liberalism could diminish the hatred attaching to the name of Rochow; whilst Schön, his adversary, was the idol of the press.

Through the instrumentality of his trusty henchmen the lord lieutenant had had the proceedings of the latest East Prussian diet conducted with much discretion, for he had given a personal assurance to the king that no disrespectful phrase should be uttered by the estates of his favourite territory. Nevertheless, by unmeasured criticism, by arrogant depreciation of everything that came from Berlin, and of late by mysterious allusions to the king's constitutional plans, Schön continued to promote the radical disaffection which had been spreading in Königsberg since the publication of the *Four Questions*. More than once General Wrangel warned the crown of these provocative activities of the lord lieutenant, but the invariable answer was that there could be no occasion to harbour suspicion of the king's friend. Since the diet of allegiance, Schön had been on the worst possible terms with Rochow, his official chief. Rochow now sent an offensive enquiry concerning a foolish radical poem wherein it was said of the lord lieutenant that he had taught the meaning of "Freedom, the splendid word." Schön's rejoinders became continually ruder, so that it seemed as if he wished to make mock of the minister. At the same time, outspokenly, but without adducing any proof of the assertion, he accused Rochow to the king of being one who as a state servant wrought injury to the common weal. In governmental circles men were already saying that if Rochow possessed an atom of prudence he must join issue with this adversary.[1] Both antagonists were eager for power, and both were far from nice in their choice of means. Whilst Schön's liberal retinue was reviling the minister in opposition journals, Rochow, as the East Prussians were soon to learn,[2] was having offensive articles against the lord lieutenant compiled in his office, and was able to get many of them published even in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg and in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Despite this public scandal, the monarch, who was equally fond of Schön and of Rochow, desired to retain them both in office, for in the proud consciousness of his self sufficiency

[1] Kühne's Memoirs.

[2] Brünneck to Thile, March 7; Colonel von Below to the king, April 7, 1841.

he considered quarrels among his servants to be of trifling importance, and moreover he was far from believing that the two men were separated by an essential hostility. As crown prince he had worked peacefully with them for years on the constitutional committee, and had just received advice from Rochow for the further development of the system of representation by estates. A dangerous mutual misunderstanding had gradually arisen between the king and his old East Prussian friend, such a misunderstanding as was only possible in the case of men of peculiar disposition. Since Schön had a profound contempt for all who were not of his own way of thinking, regarding them as "men of the dark ages," he honestly believed that his beloved king was only prevented by reactionary courtiers from carrying into effect the constitutionalist designs which were in truth very far from Frederick William's mind. The monarch, for his part, imagined that only from time to time was Schön misled "by his friends of the Jewish mob" into liberal views—views which were really the Kantian's heartfelt sentiments. Again and again Frederick William wrote cordial letters to his friend, urging him to adopt a more conciliatory attitude: "The minimissimum that I am entitled to ask is that you should explain matters to Rochow, whom you have unjustly accused. You have not love, the love which should enable you to work even with adversaries for the good of the whole." [1] Adroitly adopting the biblical phraseology which was quite foreign to his usual style, Schön rejoined that the saying "If I had not love" was written on his heart in letters of flame. But he would not hold out a hand to the minister. It was in vain that his fellow-provincial Boyen wrote to him a genial letter suggesting that reconciliation with Rochow would at the same time reconcile Schön with the king; it was in vain that Colonel Below, the king's trusted adjutant, and one of the leading landowners of the province, endeavoured, in conjunction with some of the other East Prussian nobles, to talk the angry man into a good humour.[2]

Schön was under no illusions concerning the acuteness of the opposition between himself and Rochow, and he persisted in believing that A and not-A were incompatibles. He twice begged permission to resign, obviously because he continued to hope for the overthrow of this opponent. He had long

[1] King Frederick William to Schön, February 23, 1841.
[2] Boyen to Schön, April 25; Below's Report to the king, March 31, 1841.

been aware that the king had several times contemplated entrusting him with the leadership of the ministry of commerce. Remarkable as this notion may appear (seeing that, though Schön had ample technical knowledge, he was absolutely opposed to the customs union and could not fail to work havoc in commercial policy), Schön would not merely have been quite ready to accept the appointment, but even hoped to dominate the ministerial council. Again and again, in his letters and conversations, he recurred to the idea that what was needed was a "regulated ministry," led by "a scientifically trained statesman, a man of wide experience." In his opinion there was only one such statesman in the monarchy!

The province followed the vicissitudes of the struggle with passionate interest. Of all the German stocks, the East Prussians (with the Holsteiners, the Swabians, and the Silesians) stand most firmly shoulder to shoulder. Moreover, it was a favourite practice of Schön's to look upon any reproaches addressed him from Berlin as imputations upon the loyalty of his homeland, and to reject them therefore with lofty patriotic indignation.[1] Consequently every self-respecting East Prussian soon came to look upon Rochow almost as if the minister had been a personal enemy. Meanwhile a report suddenly became current in the province that a number of letters had been opened in the post, and Schön spoke as if the matter were beyond doubt. The king, immediately after his ascent to the throne, had (to the great distress of old Nagler) strictly forbidden such malpractices. He now despatched Colonel Below to East Prussia with extraordinary powers, and with instructions to make a strict enquiry. Nothing noteworthy was brought to light,[2] but the suspicions of the Old Prussians were by no means allayed.

At this juncture, the weakly conservative party of the province began to take action. In February a few landowners met at Preussisch-Holland under the chairmanship of the notorious Landrat von Hake. They declared that they disapproved of the petition sent to the diet by Jacoby's friends, and that their trust in the absolute king was unconditional. Rochow, greatly delighted, wrote to one of the participants saying that the monarch had been pleased to accept the loyal assurances of the assembly.[3] From various quarters accusations

[1] Cabinet Order to Thile, March 30; Thile's Report to the king, March 31, 1841.
[2] Cabinet Order to Below, March 10; Below's Report to Thile, March 24, 1841.
[3] Rochow to Councillor von Bessel, March 1, 1841.

were now made against Hake. He was charged with peculation and Schön hastened to send in a savage report depicting in glaring colours the worthlessness of this political adversary. Rochow at first attempted to ignore the affair, but was in the end compelled by the indignant monarch's express command to order an investigation, which ended in Hake's condemnation.[1] Henceforward the king was equally displeased by the minister's partisanship and by the lord lieutenant's masked opposition. The quarrel continued for several months longer. Schön exulted, arrogantly declaring that in his loyal province there were no parties except the infinitesimal party of Hake the criminal. In reality the Ordenslanders were profoundly stirred, hardly less stirred than they had been two centuries earlier when the free Prussians were resisting the despotism of the Mark. They were absolutely convinced that at the coronation the king had given constitutionalist pledges and had subsequently withdrawn them, and there is nothing which these sturdy people resent more strongly than inconstancy. When Schön attended the sittings of the council of state in October, the Berlin liberals wished to serenade him, and he had some difficulty in evading the inconvenient honour. Upon his return home, his Königsberg admirers greeted him with dressed ships and illuminated windows as the hero of the land, and the Königsberg police reported deprecatingly to the ministry that participation in the rejoicings had after all been by no means universal."[2]

Affairs had come to a pretty pass when the East Prussian police authorities sent in reports concerning their own lord lieutenant! It could not fail to be evident even to the long-suffering monarch that the situation had become impossible. In January, 1842, when for the third time Schön begged leave to resign, after nearly three months' consideration the king approved the resignation in the cabinet order of March 31st. But the order was kept a profound secret; the date when the resignation was to take effect remained in suspense; and neither the lord lieutenant nor the others, few in number, who were in the secret regarded the decision as irrevocable. Minister Alvensleben bitterly complained: "The king's confidence in Schön is unshaken."[3] As late as May, Schön returned to Berlin to

[1] Schön's Report to Thile, May 6; King Frederick William to Thile, May 10; Rochow's Report to the king, May 13, 1841.

[2] Police Report from Königsberg, October 25, 1841.

[3] Alvensleben to Thile, May 22, 1842.

attend the council of state, and it is probable that he still cherished hopes. But on arrival he was met with the alarming intelligence that his essay *Whence and Whither?* had just been put upon the book market. As might have been anticipated, in the house of one of the five friends to whom Schön had confided the writing, an unauthorised copy had been made and betrayed to a radical bookseller.[1] Georg Fein of Hambach fame,[2] the Diogenes of the German demagogues, now in safe retreat at Strasburg, had the work published in that city at a low price, adding a lengthy epilogue, packed with foolish invectives against the Prussian state and the Prussian government. Frederick William was described as "an extremely cunning and experienced aristocrat, equally familiar with the weaknesses and the finest qualities of the German people, and possessed of a power of dissimulation by no means unprecedented which renders him well able to utilise and exploit both merits and defects for the pursuit of his despotic aims."

At the king's command, Thile promptly addressed an enquiry to the lord lieutenant regarding "the betrayal of his disastrous writing,"[3] and Schön of course expressed himself as highly indignant at Fein's "scandalous behaviour." But he failed to do what was imperiously demanded by a decent regard for appearances and by a sense of loyalty, for he omitted to make a public declaration that he had no responsibility for the unauthorised reprint and that he thoroughly disapproved of the radical epilogue. The king, in his unsuspicious nobility of mind, did not even expect him to make any such declaration, but forbade the prosecution of "the *Whence and Whither?* with the dragon's tail," for the court of public opinion might safely be trusted to treat according to its deserts such ignoble, nay dishonourable, behaviour."[4] Profoundly was the monarch mistaken concerning the competence of public opinion, which was as yet quite unable to distinguish between moderate and radical opposition. Since Fein's compilation was permitted to circulate unmolested, its readers were unanimous in believing that the views of the Strasburg demagogue and those of Frederick William's friend were essentially identical. Presented in such a dress, Schön's

[1] Rochow's Reports to the king, May 21 and June 9, 1842.
[2] Vide supra, p. 132.
[3] King Frederick William to Thile, May 24, 1842.
[4] King Frederick William to Thile, May 23; the king's marginal note to Rochow's Report of May 21, 1842.

essay could not fail to exercise a most inflammatory influence, and it became absolutely impossible for him to remain in office.

Yet Schön was not wholly wrong when the king's incalculable character led him to count to the last upon the possibility of a change of mood. Frederick William had not yet broken completely with his old friend, and at the very moment when he accepted Schön's resignation he punished Schön's enemy. On April 7th General Wrangel, to his surprise and distress, was transferred to Stettin, for the king believed that the quick-tempered soldier would be too ready in Königsberg to give his men the order to fire. At the same time the sword fell upon Rochow. Frederick William considered it his duty to reprove the minister for the manifest partiality he had displayed throughout the prolonged dispute, for the king was aware that the journalists under Rochow's sway were partly responsible for the unbridled utterances of the liberal press. Nevertheless, he had not the heart to tell his friend the whole truth. On April 9th the astonished minister received an affectionate letter. Having learned, said the king, that Rochow, wished to resign for the good of his health, the writer wished to say that the retirement would cause him profound distress. " I have been obliged," continued Frederick William, " to summon cold reason to my aid, and you know, dear friend, that reason will not always come when summoned. On this occasion, however, God be thanked the call has been answered, and now—*I approve your wish.* . . . Matters must, of course be arranged so that there may be no opportunity afforded for malicious persons to say that you have been sacrificed to Schön. The most salutary political method will be for you to be transferred to another post shortly after Schön's resignation takes effect." The choice among a number of high offices was then offered. His hand being thus forced, Rochow sent in his resignation five days later. He deeply resented the friendly words which, in the circumstances, could not but seem little better than hypocrisy; and in a covering letter he disclosed plainly enough that he understood the reasons for his fall. The difficult position which he had had to occupy during the conditions that had prevailed since 1840 could, he wrote, be successfully filled only by a minister " empowered, by the unfailing sympathy, the openly declared confidence, and the protection of his sovereign, to follow a definitely indicated path consistently and with cheerful courage." The resignation was accepted, and since Rochow was

unwilling to hold any other office the king approved the retention of his seat in the council of state.[1]

This matter, too, was temporarily kept a profound secret, with the remarkable result that Rochow, who already had his dismissal in his pocket, had to report officially upon the writing of Schön, who had likewise already been dismissed. Not until June did the king venture to let the resignations take effect, Schön's retirement being made public on the 3rd of that month and Rochow's retirement on the 13th, Schön losing his seat in the ministry of state but receiving the title of Burgrave of Marienburg. Thus were both the adversaries overthrown, though both had continued to the last to hope for a favourable turn in affairs, and on neither side did the partisans know whether to lament or to exult. At the outset the only people to be pleased were the clericalists, for Schön and Rochow were alike regarded as representatives of the old and rigid ecclesiastical policy. It soon became evident, however, that the liberals were to be the sole sufferers from these remarkable changes. Schön's successor was Privy Councillor Bötticher, an able lawyer who had made his mark in high judicial positions, but who proved unsuccessful as an administrator, and never gained much prestige among the East Prussians. He was well known to be a man of ultra-conservative views, and the king, upon the occasion of his next visit to Marienburg, publicly stated that it was on this account alone that Bötticher had been made lord lieutenant. The appointment of commanding officer in East Prussia was given to an intimate friend of Bötticher, Count Frederick Dohna, Scharnhorst's son-in-law and an old and attached member of the Gerlach-Stolberg circle. Since he belonged to a family traditionally beloved in East Prussia, it was easier for him than it had been for Wrangel to make headway in Königsberg, and he opposed Schön's party no less decisively, though somewhat more temperately, than his predecessor had done. To Wrangel, during this very summer, the king confided his regret for past misunderstandings, saying bitter experience had now taught him that Schön and Schön's friends were in truth exceedingly dangerous.

The temper of the dismissed lord lieutenant became increasingly embittered. He reminded Boyen of the fine example set by Espartero, who had led a rising of the guards; he recommended

[1] King Frederick William to Rochow, April 9; two Petitions from Rochow to the king, April 14; Thile's Report to the king, April 24, 1842.

the appointment of Alexander Humboldt, the freethinker, as minister of public worship and education; he arrogantly insisted that Prussia had paid more than three million thalers on behalf of Don Carlos; there was no end to his abuse of the whole gang of ruffians, "the company of Korah." To most of the East Prussians, Schön's dismissal seemed like an affront to their homeland. The town of Königsberg hastened to bestow on him the freedom of the city; the Ritterschaft elected him deputy to the provincial diet; the *Hartungsche Zeitung* of Königsberg, which at this date began the publication of its series of leading articles under the caption "Home Affairs," extolled the fallen proconsul, and assumed an irritable and almost menacing tone towards the crown. The king was afraid that in the next diet Schön might become leader of the opposition. To avert this peril, at Christmas (December 21st to 27th) Frederick William penned a letter covering nine folio pages, an ardent address, wherein the old and still active sentiments of friendship were strangely mingled with repressed anger and with wheedling, almost feminine, cajolery. Half dubiously, half confidently, he expressed the hope that at the diet Schön would do his utmost to counteract the poisoning of public opinion. "In my beloved East Prussia alone does there prevail a *mutinous peace*!! In the land which the Lord God has thrust forward as a bulwark of Germanism amid the confusions of Slavonic and Sarmatian life, the German word is placed under a ban, nay, is shamefully shackled, by a *clique* of persons who work with the aid of French sentiments and French instruments: with lies! with lies! . . . Look you, my dear Schön, lies—*these are what I dread.*" Schön was to make common cause with true men and leal against this clique (which unquestionably was Schön's own party). Loudly was he to proclaim that "*to pretend to serve the king, to love the king, is an infamous falsehood, if one simultaneously attack the king's governmental machine and those who are carrying out the king's wishes, and if one represent them as enemies of the people and of the light.*" Above all it was essential that Schön should contradict the falsehood, busily circulated under cover of his name, that the king entertained constitutionalist designs: "*I will not commit felony against my loyal lieges,* nor will I derive the rights of my crown either from a human diet or from a scrap of parchment. I will not alter the constitution of my country. *I will not, because I may not.*" He therefore asked Schön's "help against the endeavours of the obscurantists,

the Jews, and the consorters with Jews," and commissioned him to show the letter to his East Prussian friends.

Secretly, however, he felt that Schön could hardly obey this command without exposing himself, and he therefore had transcripts of the letter sent to the new lord lieutenant and to other leading men in the province. When Bötticher now reported to him that Schön was maintaining an obstinate silence concerning "the precious royal missive," [1] Frederick William's anger became intense. Vainly did Flottwell, Schön's disciple, point out that the East Prussians ought not to be measured by any ordinary standard, for in East Prussia the majority of the inhabitants, perspicacious and at the same time loyal, were "in marvellous fashion illumined, warmed, nay, suffused, by the ideas of Kant as the earth by the rays of the autumn sun." [2] Fresh demonstrations on the part of Jacoby and his Königsberg friends brought the monarch's displeasure to a climax, and in a letter to General Dohna, under date February 24, 1843, he reiterated in even more expressive terms what he had previously said to Schön.[3] "I would," he wrote, "that I could as with Roland's horn send forth a trumpet call to the good men and true of Prussia, summon them to assemble round me like faithful lieges, to forget lesser evils in view of the great, the increasing, the sorrow-fraught evil, and to fight by my side in the intellectual struggle—in the struggle which, itself bloodless, can alone avert a sanguinary contest. . . . How great a misfortune for Prussia, and above all for Königsberg, are the existence and the activity of that contemptible Jewish clique with its childish and ridiculous yelping!! This impudent rabble is day after day, by word of mouth, by pen, and by drawings, laying axe to the very root of German existence. They do not desire (as I desire) the ennoblement and free juxtaposition of classes which can alone constitute a German nation; what they look for is the jumbling together of all classes. . . . I should be false to God, to my people, and to myself were I ever to grant a *constitution*, a *charte*, and therewith to bestow upon my people the preconditions for endless inveracities—to wit, fabled infallibility of the monarch, falsified *budgets*, the lie of attack and defence, the lie of praise and blame, *comedy* before and behind the *scenes*. These things

[1] Bötticher's Report to the king, January 6, 1843.

[2] Flottwell to King Frederick William, Magdeburg, December 24, 1842.

[3] The king's two long letters, to Schön and Dohna respectively, have been published in extenso in the Memoirs of the Past of the Dohna Family. Part IV. Section B. Berlin, 1885. (Printed for private circulation only.)

are witnessed, entailing injury and arousing disgust, in the *constitutionalist* states, where one thing only is true, that *each* party wishes to get the better of the *other*." It need hardly be said that General Dohna hastened to make this letter known far and wide, and it was no longer possible to speak of the king's constitutionalist plans.

On June 8, 1843, a year after Schön's retirement, the East Prussians celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his entry into the state service. A number of men of standing in the province had organised a collection, and so great was the power of the liberal legend that contributions came to hand even from South Germany, although the stubborn Old Prussian particularist had troubled himself little about the other Germans. The total was more than sufficient to pay off the mortgages on Schön's Arnau estate. With the surplus it was proposed to erect a monument to him while he was yet living, an obelisk in Königsberg. In that day such a proposal was quite unprecedented, but the king gave his consent, without however doing anything positive to favour the jubilee celebration. For a long time Schön absolutely refused to attend the laying of the foundation stone, saying with bewildered simplicity that he could not be thus untrue to himself. The members of the festival committee found it necessary to besiege him with letters and visits before they could plume themselves upon having "induced Schön to change his mind for the first time in his life." Nearly all the province participated when "homage was paid to splendid civic virtue," and only the ultraorthodox and some of the more conservative nobles held aloof. Not merely did Cäsar von Lengerke, the enlightened theologian, sound a lyre always pleasing to the liberals, but even Eichendorff, a good Catholic poet who had learned during official service in Königsberg to love the province and the man who had ruled it for so many years, sent his festal greetings to the "brave skipper," writing:

> And since the surges sank to sleep,
> The waves repose then sought,
> He rescued for us from the deep
> The treasure-house of thought.

The university, too, sent congratulations, for the professorial caste had almost everywhere been won over to the side of liberalism. The principal speech was made by Friedrich von Fahrenheid, the most popular of the liberal East Prussian nobles,

a transcendental horse-breeder (the phrase is Schön's) and a man of many-sided attainments, philanthropically inclined, noted for his interest in meadow culture and in horse-racing. The hero of the occasion modestly deprecated the praises showered upon him, saying, as befitted an East Prussian, that all the merit for a life wholly devoted to the ideal was due to his great teacher Kant. It was a family festival of the province, and the old gentleman's prestige was still so overwhelming for the majority of his fellow provincials that any doubts of his greatness were regarded as tantamount to treason. During his long tenure of office his name had become inseparably associated with the province; even the new lord lieutenant was forced to admit that his predecessor's activities had borne much excellent fruit;[1] and Schon's pugnacious disposition was a characteristic reproduction of many of the traits of the East Prussian national stock—though the finest of all, truthfulness, was unfortunately lacking. Withdrawing to his quiet estate of Arnau in the Pregel valley, he founded the Agricultural Central Union, of which he was the first president, and engaged in many other works of public utility. Yet keener was his interest in providing for his own posthumous fame. Indefatigably did he labour, now to permeate youthful professors with his own spirit, now to communicate to historians those artificial versions of history which he had conceived for his own glorification and had repeated so often that he had at length come to believe in them himself. Never again after his retirement did he become active in the political field, although the king, with touching fidelity, continued to display towards him the wanted marks of personal friendship.

Count Arnim was summoned from Posen to replace Rochow. High hopes were founded on this appointment, for he was a man of vigorous character, not yet forty years of age; he promptly surrounded himself with young advisers; and it was believed that he would determine the whole policy of the cabinet. Arnim was Stein's nephew, and had never made a secret of his aristocratic pride. He counted it an inestimable privilege that his house should be one of the places where right prevailed, where wrong was punished, and where order was safeguarded. Arnim took much pleasure in English manners and customs, which were then beginning to make their way into the upper circles of Germany and Austria. His tall, somewhat stiff, and

[1] Bötticher, Report to Thile, June 2, 1844.

always well-dressed figure suggested rather the English peer than the scion of an ancient German warrior stock, and he inclined to regard ordinary mortals with a certain contempt. Nevertheless, like his distinguished uncle, he was thoroughly imbued with the principle of the counterpoise of rights and duties. He insisted that the Prussian nobles must earn their position of power by political work, and he keenly desired the speedy summoning of a national assembly upon the extant principles of representation by estates. Precisely because these ideas were so simple and so judicious, it was impossible for the king to endorse them. In his autocratic pride Frederick William had not even thought it necessary to come to an understanding with the new minister, for whilst Arnim was personally pleasing to him, he wanted nothing more than a submissive tool. The king and the minister differed, too, in their religious views, for though Arnim was a believing Christian he disliked pietism in all its forms, and wished for the cautious reintroduction of Altenstein's ecclesiastical policy, which must, he considered, on no account be abandoned. It was with a sense of self-sacrifice that Arnim took office. He was chivalrously prepared to accept responsibility for all the misadventures and mistakes of his royal master, but the great statesmanlike ambition which desires to set its mark upon an epoch was unknown to him, and during these years there was no place for a man of so independent a mind.

Just as in Posen the working of the new system was disturbed by Arnim's sudden recall, so also did there occur an arrest in the federal policy which had been planned for Frankfort, for after a brief tenure of office Count Maltzan was seized by a fatal illness, and in the spring of 1842 Heinrich von Bülow was withdrawn from the federal embassy to take charge of the foreign office. In St. Petersburg and Vienna the appointment was regarded with suspicion, for in those capitals Lord Palmerston's friend was looked upon as a dangerous liberal. In Berlin, however, the expectation was that this brilliant man, who had taken so active a part in the foundation of the customs union, would inaugurate a resolute national commercial policy. Shortly after the appointment occurred the death of Ladenberg, and Count Stolberg now became treasurer of the household in addition to administrator of the royal domains. Thus after two years the ministry of state was entirely reconstituted. Only three of the former ministers still remained at their posts: Nagler, in poor health, out of tune with the new times, and wholly

concerned with his own postal department; Rother, who was likewise failing from old age; and Mühler, the minister for justice.

§ 3. THE FESTIVAL OF COLOGNE CATHEDRAL. THE UNITED COMMITTEES.

The changed character of the regime was further manifested by the new ruler's restless love of travel, for Frederick William was always on the move as far as was possible with the aid of the defective means of communication of those days. The allegiance journeys were followed in the late summer of 1841 by a longer stay in Silesia. The king informed the Breslau municipal authorities that he desired neither a banquet nor any form of ceremonial reception, the reason being that the Silesian diet had advocated the summoning of a national assembly, and had therefore adopted an attitude of "open opposition." The Breslauers answered respectfully that they had done no more than was within their competence; and when they sent another deputation to beg the king to allow them to entertain him, the angry man relented. He was given a brilliant reception; declared himself much moved and gratified by the patriotic jubilation of his loyal Silesians, who were simultaneously celebrating the centenary of their union with Prussia, and he once more charmed the hearts of all when, in farewell greeting to the ancient city, he made an enthusiastic speech wishing Breslau "another thousand years like the past hundred." But in an audience given to the town councillors he told them that no power on earth should force from him what twenty-five years' experience had convinced him to be unwise; they must guard against precipitation, what must be, must be. Thus did he again demand unconditional trust in plans whose purport no one could unriddle.

From Silesia he hastened to Warsaw to confer with Czar Nicholas. The czar had recently, and more than once, solemnly assured the court of Berlin that the latter's rapprochement with England was not to make any change in the earlier and closer friendship between the three eastern powers, and he did his utmost to give his guest a cordial reception. Remote now, however, were the innocent days when the Berliners had been accustomed to speak of the czar without qualification

as "the Kaiser." The slavophils, favoured by Nicholas, were again displaying their opposition to the westernisers, the bringers of civilisation to Russia, and were manifesting a barbaric hatred for the Germans. In Prussia, too, the companionship-at-arms with the Russians had been utterly forgotten; the anger of the East Prussians on account of "the Chinese wall" established by their Muscovite neighbours was reinforced by the long-standing hatred that inspired the liberal sarmatiophils; and almost all parties were united in their animosity against Russia. Involuntarily, the two rulers were affected by the change in public opinion among their respective peoples. Nicholas was no longer young, but he continued to believe himself to be God's chosen instrument; he was still resolute to wage a war of annihilation against the revolution; now that his heir had married a Hessian princess he was more than ever convinced of his mission to safeguard the tranquillity of Germany; and Frederick William's incalculable lust for innovation remained suspect to him. The king's artistic temperament, on the other hand, made the rigid and inhuman Russian discipline uncongenial; he was bored by the barrack talk of his brother-in-law, who maintained in good earnest the hardly credible opinion that nothing spoils an army so much as war. The brief meeting had no political outcome, for there was not even effected a thorough exchange of ideas. Nevertheless, in Frederick William the rencounter reawakened cherished memories of youth. Passing through Kalisz on the way home, and catching sight of the monument in commemoration of 1813 and 1835 whose inscription besought God's blessing upon the Prusso-Russian alliance, profoundly moved he mounted the steps of the pedestal and with his finger wrote "Amen" beneath the words—an action regarded with much disfavour by the liberal world. In November he paid a visit to the court of Munich. Shortly afterwards came the betrothal of the much courted Crown Prince Max of Bavaria to the beautiful Princess Mary of Prussia, daughter of Prince William the elder. Friendship with the Bavarian house, so dear to the king's heart, seemed secured anew.

In the same winter followed the English journey. To appease the notable jealousy of the czar, the five and twentieth anniversary of his appointment as chief of the Brandenburg cuirassiers was celebrated with much splendour. After receiving the delegates from his regiment, Nicholas assured the

Prussian envoy that those had been the happiest days of his life, the days of youthful love and of untrammelled intercourse with his Prussian brothers-in-law.[1] The German world no longer shared these naïve views. The *Königsberger Zeitung* tempestuously demanded military defence for East Prussia, and referred so plainly to the possibility of war with Russia that the Russian envoy was instructed to complain of the laxity of the Prussian censorship. In these circumstances Frederick William thought it advisable to attend the silver wedding of the Russian imperial pair in June, 1842. The family festival was a friendly one, for the empress Charlotte did her utmost to keep the two brothers-in-law in an amiable mood. But behind the scenes unedifying political negotiations were in progress.

The cartel convention, so burdensome to Prussia, so advantageous to Russia, was upon the point of expiry, and the Königsberg merchants petitioned the king not to renew the treaty. Thereupon they received a hectoring admonition couched in phraseology reminiscent of the days of Rochow, to the effect that these political questions lay beyond a subject's scope. None the less, Frederick William could not but feel that his East Prussians' complaints were well grounded. Cabinet Councillors Uhden and Müller accompanied him to St. Petersburg to engage in confidential negotiations in favour of a mitigation of the frontier embargo, and the king supported their endeavours with all the power of his eloquence.[2] In honour of his royal guest the czar pardoned the Prussian smugglers who had been sent to Siberia, but on the main question no satisfactory arrangement was secured, and when the two rulers parted they were not on the best of terms. In August, shortly after the king's return, a cabinet order was issued for the fortification of Königsberg and of the little town of Lötzen in the Masurian lake district; at Memel, too, and at certain minor places on the eastern frontier, fortifications were to be erected. Plans for such fortifications had long been entertained, for unquestionably the late king, in his concern for Germany's western frontier, had neglected the eastern march from a military point of view. All Prussian territory eastward of the Vistula line lacked fortresses, and directly General Boyen became minister for war he made it his business to atone

[1] Liebermann's Report, April 19, 1842.
[2] Bülow to Rauch, August 20, 1842.

for this injustice to his beloved homeland. On the Neva no objection could reasonably be taken to Prussia's establishing a few bulwarks in opposition to the great triangle of fortifications in Poland. But the issue of the cabinet order at this particular moment seemed like an answer to the reception at St. Petersburg, and the relationship between the neighbour courts was universally regarded as being more unfriendly than it actually was.

Upon the return journey the king spent a few days in Königsberg. He knew that in this city there existed "among the people a substratum of noblest sentiment and primæval loyalty such as can be found perhaps nowhere else in the world." During the first six years of his reign, therefore, he paid no less than five visits to East Prussia, his declared aim being to win this beloved people wholly to his cause by royal magnanimity and by unstinted candour. But on this occasion he seemed somewhat out of humour, not only because of the growth of Jacoby's faction, but also because of certain doings at the university (especially dear to him because he had been its rector for many years). Shortly before, Hävernick, the Mecklenburger, a learned theologian of the rigid school of Hengstenberg, had been summoned to Königsberg by Minister Eichhorn in order that the exegesis of the Old Testament should not be left entirely to the liberal Lengerke. Hävernick was in ill odour as an informer, for in his student days he had communicated to the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* his notes of Gesenius' and Wegschneider's lectures out of which Gerlach had subsequently been able to forge weapons for use in the campaign against the Halle rationalists;[1] and although many years had elapsed this deplorable outcome of religious zeal had never been forgiven. The Königsberg students, for the most part East Prussians, though among them were a few Poles ever ready to create an uproar, felt that their provincial honour was touched, and gave the newly appointed professor so stormy a reception that for long he was unable to deliver his lectures. Subsequently, regarding Lengerke as the representative of free science, the young fellows serenaded him, and Hävernick's adversary complacently declared that the homage was not due to him personally but to the spirit of his teaching. At first Frederick William could hardly believe that "*my* students" had displayed such licence, or that "*my* senate" had left them unpunished; and in the first flush of anger he threatened to lay aside the purple gown of the Albertina.[2] By the time he

[1] See vol. IV, p. 187. [2] King Frederick William to Schön, December 6, 1841.

reached Königsberg his wrath had cooled to some extent. He commended the provincial diet for its conduct, but to the dean of the university he administered a reprimand which was so much distorted by the newspapers that the minister found it necessary to issue an official rectification.[1] The final impressions of the visit were painful. The East Prussians had little thanks to give their monarch for his love. His desire to rule in small matters as well as great seemed to them unkingly, and they regarded his unremitting paternal care as a nuisance.

More fortunate was the king's journey to the western provinces, which followed hard upon the visit to Königsberg. Whether it was in Minden, where with kindly words he decorated old Vincke with the order of the black eagle; or in Ravensberg, where he assured the clergy that any fear of free investigation was an indication of infirmity of faith; or in Hamm, where "with overflowing heart" he drank to the welfare of the loyal country of Mark; or in Barmen, where he thanked the burghers for the hospitality they had once shown to the crown prince—wherever he went he was kindly, high-spirited, and enthusiastic, so that it seemed as if he were moving in an ecstatic dream. The manœuvres of the two western army corps were attended by officers from almost every country in Europe. Several of the neighbouring princes put in an appearance in person; but the grand duke of Baden sent his excuses, being unwilling to give the liberal parliamentarians a chance of saying that he was guided by Prussian advice.[2] Immediately after the manœuvres the king went to the festival held on the second occasion of laying the foundation stone of Cologne cathedral. It was impossible for Sulpiz Boisserée to absent himself from this memorable ceremony, and greatly was he astonished on returning to his native city after so many years' absence. Everything had been transformed under Prussian rule: the ancient town was flourishing once again; there was busy traffic upon the liberated stream; even the popular mood had been transformed. A generation earlier, during the Napoleonic era, the Cologners had shrugged their shoulders at Boisserée when he spoke to them about the preservation of their immemorial cathedral, nor had they taken it amiss when Berdollet, the French bishop, had proposed the demolition of the venerable Gothic edifice. But now everyone had a friendly handshake for the prime mover

[1] Arnim to Thile, October 19; Stolberg to Arnim, October 21, 1842.
[2] Radowitz' Report, August 20, 1842.

in the rebuilding of the cathedral, and it was universally agreed that to restore the incomparable structure was a point of honour for the province. But it was the crown of Prussia which the Rhinelanders had to thank for this ability to contemplate their own great past with renewed affection, for Prussia had saved the territory from its semi-foreign existence and had drawn it back within the current of national life.

Ideas that have quite vanished from literature will often continue to reverberate in the manners and customs of society, and thus it was that romanticist moods were still prevalent on the Rhine although the choir-leaders of poesy had long since sought other paths. At this very time, amid the acclamations of his fellow provincials, Carl Simrock, penned his mischievous warning against the Rhine:

> To the Rhine, to the Rhine, go not to the Rhine,
> Your spirit a curb will need,
> For life is there too fresh and fine—
> My son, hear well my rede.

Never before had the ruined castles of the Rhine been so much visited and so highly appreciated as now, when the new steamboats were day by day conveying up the river cheerful young fellows, painters from Düsseldorf, students from Bonn, singers from Cologne. Rheinstein was rebuilt by Prince Frederick of Prussia, and Rheineck by Bethmann-Hollweg; upon the Apollinarisberg, whose summit commands a wide stretch of the valley, Count Fürstenberg had a lovely Gothic church erected; at the suggestion of Ferdinand Freiligrath, dreaming out his days happily at Unkel in poetic composition over the red Ahr wine, collections were instituted for the restoration of the ruined window arches in the castle of Rolandseck; and shortly afterwards the ancient Königsstuhl at Rhense arose from its ruins.

The enthusiasm for Cologne cathedral had first originated in these romanticist and æsthetic sentiments, to which there subsequently became associated the provincial pride of Rhineland and the Catholic zealotry which the episcopal dispute had done so much to engender, while of late and especially since the alarm of war in 1840 there had likewise been superadded a German national feeling. Görres had once declared in the *Rheinische Merkur*, that this incomplete but titanic structure was an inheritance from the great imperial days of old, bequeathed by them for completion to modern and reenfranchised Germany, but at

that date few had paid heed to his words. Now everyone was giving utterance to similar ideas, and here upon the left bank of the Rhine, so often the scene of struggle between the races, was the place where the Latins could best be shown what Teuton energy and Teuton unanimity were competent to achieve. When the half-forgotten Kyffhäuser saga was recalled to life during this very decade by Rückert's poem, cathedral sagas with an antique ring gained currency as well, such verses as the middle ages would never have dreamed of, true children of the patriotic yearning of the new generation. The old crane on the unfinished tower was "a gigantic note of interrogation," a symbol of the disintegration of the fatherland; the dream of the century, the unity of Germany, would not be fulfilled until this crane had disappeared nor until the two completed towers soared skyward side by side.

Thus at length was fulfilled Schenkendorf's prophecy: [1]

Now has come th' expected master,
Broken now the ancient ban.
Spirits rise and hearts beat faster
As to end our work we plan.

Zwirner, the architect, a Silesian of Schinkel's school, furnished the king with a carefully thought out and complete design for the finishing of the entire cathedral, a gigantic undertaking which at an earlier date even Boisserée had regarded as impossible. The burghers of Cologne, meanwhile, were holding meetings to further the work. At first they were unable to come to an agreement, for many devout Catholics were of opinion that no one ought to set a hand to the task as long as the archbishop's seat in the choir remained vacant. But young August Reichensperger now took the field. A strict clericalist, but at the same time a good Prussian and a warm admirer of Rhenish art, he exhorted his countrymen in an eloquent pamphlet to forget their quarrels and to utilise the favourable opportunity offered by the opening of the new reign. Thus was opposition overcome, and there was now founded the great association for the completion of the cathedral. Like the Brotherhood of Saint Peter in the middle ages, this association was to collect money and to work in other ways on behalf of the building of the house of God. Nothing could please the king better. Many years before,

[1] See vol. II, pp. 280 and 281.

guided by Boisserée, he had first wandered among the carvings in the cathedral, and throughout the intervening period his dreams had been filled with the hope of outdoing the rebuilding of the Marienburg. He immediately became patron of the new association, and set aside the sum of fifty thousand thalers annually from the state revenues on behalf of the work. It was hoped that a like sum would be secured by voluntary contributions, and since Zwirner estimated the total cost at five million thalers, it seemed even to the most hopeful enthusiasts that the completion of the work was hardly to be expected before the twentieth century had dawned.

On September 4th the second foundation stone was laid, nearly six hundred years after Archbishop Conrad of Hochstaden had begun the building of the choir; the broken chain of time was reunited. The king first attended divine service in the Protestant church, for to-day of all days he was least willing to conceal his Evangelical faith, and the completion of the cathedral was in his eyes a work to indicate the fraternity of the creeds. Next he assisted at high mass in the Dom. Thereafter, in the open, surrounded by his princely guests, by the clergy and a brilliant retinue, by the members of the association for the completion of the cathedral, and by a vast crowd of spectators, when he uplifted the hammer in order to lay the foundation stone the enthusiasm of his artist soul found expression once more in a magnificent oration: "Over this foundation stone, simultaneously with those twin towers, there shall be erected the most beautiful portal in the world. Germany is to build it, and may it with God's grace become for Germany the portal leading to a new, a great, and a good epoch. The spirit that builds this portal . . . is the spirit of German unity and energy. May the entry to Cologne cathedral become for that spirit a pathway leading to the most glorious of triumphs! It is a spirit which builds and completes. This great work shall give token down to the latest generations of a Germany that is mighty in the unity of her princes and her peoples, of a Germany that without bloodshed shall enforce peace on the world! My prayer to God is that the cathedral of Cologne shall rise above this town, above Germany, throughout an era rich in the peace of man, rich in the peace of God, destined to endure until the end of time!" With the sure touch of the born orator, and rightly sensing the feelings of his Rhenish hearers, he thundered in conclusion "the thousand year old

invocation to the town, Alaf Köln!" Indescribable exultation followed these words as they had followed the king's speech at Königsberg. The storm of approbation recommenced when the old crane on the tower began to move, and the first piece of the new masonry was lifted into place. At the subsequent banquet, where the seven hundred guests of the monarch were assembled in a marquee, joy reigned supreme; elderly men wept as they embraced one another, declaring themselves fortunate in having lived to see this day, and Frederick William gratefully shook hands with Sulpiz Boisserée, whom he had summoned forth from the medley. In the evening the town and the picturesque towers were illuminated, affording a spectacle never to be forgotten by the thousands who, upon the richly bedecked vessels, were steaming to and fro on the Rhine.

Among the distinguished guests there was but one who took no part in the universal joy, and that one was Metternich. He stood close to the king during the latter's speech, and, drawing forth a long comb from his pocket, proceeded meditatively to comb his sparse locks over from back to front. It was not without ironical amusement that he contemplated his royal admirer, who was causing so much unrest and who ever wished to be in the limelight; among his cronies Metternich made a mock of these victories on battlegrounds where no blood was spilled, and hinted that one never knew whether the king deceived himself or others more. Unluckily there was a grain of truth in the mischievous suggestion. As the sculptor Rietschel once remarked with genial insight, Frederick William's speeches were veritable works of art; they were not made, but were the outpourings of his innermost soul; and for this reason, like the mind of the orator, they were devoid of political content, and were open to any and every interpretation and misinterpretation. The king had never been more thoroughly misunderstood than here in Cologne. The young poet Robert Prutz indited the following lines:

> My Lord, events press onward, wheels are turning,
> And should God wish, He could not hold them back . . .
> So speak the word now on this day so festive,
> Oh, speak the word: CONSTITUTION!

And though perhaps but few of the king's hearers harboured such definitely liberal wishes, yet all believed that his words were

pregnant with promise for a new ordering of things, that they foreboded a time of fulfilment which would abundantly satisfy the nation's longing for freedom and unity. In the king's view, however, Germany the unique, Germany the land alone competent to enforce peace without shedding blood, had two years earlier proved her mettle before all the world. He had no thought of interfering with the Bundestag or of infringing the rights of the lesser crowns.

No sooner did the nation begin to realise the meaning of the royal words than the patriotic intoxication and hope of the festival days vanished. Nevertheless the enthusiasm on behalf of completing the cathedral persisted. The work was pushed forward quicker than could have been anticipated. Masterbuilder Zwirner's workshops became an academy for the plastic arts in the west; men like Statz and F. Schmidt issued from its portals. These were persons of great talent, who carried on the work of their predecessors "strictly according to rule," and yet were able to modify the time-honoured designs in conformity with the feelings of the new age. It was only in Fuchs' massive sculptures that the superficiality of hasty work could be detected. Rhineland gave lavishly; the students of Bonn university formed a "cathedral society"; and even from Berlin and other distant parts rich gifts were forthcoming. Among the most eager was King Louis of Bavaria. He gave utterance to the hope that "Bavarian cooperation" would never fail when it was a question of "setting up a memorial to German ideals and German unity"; and he made every effort to inaugurate a society of German princes for furthering the building of the cathedral. Since this scheme came to naught owing to the prejudices of the Protestant courts of Stuttgart and of Cassel, the Wittelsbach contented himself with his own independent endeavours, and took under his patronage the recently revived art of coloured glass work; the exquisite stained glass which he presented for the windows of the south aisle might well sustain comparison with the coloured glories of the middle ages. There existed everywhere a charming sense of emulation; in its political magnanimity the nation failed to consider the, alas! all too relevant question: Will the cathedral clergy display the spirit of Christian love wherewith the royal patron of the edifice is inspired?

It was reserved for the old rationalists and for the young atheists to vent mockery and contempt upon the whole affair. In Gotha the veteran Bretschneider, an almost forgotten worthy,

raged anew against the clericalism of Cologne, for Görres, in an ardent and unwontedly pacific writing, had just reiterated his former call to arms. David Friedrich Strauss was animated by a fierce and positively personal hatred against the undertaking, his opinion finding expression in the phrase: "God dwells no longer in any temple." Heine uttered the exultant prophecy:

> They ne'er shall complete it, hoot and caw as they may,
> The owls and the ravens galore,
> Those birds who delight in antiquity's day,
> And who love round tall steeples to soar.

He gloated over the thought that this house of God would some day be degraded to the uses of a stable. Thus completely, in his life on the banks of the Seine, had he grown out of touch with his forsaken homeland. Those who were French by birth took a different view, for many of them, consumed with a secret envy, admitted that the spirit of the Latin lands would not easily furnish self-sacrificing energy sufficient for such a work as that to which disintegrated Germany was now venturing to devote itself.

The king remained on the Rhine for a few weeks longer, luxuriating in the historical and artistic charms of the region. Wherever he went he aroused the enthusiasm of the warm-hearted masses. Even the men of Aix, though still full of suspicion and hostility towards all that was Prussian, felt honoured by his kindly praise of their loyalty. At Brühl, in the charming rococo palace of the electors of Cologne, Frederick William entertained his distinguished guests at a second banquet, proposing toasts, first of all to the two heroes of the War of Liberation, the king of Würtemberg and the king of the Netherlands, and subsequently, in memory of the old comradeship-in-arms, to the Archduke John, "whose name exhilarates us as a fresh breeze from the mountains." The archduke's name was practically unknown in Germany, for it was long since anyone had spoken of the warrior deeds of his youth, deeds which had in truth brought him little distinction. The Hofburg looked at him askance, for the old and baseless fable that during Napoleonic days he had cherished the ambition to establish an Alpine kingdom of Rhaetia, continued to find credence. For years past he had lived in Styria, remote from the court, a vigorous agriculturist and chamois hunter, maintaining friendly relations with a

number of scholars and artists, and doing his utmost on behalf of the scientific collections in the Styrian capital. In appearance he resembled a simple peasant; and in the art peculiar to his house, that of gracious friendliness, he was a master; moreover, it was known that among friends he would sometimes express his dissatisfaction with the follies of the Austrian censorship as freely as any other man of culture. Undeservedly, therefore, he had acquired the reputation of being an opposition leader, and his liberalism was yet more loudly extolled when he became enamoured of the daughter of a postmaster and brought this worthy young woman home, for the sentimental liberalism of those days shared with milliners and shop girls a wholehearted enthusiasm for misalliances. Returning thanks for the king's toast, the archduke appeared profoundly moved, and concluded as follows: "As long as Prussia and Austria, and as long as the rest of Germany wherever the German tongue is heard, are united, we shall be as steadfast as the rocks of our mountains." Marvellous was the effect of these innocent words, for in those days it seemed quite unprecedented that in Metternich's presence and in the phraseology of Arndt's notorious *Fatherland Song*, an archduke should vaunt German unity. The old gentleman immediately became celebrated, and the newspapers insisted that he had said: "No longer shall be known Austria or Prussia, but a single Germany, lofty and sublime, Germany united and strong as her own mountains!" Among nations for whom the day of a great decision approaches, the forces of mythopeism gather remarkable strength. These forces now seized upon the figure of the Austrian and transfigured him to become a popular hero, much as the Italians not long afterwards constructed a fancy picture of the "liberal pope," Pius IX. The mischievous humour of history was not yet satisfied, for the day was to come when Archduke John, in reward for returning thanks to a toast in phrases which in fact he had never used, was to be called to the leadership of the German nation.

After the Brühl banquet, Frederick William took a brief holiday at Stolzenfels. Thence he went to Treves, where old memories stimulated him to make another speech. Passing on to Saarbrücken, on the furthest western frontier of his realm, his fancy winged its flight towards the remotest eastern march, and his mind was filled with images of that other frontier town at which he had landed but two months earlier on his way home from Russia. He had ever cherished a passion for Memel, for

there, so he was accustomed to say, he had passed many happy days in boyhood, dreaming by the seashore when, during the mysterious twilight of the long summer nights, the sand dunes of the Kurische Nehrung lay like a golden-green cloud in the offing. In graceful words he now expressed all that he felt for his country, both east and west, and drank to the health of the two towns of Saarbrücken and Memel. Thus did he weave rose after rose into the garland of his life. He had a longing for happiness, and in such days, when he could enjoy the delights of poetic journeyings, he overflowed with life and spirits. The general impression was so dazzling that even the sober minded king of Würtemberg was enthralled by the Rhenish festivities, and the Prussian envoy in Stuttgart, sending faithful report, gave assurance as follows: "If his majesty have a fondness for anyone in the world, it is upon your majesty that his affections are bestowed." [1]

Elsewhere than in Rhineland these after-dinner speeches restored Frederick William for a brief period to popular favour, so that during the hot summer of 1842 an exalted patriotic mood prevailed throughout Germany. Even more than by pleasure in the great national work upon the Rhine were German hearts knit together by their sympathetic concern for the misfortunes of Hamburg. On May 5th, just before the day fixed for the formal opening of the new railway to Bergedorf, the Hansa town was visited by a disastrous conflagration. The flames raged for three and a half days. About two thousand houses, more than one-fifth of the city, were consumed, and among them perished the splendid new buildings in the Jungfernstieg fronting the Alster basin. Nearly twenty thousand persons were rendered homeless, and the monetary loss was estimated at 45,000,000 thalers. The terrible spectacle recalled the legends of antiquity. A rain of sparks like that which of old descended upon Pompeii was carried by an unfavourable wind far and wide across the town. Flaming spirit gushed from the great cellars in streams through the streets and covered the waters of the canals with blue flames. The fierce heat, in conjunction with a fine dust which filled the pores of the skin as if with red hot flour, drove men wellnigh crazy. At first the authorities lost their heads, and failed to take proper measures to meet the emergency, whilst the inhabitants showed the indifference towards fire alarms usual in great cities, trusting

[1] Rochow's Report, September 25, 1842.

blindly in their celebrated fire brigade. The greatness of the peril was not realised until the lofty tower of St. Nicholas' crashed down on the roof of the church, scattering fiery debris to ignite all the houses in the neighbourhood, whilst the splendid chime produced hideous discords as if in mad despair when the bells hurtled to earth. Now at length the senate agreed that under the guidance of Lindley, the distinguished English engineer, the progress of the flames should be arrested by blowing up whole streets of houses or by destroying them with artillery fire. Even the venerable town hall, where the senate of Hamburg had met for five hundred years, had thus to be sacrificed. By the third day people had become accustomed to the danger, and although the most ancient of their churches, St. Peter's, had likewise been laid in ruins, they had begun to hope that the town would not be utterly destroyed. With growing confidence, and at length with admirable orderliness, they conducted the struggle to its end.

As invariably happens when mortal men become aware of their pettiness while confronted with the power of the elements, all the nobler and all the baser aspects of human nature were simultaneously displayed. When the powder wagons were being driven through the burning streets, a number of valiant citizen artillerymen voluntarily seated themselves on the powder casks in order to guard these with their own bodies against the flying sparks. On the other hand, the notorious mob of the Hamburger Berg and crowds of rapscallions from the environs had assembled, and these danced round the flames with bestial clamour, held drinking bouts in the burning houses, plundering and destroying as they listed. The citizen army, which in these severe trials showed itself to be of worthier metal than might have been anticipated from its customary behaviour on the drill ground, was compelled on several occasions to disperse the rioters. Even men of quiet disposition became morbidly affected by the sinister suspicions which are apt to prevail during such days of disaster. "The Englishmen have fired the city," was the universal rumour, for the great machine works beside the Grasbrook dock had a number of English operatives in its employ, and these immigrants had long been at feud with the natives. Many persons of English type, including the young poet Friedrich Hebbel, narrowly escaped lynching. During the prolonged enquiry which ensued not a single case of arson could, however, be proved to have occurred, and the actual origin of the conflagration was never

discovered. When the danger had been surpassed, it became plain for the first time how much Germany possessed in the wealth and the civic spirit of her leading commercial city. Within a few days confident assurances were sent to the neighbouring governments to the effect that Hamburg would be able unaided to make good the monetary losses.[1] The new stock exchange, the pride of the mercantile community, specially protected by courageous men, had been preserved unharmed amid the general ruin; the bank had saved its treasure and had not suspended business for a single day; even in the harbour work had not been completely interrupted. Salomon Heine, the wealthy uncle of the poet, was able to secure that the rate of discount should not exceed four per cent.; twenty firms promptly constituted a loan society with a capital of twelve million marks; and in the following August the city was able to place a large loan at three per cent. The vast areas were now cleared, and even ten weeks after the disaster the fire was found to be still smouldering in many of the cellars. The destroyed streets were rebuilt on a finer and statelier plan; the docks were enlarged; new means of communication with the left bank of the Elbe were opened.

Thus was fulfilled what Schenkendorf had prophesied during the tribulations of the Napoleonic regime, and Hamburg arose once more like a young phœnix from the ashes. But necessity teaches us, not merely to pray, but also to search our own hearts and to look around. During the days of terror the political defects of the clumsy and antiquated civic organisation had been unmistakably manifest, and no long time elapsed before, in accordance with a proposal made by Wurm the publicist, Kirchenpauer the doctor, and other young citizens, the highly respected Patriotic Society decided to request the senate to separate the judiciary from the administration, to institute a more liberal electoral system in the city colleges, and to reform the neglected police system. Bartels, the veteran burgomaster, and the majority of the senators, declared these modest proposals to be jacobin; and since most of the citizens, their minds fully occupied with economic cares, had at the moment no taste for political questions, of all the suggested reforms but one came to fruition, namely, that the Jews were no longer confined to definite quarters of the town, and were granted the privilege of living where they pleased. Within a few years a heavy atonement was to be paid for the political sins of omission of these days.

[1] Thile's Report to the king, May 16, 1842.

The entire nation furnished brotherly help in the rebuilding of the city. While the conflagration was yet in progress, soldiers and firemen had hastened to the spot from all the neighbouring German states. Now, as was fitting, the most effective help came from Germany, although the whole civilised world, and northern Europe in particular (a region whose interests were so closely intertwined with those of the great free port on the Elbe), likewise furnished abundant aid. Provisions of all sorts were shipped down the Elbe, so that the common people in Hamburg, whose losses had been small while their earnings were now great, were perhaps enabled after the fire to live better than before. The inland regions of Germany, though still far from wealthy, sent during the next few months no less than 1,600,000 marks in hard cash. Even in South Germany, where the Hansa towns were little loved owing to their commercial policy, there were many touching instances of sympathy, and in Heidelberg the maidservants founded an aid society. These philanthropic endeavours were one and all infused with the patriotic idea. In innumerable poems and appeals it was declared that in the Cologne cathedral works and in the rebuilding of Hamburg the Germans must show how alike in joy and in sorrow they stood shoulder to shoulder as fellow-countrymen. The natural impulse of national unity surged vigorously up, and it was in full accordance with the spirit of his people that Hoffmann of Fallersleben sang: "In the glow of Hamburg's burning, God reveals to us the truth, and the first stones of the rebuilding will be the foundation stones of the new Germanic league." The king of Prussia, too, joyfully participated in the work of benevolence. He sent troops to help in maintaining order; despatched Lord Lieutenant Flottwell to make personal enquiries as to the help that was needed; and, like most of the other German princes, gave a considerable sum of money. Believing that his Prussians "would regard this distress as one common to all," he had house-to-house and church collections instituted throughout the kingdom. The bookselling firm of Hoffmann and Campe, which had so often been prosecuted by the Bundestag, had suffered severely in the fire, and the king therefore decreed that the works published by this house should henceforward be allowed free circulation in Prussia, thus cancelling a recently renewed prohibition. The graciousness of the concession was widely esteemed since it redounded to the advantage of the liberal cause, and there were few to

reflect how extreme a use of arbitrary power was masked by the kindliness.

From the Rhine the king journeyed to greet his loyal Neuchâtelois, who had recently, with loud rejoicings, taken the oath of allegiance, receiving in return the traditional assurance that their ruler would never alienate the territory and would invariably maintain the privileges of its inhabitants. The canton received its prince with all the pomp of monarchy. Church bells rang, whilst Prussian and Neuchâtelois flags fluttered upon the triumphal arches, the Swiss banner being rarely in evidence. Royalist sentiments prevailed throughout the official world, from the youngest lieutenant upwards to Baron Chambrier, the most influential man in the principality. The masses, too, were not slow to demonstrate their delight, for the radical party, though it had been growing quietly, was still leaderless, and kept modestly in the background. Thus the king's impressions were extraordinarily favourable, and he repeatedly declared that of none of his subjects was he prouder than of those of Neuchâtel. Little did he foresee how soon destiny was to thrust upon him the question whether he was the man to keep the oath made to these loyal subjects.

During all these journeyings the king was continually occupied upon the development of the representative institutions that were so dear to his heart. Delighted with the peaceful course of affairs in the last diets, he had in the previous spring expressed his determination that the newly formed representative committees which had not yet begun active work in a single one of the provinces should this very year all be summoned to Berlin as united committees. It was true that there was no urgent need for anything of the kind, and that as yet no one even knew with what affairs the committees were to deal. But Frederick William was in the mood of a happy father eager to give his well-behaved children a joyous surprise. On June 11th, when the ministry of state held a joint sitting with the immediate committee, hardly anyone present knew what line to take, for not a soul understood what was the real purpose of the new committees. In accordance with the prescriptions for the future national assembly set out in the ordinance of May 22, 1815, they were to be "elected from the provincial diets." Were they, then, themselves the territorial representation that had been promised at that date,

or were they merely to give unauthoritative advice upon such matters as the monarch chose to bring before them? Beyond question, the king meant the latter, for in patriarchal fashion he designed that the Prussians should first be educated in the school of deliberative committees, and only thereafter should receive more extensive representative rights. But who could fathom the counsels of this enigmatic statecraft?

The heir to the throne expressed himself as very definitely adverse to the king's proposals. It did not escape the clear insight of the prince of Prussia that the populace had been heedlessly stimulated and that the hopes of the growing constitutionalist party had been raised to a high pitch, even though no more than minor concessions had been allowed to exude drop by drop from the hidden source of royal grace. The prince's preference was for a quiet but steady evolution. Consequently, he said, the first step should be to set the new committees of the respective provincial diets to work, and to watch their behaviour. What but false expectations could result from a premature summoning of the united committees when there was no weighty matter for them to discuss? It would be better to postpone the summoning until there were important legislative proposals pending. Then the appropriate occasion would spontaneously arise to set a final term to the long series of promises of representative institutions, and to issue a definite declaration to the effect that the structure of representative institutions was now completed and that no further concession was to be expected. It was therefore the prince's opinion that the united committees, having unfortunately been called into existence by the king's command, must henceforward be recognised as the national assembly, and must be equipped with extremely modest rights. The minister most immediately concerned, Count Arnim, minister for home affairs, expressed a similar opinion. But during these years the views of ministers counted for little. Not merely did the monarch govern single-handed, but it was his art to arrange things in such a fashion that his advisers were usually faced with half-completed facts. Consequently the great majority of those assembled voted in favour of the royal design, many of them modestly declaring that his majesty's determination had already been taken and was known to wide circles. General Boyen, with the candour of a veteran soldier, maintained that the united committees would in any case favour

a more liberal development of representative institutions, and he added that it was no longer possible for Prussia to remain entirely unaffected by the influence of the neighbouring constitutionalist states.[1]

A cabinet order of August 19th now summoned the united committees to meet in Berlin on October 18th. In ambiguous terms, utterly devoid of legal precision, it was declared that the assembling of the committees was a development of representative institutions, inasmuch as it supplemented the representative consultations in the individual provinces by an element of unity. It is hardly surprising that on this occasion too the government should suffer from its fate to be universally misunderstood. Prince Solms-Lich, the inspired champion of representative monarchy, was appointed marshal of the united committees, and during the days of the Rhenish festivals he presented himself at Stolzenfels to beg for more detailed instructions. Great was the king's consternation when this loyal subject, "unquestionably no liberal," innocently explained that it was the general belief the crown designed to effect a cautious transition to a constitutionalist system. It would, therefore, he suggested, be better to assign to the committees enhanced powers forthwith. Let them be granted the right of petition, that of scrutiny of revenue, that of being summoned every three years, that of consultative cooperation in legislation. At the same time, he said, an express declaration had better be made that the keystone had now been placed upon the edifice of representative institutions. In default of such measures, it would hardly be possible to avoid undesirable debates on the address when the committees should meet.[2] Even Metternich, who was likewise consulted during his stay at the Rhenish castle, regarded the matter as serious, and expressed the opinion that a steep descent had been entered on. The king, however, rejoined that the committees were neither to constitute a national assembly in themselves nor to be the germ of any future Reichstag. To avoid the possibility of misunderstanding, he commissioned General Radowitz to prepare a manifesto which was to be read to the united committees at the opening ceremony.

[1] Protocol of the joint sitting of the ministry of state and the immediate committee, June 11; Arnim to Thile, June 12, 1842.

[2] Bodelschwingh, Memorandum on the deliberations concerning the united committees, September 28, 1842.

Immediately after his return to Berlin, during the first days of October, he summoned the ministers to advise upon this manifesto. Radowitz' draft was couched in extremely doctrinaire phraseology. He had nothing definite to say concerning the king's designs for a constitution, and merely showed that the theorists of representative monarchy knew only what they did not want. "We do not propose," ran the document, "to transform the German sovereign rule in this realm into a constitutionalist monarchy; we do not propose to subordinate monarchical power to the power of majorities." The tone was one so hostile to all constitutionalist development that even General Thile opined that the use of such language would render it impossible to live any longer on friendly terms with the South German states, and would even make it very difficult to maintain the customs union.[1] To the other ministers also, the manifesto seemed open to objection. The prince of Prussia, although he too was dissatisfied with Radowitz' draft, was alone in demanding, in an impassioned speech, that the monarch should now speak to the Prussian people, and should clearly explain whether the representative legislation had been definitely concluded, or whether additional steps were still to be anticipated. Among the populace, exclaimed Prince William, there are two parties, one filled with dread, the other with hope; the nation must be given to understand what is impending.[2] It was finally decided that the assembly should be opened without a manifesto and without any formal address from the throne, for the proposals for a representative system which still occupied the king's mind had not yet been communicated to his advisers, and he had no desire for the present to make them public.

The committees met in the palace in Berlin on the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig, but they showed no trace of the lofty mood which the great day of commemoration should have awakened. It is true that Arnim in his opening speech said that this day would ever remain glorious throughout the king's realm. But the assembly felt unsure of itself, for it was unable to see any legal standing ground beneath its feet; and it was compelled to move with the utmost caution lest it should infringe the rights of the provincial diets or those

[1] Radowitz, Draft of a manifesto to the united committees on the occasion of their opening. September, 1842.

[2] Protocols of the ministry of state, October 6, 8, and 10, 1842

of the future Reichstag. It was composed of 98 members, 46 representatives of the high nobility and the Ritterschaft, 32 of the towns, and 20 of the peasantry. By means of a pettily conceived set of standing orders, precautions had been taken to prevent any overstepping of competence. Minister Bodelschwingh would not even permit the committees to submit an address to the monarch thanking him for summoning them, and they had to content themselves with recording their gratitude in the minutes. These were printed, and by an additional trifling concession they actually contained the names of the speakers, but they were reserved for the perusal of the members. After prolonged search the ministry had at length discovered three questions which could be submitted to the approval of the committees. The first related to the proposed remission of taxation to the amount of two million thalers, and the affair was essentially nugatory. For the ministry for finance had decided in advance that the remission should concern one tax only, the salt tax (which was especially detested by the common people), seeing that by this concession a proof of the royal grace would be afforded to all.[1] The proposal had been adopted by the majority of the provincial diets, so that nothing was left for the committees but to confirm what had previously been approved. The third question, that concerning the utilisation of private rivers, had even less political significance. The discussions that could arise in connection with this legislative proposal were inevitably confined to technicalities.

Great perplexity resulted, however, when the government propounded its second question, whether the committees considered it necessary that there should speedily be established a comprehensive system of railways connecting the provinces one with another and with the capital. The great majority voted in the affirmative, for the eyes of Prussian subjects had begun to open in view of the success of the Leipzig-Dresden railway. It was recognised on all hands that German Prussia "must lead the way," that the new means of intercourse must be used to awaken a sense of unity between the widely separated provinces, to strengthen their economic system, and to safeguard their military defences—for as regards the last mentioned point, the possibility of sending infantry at least

[1] Memorials concerning the remission of taxation, Alvensleben, August, 1840; Patow, January 24, 1842.

by rail was now recognised. A few only, like Rochow-Stülpe, marshal of the Brandenburg diet, and some of his more conservative fellow-countrymen, were still unwilling to believe in the value of the innovation, whilst Count Raczynski dolorously opined that the weakly manufacturing industries of the towns of Posen would hardly be able to survive the competition which would ensue upon the building of the railways. But there now had to be considered the difficult problem, what the state was to do for railway construction, and in this discussion it became plain to all how great was the confusion in which the civil law of the country was involved. As Count Arnim frankly admitted at a later date,[1] most of the members of the committees tacitly desired that the state should itself build the main lines. The country dreaded the speculators of the stock exchange, and considered it impossible for the impoverished eastern provinces to gather a sufficiency of privately owned capital. The government, however, was not yet equal to the occasion. Among the Prussian statesmen there was not one man with a comprehensive knowledge of affairs, no such man as the Badenese possessed in Nebenius. They regarded the construction of the railways by the state as a hazardous venture, and apart from this they felt that their hands were tied, seeing that they were unable to raise a loan in the absence of a national assembly.

Bodelschwingh therefore explained in set terms that the government had decided against undertaking to build any railway during the next few years, but it was ready, he said, to do what it had previously done on several occasions, namely, to guarantee for some years to come the payment of a moderate interest upon the capital invested in railway enterprise. Such a guarantee of interest was in essentials nothing other than an expansion of the national debt. No one was better aware of this than the well-informed general tax director Kühne;[2] but he had to sit silent while his chief informed the assembly that there was a notable difference between a guarantor and a debtor. Owing to the express prohibition of the minister, the committees were unable to expound their views upon the matter of state construction, for they were merely privileged to give direct answers to the questions laid before them. Although a seemly behaviour was maintained, the mood in the

[1] Arnim, Memorial concerning representative institutions, May 13, 1845.
[2] Kühne declares this in his Memoirs.

hall became extremely tense; the speeches, most of which were read aloud by the unpractised orators, betrayed a feeling of embarrassment; all present were burdened by the sentiment of inability to express their true opinions. One man only, a Rhenish hotspur named Brust, a Boppard merchant, spoke his mind freely, saying that in the absence of a national assembly the crown would be unable to guarantee interest; and he demanded that precise information should be given concerning the condition of the state treasury and the amount of the state revenues before there was any further discussion of financial matters. No one rallied to his support, for it was beyond the committees' competence to attempt the solution of the great constitutional questions which were here threateningly manifesting themselves. Many felt that it would be an unfortunate half measure were the state to adopt responsibility for losses incurred by the railways, without enjoying the right to participate in their possible gains.

Nevertheless, an affirmative reply was given to the question whether the government should promote railway development by all the means at its disposal and especially by the guarantee of interest. This was a forced expedient. The committees gave a favourable answer only because, in view of the minister's declaration, they could not for the present count upon state railways; and they were complacent enough by a majority of three votes to repudiate that which was quite unquestionably the ground of their decision. Since General Thile, like his predecessor as minister for finance General Lottum, was, in accordance with Prussian military custom, extremely punctilious in money matters, the committees further decided that it appeared expedient to promote railway construction even at the cost of a possible renewed increase of taxation, but at the same time they begged the king to turn his eyes away from this possibility, "lest the beneficial impression of the remission of taxation should be weakened."

Thus did they vacillate between one obscurity and another, for without loans and without a national assembly the state could not make a single step forward. The East Prussians, who stood together in the most compact phalanx, proved extremely restive under the restrictive standing orders, which permitted the speakers to succeed one another solely in alphabetical order, and Rudolf von Auerswald gave vigorous expression to the mood of his fellow provincials. When at

the close of the proceedings Count Arnim confidentially enquired in the king's name whether each of the provinces would not be willing to provide a few of the buttresses for Cologne cathedral, a respectful answer was returned to the effect that it would be simpler if the provincial diets, or their members as individuals, were to ask for voluntary contributions, since an assembly to which the crown had granted no effective rights could not vote gifts.[1] On November 10th, after three weeks, the committees were prorogued. The consequences were those foreseen by the prince of Prussia, for the sterile proceedings had during these times of fermentation aroused vague hopes everywhere and had satisfied no one. The king summoned the committees before him to bid them farewell, gave them his cordial thanks, and then, in a marvellously learned address, presented for their consideration one of the main principles of the Hallerian doctrine. They were, he said, at one and the same time representatives of their own rights as estates, and completely independent councillors of the crown; thus they were "by no means representatives of the wind of opinion and of ephemeral doctrine." The estates listened to this obscure oration with amazement. Did the king seriously believe that in political life any man could entirely escape being influenced by the wind of opinion? Was he at feud solely with the ephemeral doctrines of liberalism? Disheartened and disillusioned were the representatives when the assembly broke up. The trusting mood of the Rhenish festival days had vanished never to return. In Germany, Becker's *Rhinesong* passed into complete oblivion, to be revived only after the lapse of long years in Belgium, when the Flemings sang threateningly to the French: "Zy zullen hem niet temmen, den fieren vlaamschen Leeuw!" [Never shall they tame him, the proud Flemish lion!]

Even while the committees were in session the king initiated fresh negotiations for the further development of representative institutions. On November 8th, during a sitting of the ministerial council, he outlined the governmental scheme to which henceforward he adhered with quiet tenacity, but which he could not carry out till fully four years later. He recognised the national debt law of 1820 as binding, and since he was

[1] Reports concerning the proceedings of the united committees, Bodelschwingh, October 21 to 29; Arnim, November 3 to 9, 1842.

firmly resolved "never to enter the constitutional pathway, an impossible one for Prussia," he meant to content himself in most cases with the provincial diets and their central organ the united committees. Should, however, a loan or an increase of direct taxation become imperative during times of peace, he proposed to summon all the provincial diets in joint session as a united diet, and considered that the assembly should preferably meet in some harmless provincial town, perhaps Brandenburg—for his tutor Ancillon, who had long before been an eye witness of the beginnings of the French national assembly, had frequently expounded to Frederick William in moving terms how degrading was the influence exercised upon a parliament by the menaces of a metropolitan mob. He purposed in case of need to assign to this united diet the right of voting supply. Thus in magnanimous fashion did he advance far beyond what his father had promised. His sense of justice made him reluctant to demand from a diet responsibility for a loan when that diet had no right to vote taxes, and moreover he was well aware that the grant of supply had been a traditional right of the ancient German estates. But while thus with one hand bestowing new privileges upon his representative assemblies, with the other hand unfortunately he withdrew a number of the pledges made by his predecessor. He dreaded an eventuality which in view of the favourable state of the national finances was in truth most improbable, namely, that during the secret diplomatic preparations for a war it might become necessary to raise a loan; and he dreaded likewise the almost inconceivable possibility that during the actual progress of a war his Prussians might refuse the grant of supplies. For these reasons he was unwilling to assign to the diets responsibility for war loans. Further, it was his desire to retain entirely in his own hands the right of summoning the united diet, and to refrain from pledging himself to call it periodically, in spite of the fact that the national assembly was entitled by the national debt law to demand annual statements of account from the debt administration. This, too, was a purely doctrinaire scruple, for should the united diet once assemble, its frequent resummoning would prove absolutely inevitable. Finally the king shrank from the excitement attendant on electoral campaigns, notwithstanding that the choice of the united committees had just been effected with perfect tranquillity; and for this reason he wished to constitute

the national assembly by the simple summoning of all the provincial diets.

These deviations from the old laws could, he hoped, be effected by strictly legal methods and with the assent of his loyal estates. He consequently propounded three questions to the ministerial council. The first enquiry was whether, supposing that the right of supply were granted to the provincial diets, or to these bodies sitting as a united diet, they could be asked to renounce the right of voting war loans. Secondly, he enquired, would not the estates declare themselves incompetent? Thirdly, were sufficient financial means available in the event of the sudden outbreak of war? Those to whom these enquiries were addressed were no less amazed by the half lavish, half thrifty concessions of the monarch than they were by the legal tangle in which he had involved himself by his artificial plan. Privy Councillor von Voss was the only member of the council to express full agreement with the king's proposals. The great majority of the ministers, Boyen, Thile, Bodelschwingh, Stolberg, Mühler, Eichhorn, Savigny, Bülow, and even General Müffling, the veteran president of the council of state, held it impossible for representative bodies to restrict their powers of their own free will. These ministers foretold the king what was to happen four years later, declaring that the united provincial diets would not consider it within their competence to infringe the privileges of the promised Reichstag. Less definitely adverse were the opinions of Rochow, Alvensleben Rother, and Arnim, although they too were more or less dissentient. Several members of the council recommended the summoning of an elected representative committee. Mühler, minister for justice, was heretical enough to maintain: "No objection can be lodged against a constitutional charter for the Prussian state. Such a charter in the sense of the monarchical principle would be the first of its kind, and would form an interesting contrast to the constitutionalist charters of other lands."

Rother, on the other hand, being a faithful servant of the late king, desired only to carry out the deceased monarch's final wishes, and recommended that there should be constituted no more than a small committee composed of thirty-two provincial representatives and an equal number of councillors of state. He felt it his duty to declare that the permanent administration of the national debt without some sort of

cooperation on the part of the estates could not be effected. The debt, he continued, had since 1820 been reduced by nearly 68,000,000 thalers, so that it now stood at 138,860,000 thalers. In the near future the total debt would not exceed 100,000,000 thalers. Further reduction was out of the question, for the attempt would drive Prussian capital abroad or into bogus speculations. For these reasons the national debt law must be speedily modified with the approval of the estates, and the paying off of the debt must be suspended.[1] Thus even this man of the old Hardenberg school had learned a lesson from the changing times. The opinion that national debt is simply an evil had originated during the lean years following the wars, and had gained currency in German official circles through the influence of Nebenius' classic work *Public Credit.* But now, when the spirit of enterprise was awakening, many Germans were turning admiring eyes towards England, a land growing ever richer despite her immense national debt. Nevertheless, Rother was still far from recognising that the right moment had come for increasing the Prussian national debt by productive loans for purposes of railway construction.

The ministers' well-meaning opinions served only to confuse the king's mind. Submitted in writing, without joint deliberation, they were received at considerable intervals, some after the lapse of a year, and differed widely upon points of detail. Among all these statesmen there was not a man of first-class political intelligence, no one capable of helping his official colleagues to concentrate on essentials, no one able in the name of the ministerial council to implore the monarch that instead of elaborately scheming he would remain firmly planted upon the ground of the old laws upon which in his days as crown prince he had himself helped to build, and to beg him to have a Reichstag elected from the provincial diets, a national assembly whose numbers and composition still remained entirely at the discretion of the throne. It is true that any such common action on the part of the ministers had been rendered extremely difficult by the subordinate positions which Frederick William had assigned to his counsellors. They were merely competent to give unauthoritative advice, since the monarch retained all responsibility. Disheartened by the hesitancy of his ministers, the king, in accordance with his usual practice,

[1] Ministers' Opinions in response to his majesty's three questions, under dates November 9, 1842, to November 15, 1843.

put the troublesome affair aside for the time being, though secretly resolved to return to his immutable design when a favourable moment should arrive. Whereas by the fruitless summoning of the united committees he had taken a step that was altogether premature, he now wasted precious time, his sense of royal infallibility being counterpoised by his irresolution. For a whole year after this date not a word passed at the ministerial council concerning the leading problem which the monarchy had to face.

§ 4. THE STRUGGLE WITH THE PRESS.

Among all the gifts which Frederick William desired to pour forth for his Prussians from the cornucopia of his royal grace, none was dearer to his heart than the freeing of the press. After his own patriarchial fashion he loved freedom, and he hoped that freedom would educate the press, would lift it out of its uninspired dulness. A festival commemorative of the discovery of printing took place at the time of his accession. In Leipzig, the centre of the German book trade, the celebrations were particularly brilliant, and here ardent orators expressed the hope that the greatest of all German inventions would now for the first time unfold its fullest efficacy under the blessings of liberty. Even the spokesman of the university, the conservative Gottfried Hermann, extolled in elegant Latin the power of the free word. In Prussia, the timid old government had prohibited all public festivities, and the new sovereign contented himself with granting permission for a belated festival in August. To avoid affronting the court of Vienna, Frederick William further agreed that in July, 1841, the Bundestag, after a conversation between the two great powers,[1] should prolong for an additional six years the validity of the federal laws concerning the press and the universities. Nevertheless he held fast to his ideas of liberation. Understanding his own heart as little as he understood the hearts of others, he imagined himself indifferent to newspaper clamour. His primary intention was to grant the Prussian press comparative freedom within the limits imposed by the federal law, thinking that subsequently he might induce the Federation to modify its harsh legislation. The first step, therefore, was

[1] Sydow's Report, June 12, 1841.

to demand an opinion from Radowitz, the indispensable adviser in matters of federal policy. Radowitz adopted the idea with enthusiasm, expressing the hope that in the spirit of the nation his royal master would discover "the most potent ally against the apathy and the egoistic reluctance of the cabinets."

Thereupon, from the autumn of 1841, extremely tedious discussions concerning a new press law ensued in the ministry of state. All the German governments were still far from the thought of simply subjecting the press to the common law. In these circles everyone still had faith in Gentz' archaic principle that the dangerous power of the newspapers must be placed under the control of an ad hoc authority. All that even the more liberal demanded was a mitigation of the censorship, with a specific system of "press justice" as a protection against abuses of power on the part of the "press police." President Gerlach, whose opinion was also asked, declared with the pride of the Prussian judge that if it were really proposed to adopt "this stimulating measure," the new press court must become a completely independent tribunal.[1] Beyond this no unanimity could be secured, and during the confused discussions it became clear for the first time that Savigny, the new minister for justice, was incompetent in practical matters. The king wished to restore to university professors the freedom from censorship which had formerly been their privilege. He desired to extend a like freedom to other persons of standing, and even wanted to allow these favoured individuals to exercise censorship over the writings of others. Thereupon Thile raised the objection that among the men of learning in particular there were to be found such a number of unchristian radicals.[2] Frederick William further proposed to forbid the newspapers to lavish praises on him personally whilst blaming the government, "thus establishing a specious contrast between the person of the king and the spirit of his administration." To this suggestion Count Arnim chivalrously responded that the ministers must not take shelter behind the monarch.[3] Thus were the proceedings fruitlessly protracted for many months.

Wishing to take some active step, in a ministerial despatch

[1] Gerlach's Opinion, December 31, 1841.

[2] Thile's Report to the king, November 15, 1841.

[3] Thile's Reports: to the ministry of state, August 25; to the king, September 7; to the royal cabinet, September 12, 1842.

under date December 24, 1841, the king informed the provincial authorities that he recognised the necessity for the existence of candid and reputable journalism, and consequently wished the enforcement of the existing censorship laws to be conducted with lenity. At the same time a fatherly admonition was issued to the press, urging upon it to refrain from all frivolous expressions of hostility or suspicion, and charging it to abstain from pandering to its readers' love of triviality and gossip by the publication of unsubstantiated news items and scandal. Notwithstanding its amazingly patriarchal tone, this proclamation aroused general delight; the dragooned writers breathed freely, believing that the day of emancipation had at length dawned. In May, 1842, the censorship upon illustrations was abolished, for Frederick William found able caricatures amusing, and since the federal laws made no reference to censorship of illustrations, he wished to allow draughtsmen to make their innocent jokes unhindered. A few months later, on October 4th, the king granted the right of free issue in the case of all books containing more than twenty sheets, this being permissible by federal law. Immediately afterwards he commanded the authorities whenever a misstatement should have occurred in the less reputable portion of the daily press, forthwith to have a rectification inserted in the offending sheet: "Precisely where the venom of misrepresentation has been injected, the antidote must be administered . . . the editors must be compelled to publish the judgments upon themselves." Thus section by section were the old restrictions removed, and all the world hopefully awaited the comprehensive press law so often promised by the government.

Meanwhile the mitigation of the censorship was already beginning to bear fruit. It seemed as if with the year 1842 a season of blossoming was opening for the Prussian press. Such a transformation was urgently needed, for throughout Germany the like intolerable pressure was imposed upon authors, and in Leipzig alone did the censorship at times show a little mercy, to avoid the complete destruction of the great book trade. Little did it help that some of the federal states went no further than to censor writings containing less than twenty sheets, whilst others, like Hanover, outbidding the Carlsbad decrees, subjected to the censorship all printed matter without exception. What had not been censored remained everywhere subject to all kinds of prohibitions, whilst even the censored

newspapers might be confiscated after publication. Nor was the author of a duly censored writing invariably safe from judicial prosecution. During the year 1844 Frederick Murhard, the prolix old eccentric, was arrested in Cassel and, in defiance of the federal laws,[1] was sentenced to a term of rigorous imprisonment on account of an article in the Rotteck-Welcker *Political Lexicon*, an article which had long ere this been passed by the Saxon censorship. In Thurn and Taxis and other small postal areas, the newspapers had in addition to endure fiscal abuses, for the post offices had their own arbitrary ways of regulating postal rates.

The Bavarians were fond of boasting that in Bavaria alone the Carlsbad decrees were not rigidly enforced. It was true that the court of Munich, although it had itself secured the previous prolongation of the Carlsbad exceptional laws by the Bundestag, continued to apply the censorship solely to political and statistical periodicals. But the police authorities of the southern kingdom were able by means of prohibitions to keep so tight a grip upon books of all kinds that the Bavarians were by no means envied by their German neighbours. Apart from a few small and timid liberal newspapers in Franconia, the only thriving journals in this part of the world were the harmless *Landbote* and the *Landbötin* for peasant folk and the protégés of the Abel ministry, ultramontane papers of the stamp of the *Neue Würzburger Zeitung* and the *Fränkische Kurier*. Both the last named periodicals were fields for the mischievous work of Zander, a venal Jew who had experienced two conversions, first to Protestantism and subsequently to Catholicism. To this faithful servant the government gave continued licence to publish invectives against Prussia. Not until after repeated complaints from the court of Berlin was a ministerial proclamation issued that for the nonce, "out of consideration for the Catholic church" and as long as the negotiations were proceeding between Berlin and Rome, all galling statements must be avoided.[2] So gently worded a warning had little effect on the Würzburg fanatics, and persons in Berlin who kept their eyes open could not fail to recognise in the end that this party was not aiming its shafts at the late king's ecclesiastical policy, but was attacking the Prussian state itself.

[1] Vide supra, p. 143.

[2] Werther, Verbal Note to Count Lerchenfeld, February 16; Gise, Instruction to Lerchenfeld, March 14, 1841.

A very peculiar position was occupied by the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg, for this journal had to adapt itself diplomatically to both the Bavarian and the Austrian censorship. Its new editors-in-chief, the Swabians Mebold and Kolb, had in their demagogue days enjoyed together the hospitality of Hohenasperg, but in politics the friends differed widely. Mebold, a learned historian, took an unprejudiced view of Prussian affairs. Kolb was a connoisseur of the intellectual life. In his hands the literary supplement of the newspaper became a general survey of the whole of European literature, and he helped forward a number of talented young men by friendly and judicious criticism. Yet he never liberated his own mind from the parochial prejudices of the Swabians, and his prussophobia was almost always decisive in the editorship, for the *Allgemeine* had to maintain its circulation in the most lucrative field—Austria. The paper was not bribed by Vienna, as was so often suspected in the north. The wealthy house of Cotta was not accessible to such methods. On the contrary, the journal had to make great sacrifices in order to keep the Hofburg in a good humour; it paid large sums to the writers of the Austrian press bureau, sending no less than 4,000 gulden a year to Pilat, now an elderly man who seldom wrote, and the *Allgemeine* obediently accepted everything sent in from these quarters. Day by day, however, Metternich's suspicions of Prussia increased. Above all Eichhorn, "the customs union demagogue," seemed to him a sinister figure, and being unable to doff the mask of friendship Metternich made his tools wage a malicious paper warfare which greatly contributed to undermine the new king's prestige in South Germany. The poisonous articles in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* ostensibly emanating from the Main were for the most part penned by one or other of the two Viennese court publicists, Zedlitz and Jarcke. Count Dönhoff, the Prussian federal envoy, was well aware of the fact, writing gloomily: "This will make it difficult to inspire belief in a genuine and honest cooperation between Vienna and Berlin." [1] When the Prussian press began to develop, Cotta reported to the Hofburg that "the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, if it is to be of any use, must now be in a position to enter the jousts on behalf of liberalism." Metternich answered with the plain threat: "We will see to the matter." [2]

[1] Dönhoff's Report, June 22, 1842.

[2] Metternich records this in his Instruction to Trauttmansdorff, February 14, 1843.

Thenceforward the periodical iridesced in more variegated hues than ever, though never showing black-and-white colours, and the Prussian government was fully justified in regarding the most powerful press organ of the south as a dangerous enemy.

In Würtemberg the excellent *Schwäbische Merkur* was permitted by the censors to write freely of little else than local business matters. Moreover, Carl Weil, an able liberal journalist, who in Stuttgart edited first of all the *Deutsche Curier*,, and subsequently the *Konstitutionellen Jahrbücher*, making the cause of the oppressed Hanoverians one of his chief interests, secured but little standing, for his relationships with the court of Louis Philippe were open to grave suspicion. To speak, finally, of Baden, the promised land of the exemplary liberal constitution was now, as Carl Mathy aptly phrased it in the diet, the exemplary land of the censorship. The Badenese censors were actually instructed to attack the circulation of newspapers in disfavour by blue-pencilling the columns of latest information. Among the censors, Uria-Sarachaja of Mannheim was especially distinguished for ultramontane fanaticism. He began a war of annihilation against the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung*, a radical journal edited by the Prussian Carl Grün who, when expelled from Baden, continued for a time to direct the paper from the Bavarian Palatinate on the opposite shore of the Rhine. The German governments trembled before Grün's rough onslaughts. The Prussian court urged Baden to suppress the *Abendzeitung*, but Baden replied that all that was needed was for Prussia to withdraw postal facilities, for then the newspaper would be ruined. An official enquiry thereupon disclosed that in the whole of Prussia the dreaded periodical had no more than 134 subscribers, of whom 44 resided in Berlin and the eastern provinces. Thus pitiful as yet was the circulation of almost all the daily papers. It is true that the sparse copies were carefully read by large numbers of persons in clubs and eating houses, so that each single copy had more influence than to-day. In the end the idea of suppression was dropped, to avoid friction.[1]

Uria now set to work with his inexorable blue pencil, and speedily effected the complete subjugation of the *Abendzeitung*. Next the petty tyrant turned upon the *Mannheimer Journal* of the lawyer Gustav von Struve, who at that time

[1] Nagler to Thile March 4; Bülow, Instruction to Dönhoff, February 26; Foreign Office Memorial, November 9, 1844.

was still a moderate liberal. It was indifferent what the contributors of the *Mannheimer Journal* chose to write. They might recall the well known tyrannicide doctrines of the Jesuit order; they might put forward the by no means new contention that in respect of territorial area the federal states of Prussia, Baden, and Waldeck, respectively, exhibited gross inequality; they might apostrophise Countess Hahn-Hahn the poetess in becoming verses as "thou proud Ida"; they might merely announce that a liberal professor purposed delivering public lectures on experimental physics—it mattered little, for Uria suppressed the lot. If he did allow an item to pass he would at least write a rude comment on the margin of the censor's proof, as for example: "Another lie, but you may print it." When the government at length decided to reserve all official announcements for the exclusive use of the little known *Mannheimer Morgenzeitung*, and when many respected inhabitants of the city, including such men as Carl Mathy and Fecht, wished to make a public declaration to the effect that none the less they would neither read nor have anything to do with the rival paper, even this announcement, though it contained no single offensive expression, was suppressed by the censor. In despair, Struve at length conceived a venturesome idea. He collected all the passages of the *Journal* which had been suppressed by Uria and had them printed in Mannheim in red type, and published in three volumes which were exempt from censorship since they contained more than twenty sheets. No one could interfere, an extraordinary affair this. Here were three volumes of elisions made by the Badenese censorship which the Badenese courts were utterly unable to suppress. It would have been impossible to give a more glaring demonstration of the consummate folly of the Carlsbad press law.

The press of North Germany was, if possible, yet more hopelessly prostrate. The *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, issued by the firm of Brockhaus, endeavoured, following the example of the *Allgemeine* of Augsburg, to provide a medium of expression for the cultured of all parties in the north, but from its columns the fundamental tone of Protestant liberalism was far more plainly audible than was the Austrian tone as voiced by the South German paper. The Leipzig daily contained frequent contributions by Mundt, Buhl, Rutenberg, and the other young liberal authors who were in the habit of meeting in the celebrated red room of Stehely's restaurant in Berlin.

As Prussian sentiment became increasingly embittered, these Berlinese reports grew ever more malicious, more scornful, and more savage. Not a few Prussian officials, under the veil of anonymity, vented their spleen in the *Allgemeine*, disregarding often enough the obligation of official secrecy. Thus the newspaper gradually became a storehouse of Prussian scandal; and since it circulated freely through the Prussian post, discontented Silesians would from time to time send their complaints to Leipzig in order that the articles of the Saxon periodical might subsequently be reprinted with impunity in the *Breslauer Zeitung*.[1] It was an entirely new experience for the Berlinese authorities that Prussian affairs should be so eagerly discussed by a nonprussian journal. These personal attacks inspired much alarm, and many a privy councillor's first concern on entering his office in the morning was to learn what was the Leipzig daily's last word. Those quiet days were over in which the wealthy fair town had acquired her political culture from the much-derided "Saxon Friend of Children," the intolerably dull official *Leipziger Zeitung*. The literary circle on the Pleisse was continually enlarged by the accession of malcontents from neighbouring lands. Schlesinger, Herlosssohn, Hartmann, and Meissner, were immigrants from Austria. Anyone who wished to secure his footing among this group of semi-refugees must at least have indited a liberal lampoon or a sonnet against Metternich.

Arnold Ruge likewise migrated to Saxony, after his fellow-citizens in Halle had taken fresh occasion to display their veneration for him in a valedictory ceremony. His *Hallische Jahrbücher* were henceforward published by O. Wigand, but the name was changed to *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, so that the Prussian authorities might no longer have a word to say to their contents. Some members of this Leipzig literary circle published their effusions in Heinrich Laube's *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* or in Robert Heller's *Rosen*; but most of them were devoted to political questions, and no one was more active in this field than Ignaz Kuranda, a restless little Bohemian. In Brussels, Kuranda had founded a literary and political weekly, the *Grenzboten*, his design being to disturb the slumbers of his Austrian compatriots. The publication of this periodical was now transferred to Leipzig, and in its new home it speedily made itself a nuisance to the Viennese court, whilst as time

[1] General von Röder to Thile, August 17, 1842.

passed it began to pay keen attention to Prussian affairs, Kuranda had a trusty associate in another Bohemian Jew, Jacob Kaufmann, a man of childlike and goodnatured temperament, a bookworm whose manners were so awkward and retiring that no one realised how firm and perspicacious were his political judgments. A quite unprecedented event in this land of prussophobia was that a native of electoral Saxony, Carl Biedermann by name, should now undertake the issue of the *Deutsche Monatsschrift*, a periodical which valiantly defended Paul Pfizer's idea of Prussian hegemony, though without the genius and the fire of the Swabian. The *Monatsschrift* had a due appreciation of the importance of economic life, and looked upon the customs union as the nucleus for a consolidation of the German states. It had only five hundred subscribers, but the circulation of Ruge's dreaded *Jahrbücher* was no larger.

The stupidities of the censorship enforced desperate expedients upon these skirmishers of public opinion. They had to undertake cunning evasions of the law, artifices hailed with delight by the populace, with the result that the public sentiment of legality and the dignity of authority were inevitably lowered. When the correspondence "from the Murg" was suppressed in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the identical articles were reprinted with a new headline "from the Leine." The circulation of the *Grenzboten* was strictly prohibited in Austria, but week after week copies made their way across the Bohemian frontier, either in boxes with false bottoms or as the wrapping or interleaving of permitted books. Booksellers used often to insert numbers of prohibited books in the covers of the notorious licences issued by the Austrian censorship. In Leipzig, when some risky work containing more than twenty sheets and therefore censor-free was issued from the press, the publisher's delivery van laden with the entire edition would drive to the police station. As by law prescribed, a copy was handed to the police. The van would then be driven at top speed through the streets of the bookselling quarter, and in a trice the various dealers would be given their consignments of the work before the authorities had had time to issue a prohibition.

No term of abuse seemed too strong to apply to the unhappy censors. In Prussia, as in the petty states, matters had long ere this reached such a pitch that only incompetent and senile officials would undertake this detested duty. When the publisher of the *Kölnische Zeitung* lodged a complaint with

the lord lieutenant of the Rhine province, the latter's reply was: "Do you think it likely that I should waste my best councillors on such work?" It was often necessary to put up with inexperienced assessors, juniors who could not venture to refuse the appointment. In Cologne on one occasion two youthful censors had mishandled a night watchman when they were returning from a carouse. One of them was the talented Count Fritz Eulenburg, who thus made his entry upon the stage of Prussian history with a certain éclat. Although the offence was atoned for by a fine and by dismissal from office, the entire press raised so lamentable a hubbub that one might have imagined that a German night watchman had never been cudgelled before. Liberals of sound views solemnly enquired if it was not a fact that the king had issued direct commands to the effect that "only men of scientific culture and proved respectability" were to be appointed censors?

During these years there was a notable increase in the number of German journalists. Many young liberals driven from the state service took to newspaper work, for instance, Carl Heinzen, a dismissed Rhenish official, and Wilhelm Rüstow, a Prussian lieutenant who had been cashiered. A further increase in numbers came from the crowd of cultured Jews. Excluded from official careers, they saw in journalism the only available means of exerting an influence upon the state, and they were not slow to realise how eminently their natural gifts fitted them for journalistic ready writing. Almost all the Austrian knights of the pen in Leipzig were of Jewish birth. When A. Ochse-Stern, an Israelite, upbraided the *Kölnische Zeitung* for its strictures upon his "defenceless" fellow tribesmen, Dumont the proprietor drily replied that these defenceless innocents owned many Rhenish newspapers. Metternich was much concerned at the new development, writing as follows to the embassy in Berlin: "Seventeen German newspapers, perhaps the most piquant products of the press, are to-day edited by young Jews!"

It was very natural that such influences should often promote the radicalism of the press and should inflame its hostility to the church. In the eternal struggle with the authorities even cool-headed journalists became habituated to the employment of a veiled and therefore all the more malicious offensiveness. They were able in carefully elaborated phrases to show an animus that was but half concealed; and

not a few of those who learned their trade under such conditions were unable in later days, when the press had been freed from restrictions, to abandon the allusive censor-style. Nevertheless, this generation was enriched by quite an abundance of able journalists. Business life had as yet small gains to offer, for the Germans stood far behind the nations of the west in the arts of advertising, whilst the stock exchange, usurious speculation having flourished in the railway share market, was only now beginning to extend its tentacles towards the newspapers. A large proportion of the writers for the daily press worked honestly and even enthusiastically for the work's own sake, not a few of them displaying that cheerful and youthful devotion to duty which was subsequently commemorated by Freytag in his journalistic figures. Besides these there existed, it is hardly necessary to say, a strange variety of journalistic philistines who had humbly adapted themselves to the arbitrary will of the censorship. This breed was especially prolific in Frankfort, where all the federal governments made common cause in the gagging of the press. Here was published in French the *Journal de Francfort* for the diplomatic world. Another Frankfort organ was the *Oberpostamtszeitung* of the house of Thurn and Taxis, edited by good old Councillor Berly, who ever went to and fro with a solemn, esoteric mien, and occasionally received instructions from the Austrian envoy. In default of instructions he acted faithfully upon his openly proclaimed principle that it was always a hazardous venture to express any opinion. Lastly must be mentioned the *Frankfurter Journal*, a paper of a somewhat more liberal tinge, which had entered into a formal compact with the *Oberpostamtszeitung* that neither should attack or even mention the other.

Such being the state of affairs it was natural that King Frederick William's promise of alleviations in the press laws should arouse general delight. L. Buhl, a Rhinelander of liberal views, hastened to hail the advent of better days in an inspired writing entitled *The Mission of the Prussian Press*. As one of the first fruits of the new freedom appeared the book by E. von Bülow-Cummerow, *Prussia, its Constitution and Administration*, which secured a sale unexampled at that date. The author had been an impassioned champion of the great landowners, and had entered the lists valiantly in opposition to Hardenberg's plans expounded in the circles' ordinance.[1]

[1] See vol. III, p. 438.

Subsequently he had founded the Ritterschaft's Bank of Pomerania. He still desired to maintain the feudalist institutions of the country-side, manorial police powers and patrimonial jurisdiction. It was all the more surprising that a man of such markedly conservative views should now openly declare that since the new king's accession the country had been in a state of crisis from which nothing could deliver it but a speedy settlement of the constitutional question. As a minimum he demanded the regular summoning of the united committees for the scrutiny of the budget and for the approval of new taxation. He spoke proudly of Prussia's leading position in the Germanic Federation, and was already bold enough to declare that Austria was not properly speaking a part of Germany, whereas Holstein was German. The official world was incensed by the severe and often unjust criticisms he passed upon the administration of the finances and above all upon the sale of the domains. Kühne fiercely attacked Bülow-Cummerow in the *Staatszeitung*. The king, on the other hand, showed favour to the tempestuous old gentleman, for Frederick William's withers were unwrung by attacks made by the landed gentry upon the privy councillors, and he still cherished the illusion that he would remain unruffled by criticism of his own person.

The freer movement of the press was less noticeable in Berlin than elsewhere. In the Prussian capital the authorities were exceptionally timid. A new newspaper, *Der Patriot*, issued by L. Buhl, was suppressed within a few months, though the views to which it gave expression were little in advance of the average sentiments of enlightened liberalism. The *Vossische Zeitung* hazarded the publication of occasional leading articles, whilst the *Spenersche Zeitung* unremittingly continued its customary disquisitions upon street paving and gas lamps. There was no scope here as yet for vigorous journalism. The upper classes displayed their interest in political affairs solely in the form of malicious gossip concerning the court and the ministers, thinking, for the rest, of nothing beyond the theatre, concerts, and literature. Berlin was detested by the provinces, if only because particularist instinct felt that the town, for all its defects, was becoming the German capital. Pluming themselves on their civic spirit, both the Rhinelanders and the East Prussians despised the political hebetude of the city on the Spree; "the Berliners are just Berliners," was the universa

phrase in the newspapers of the west and of the east. Beneath the surface, however, a transformation was in progress. The democratisation of manners inevitable in great cities reacted upon the political feeling of the lower classes. The civilians of Berlin derided the ostentation of the court, the arrogance of the officers, the brusqueness of the gendarmes; and they delighted above all to make mock of the piety displayed by distinguished churchgoers. Adolf Glassbrenner's illustrated pamphlets, the joy of the lower orders, became ever bolder, more pointed, more outspokenly political.

It was, indeed, the abolition of the censorship on illustrations which entailed for the king the profoundest disillusionment. This was the epoch when Gavarni was drawing his witty sketches for the Parisian *Charivari*. Caricatures and rebuses became fashionable in Germany likewise, and such ephemeralities secured on all hands disproportionate notice, for a serious public life had as yet hardly begun to exist. Innocent folk split their sides over *Fliegende Blätter*, the new comic paper issued by a group of Munich draftsmen. The fat little Baron Beisele and his lean tutor Dr. Eisele, the two unsophisticated travellers who had so many droll adventures with Frankfort waiters, Berlinese privy councillors, and Bavarian dumpling eaters, became popular figures, and were reproduced myriadfold in tin and china, in sugar-icing and chocolate. But side by side with these, impudent caricatures found their way into circulation, and the mischief could not be counteracted by subsequent suppression. It was the curse of the system of personal rule that satire was forced to direct its poisoned shafts against the monarch; his advisers suffered less, though the much-abused minister for public worship and education [Eichhorn] was depicted in manifold distortions as a squirrel [Eichhörnchen]. The king was shown with an Order in one hand and a Counter-order in the other, whilst his forehead bore the legend "Disorder." In another drawing, two street-porters, Friede [Frederick] of Berlin, and Lude [Louis] of Munich, were seen engaged in "an extremely romantic conversation." In yet another, the great Frederick marched through the snow; following in his footsteps, reeling as he walked, a champagne bottle in each hand, came the new sovereign. This picture gave proof of the extent to which venomous whispers had already corrupted public opinion. Like all the Hohenzollerns, Frederick William was a hearty eater, but was a very moderate

drinker, for wine went readily to his head. But when at a banquet he had a toast to propose, when his face was flushed and his hand shook, when he emptied his brimming bumper at a draught, one who observed him from a distance might readily believe him to be intoxicated, and this and similar foolish witticisms passed so quickly from mouth to mouth that before long almost all Germany believed that the king of Prussia was a drunkard.

In Königsberg the *Hartungsche Zeitung* now appeared openly as an opposition journal, and soon came to exercise great influence upon opinion in the province. Jacoby's trusty assistants, Crelinger, Jachmann, and Walesrode, were among the contributors, whilst the last-named was simultaneously publishing captious criticism of Prussia in *Humble Addresses* and other comic pamphlets. The *Hartungsche's* treatment of politics showed some discretion, but the paper's attitude towards religious matters was one of open scorn, for its staff looked upon the Frederician enlightenment as the true spirit of the Prussian state, and never failed to display that sublime impeccability which was characteristic of all the spokesmen of liberalism. When the daily papers were ordered to publish official rectifications, they proudly answered: "Such a course may be necessary in France, but is needless here, where the press is so sound at heart that the deliberate publication of false intelligence is impossible." The *Schlesische Zeitung*, too, now ventured to raise its voice a little. It had come into existence a hundred years earlier under the very wings of the Prussian eagle, immediately after the conquest of Silesia, and had never lapsed from good behaviour, for it was more cautiously conducted than the *Breslauer Zeitung*, a younger journal already inclining to radical views. Nevertheless the fussy authorities were continually plaguing the *Schlesische* even during this year of mitigated censorship, and not a word could it publish concerning the Russian frontier embargo.

The newly founded *Rheinische Zeitung* excelled all other Prussian newspapers in spirit and daring. The members of its staff were young and gifted men, belonging for the most part, as did Bürgers, Dagobert Oppenheim, Mevissen, and Rudolf Schramm, to wealthy Cologne families. They had devoted themselves to the cause in a spirit of joyful enthusiasm, being quite unconcerned about journalism as a means of livelihood, and desiring merely to see how far the press could go.

All that united them was a vague liberal aspiration and a veneration for the Hegelian philosophy.[1] Consequently the critical side of the paper was from the first conducted in a radical spirit, the brothers Bauer and other audacious young Hegelians being lauded to the skies. Even the topical poems of the feuilleton were often arrogant, and prophesied the speedy coming of the day of battle. The political articles, on the other hand, were as a rule part brightly written, well furnished with ideas, and moderate in tone, though naturally displaying the inexperience of youth. All that was demanded was the further development of representative institutions and the abolition of the censorship—this last in a respectful article on the festival of the cathedral. The journal breathed a vigorous Prussian pride which was still rare on the Rhine. It had a firm faith in the great future of Germany, which had set an example to the western world in religion and literature, and was predestined, "however ludicrous the idea may seem," to control the political life of Europe.

The *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg was already complaining that the awakening press of Prussia had assumed a confident tone, as if the hegemony of Germany belonged by right to Prussia. The *Rheinische Zeitung* responded exultantly that Prussian hegemony was solely based upon moral predominance, springing from the customs union, from the spirit of progress, and from the new system of government. Had the rulers of Prussia attained to clear views concerning this dread which inspired their South German foes, they would have endeavoured to win over by consideration the exuberant but patriotic youth of the powerful Rhenish bourgeoisie. To the king, however, the newspaper's radicalism in religious matters seemed criminal, whilst its incisive and well-justified onslaughts upon the activities of the Rhenish ultramontanes were malapropos now that the wind had veered in Berlin. For these reasons the *Rheinische* was harshly treated by a lavish use of the powers of the censorship and by admonitions. Since its circulation continued despite this to grow rapidly it was inevitable that the hotspurs among the young folk should gain the upper hand. Leadership passed to such men as Georg Jung, a society man, who, like Heine, looked upon the opposition role in politics as a pleasant method of whiling away the

[1] Among other sources, I avail myself here of a sketch by Privy Councillor von Mevissen of Cologne.

time; but above all to the youngest of the group, Carl Marx from Treves. Marx was a vigorous fellow, twenty-four years of age, whose thick black hair bristled on cheeks and arms, from nostrils and ears. He was masterful, impetuous, passionate, immeasurably self-satisfied, but serious-minded and learned, an unwearying dialectician whose inexorable Jewish perspicacity enabled him to pursue to its ultimate logical consequences every detail of the Young Hegelian doctrine, and whose profound studies in economics were already paving the way for his transition to communism. Under Marx's editorship the youthful newspaper soon began to use rash language, so that the authorities regarded it with growing concern, and even cherished the preposterous suspicion that it was subsidised from France.[1]

The Prussian scandal which adorned the columns of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* speedily degenerated into vulgarity and filth. In their hopeless attitude of opposition the liberals had long ere this become accustomed to treat all their adversaries as servile toadies. In literary controversy their methods were apt to be less respectable than those of the conservatives, whose phraseology was comparatively measured because they possessed more potent means for the overthrow of their enemies. At this juncture, in the course of its dialectical divagations, Ruge's *Jahrbücher* was formulating the demand that the church should be absorbed into the school and the school be amalgamated with the army, this being coupled with the assertion that the people had the right to govern itself and to provide its own judicial system. The programme of pure democracy had been promulgated. In topical poems the person of the king became a target. A widely circulated ghazal appearing in the *Kosmopolitische Nachtwächter* made mock of Frederick William in the most irreverent terms.[2]

It was Frederick William's lofty purpose to repel this fierce onslaught from the opposition by the use of spiritual weapons exclusively. He strongly urged the ministers and the lord lieutenants to acquire the services of men of literary power, and to fight against the suspicions that were rife by the placing of informative leading articles and by the prompt

[1] Count Arnim's Report to Bülow, Paris, January 30, 1843.

[2] "Ein König soll nicht witzig sein, ein König soll nicht hitzig sein, nicht strenge gegen Itzig sein, er wolle nicht in jedem Ding—hier schweig' ich—altenfritzig sein."

exposition of the motives underlying new legislation.[1] Minister Eichhorn was eager to fulfil the monarch's designs, and proposed to found in Berlin and in every province a weighty and trustworthy journal of conservative views and none the less independent of the government. But the mood of the country had been completely transformed. Ten years earlier there had existed in Prussia two conservative periodicals, those of Jarcke and Ranke respectively, but not a single liberal newspaper, whereas now almost the entire press of the country flew liberal colours. The *Politische Wochenblatt* of Berlin ceased publication at the new year of 1842. It had been gradually ruined by its legitimist zealotry in conjunction with its secret relationships with the Russian embassy,[2] and had completely lost its fire and vitality after Jarcke, its leading collaborator had withdrawn his contributions as a sequel of the Cologne episcopal dispute. Shortly afterwards the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, the organ of the Old Hegelians, likewise suspended publication, being unable to survive the competition of the more up-to-date organs of philosophic radicalism. When the minister took steps hoping to secure these papers for the governmental cause, they were already in the article of death. It was needful, therefore, to found new journals, seeing that the *Staatszeitung*, though it had just been placed under the editorship of an able journalist named Zinkeisen, was still characterised by that devastating dulness which was almost invariable in the official periodicals of Germany.

With a soul above petty considerations of party, Eichhorn hoped to secure the best pens of the nation on behalf of the candid defence of Prussian policy. He wished to have a liberal newspaper published by Carl Reimer, a man of like views with himself, son of the highly respected liberal bookseller, Georg Andreas Reimer, recently deceased. For the editorship, General Thile recommended Dahlmann to the king, saying that his nominee was "a man of blameless sentiments, whose name sounds well in German ears."[3] But since Dahlmann as might have been expected, demanded that the newspaper should be exempt from censorship, fears were entertained lest the federal law should be infringed, although during the last decade the official *Hanoversche Zeitung*, edited by Pertz, had long been

[1] Cabinet Order to the ministry of state, January 16; Thile's Report, August 25, 1842.

[2] See vol. V, p. 246.

[3] Thile's Report to the king, September 22, 1842.

appearing uncensored and unmolested by the Bundestag. The negotiations were broken off, and similar attempts subsequently made were frustrated by bureaucratic obstacles. For the time being the authorities were content with furnishing support to the *Literarische Zeitung* which had been in existence for some years under the editorship of C. H. Brandes; and before long there became current in the professorial world a rumour which unfortunately did not lack foundation, that the surest means for obtaining promotion was to collaborate on the *Literarische Zeitung*. Its tone was moderate; it was inspired with "firm confidence in the invincible and eternal youth of the Christo-Germanic spirit"; and it had many an apt word to say anent the futilities of the fashionable apostles of enlightenment; but it was unable to set up an inspiriting ideal in contraposition to the liberal enthusiasm for freedom. Its cumbrous doctrinairism was incompetent to arouse, as the *Politische Wochenblatt* had aroused, the crusading spirit of the legitimists; and it was equally incapable of awakening the elemental monarchical instinct of the populace, of inflaming their pride in the iron cross and the black-and-white banner.

Still less fortunate was the subsequent choice of Victor Aimé Huber, the Swabian, who was summoned upon Radowitz' recommendation,[1] and who proved to be one more of the many able men thrust by the king into a false situation. Fertile minded, of serious disposition, and profoundly pious, Huber was quicker than most of his contemporaries to grasp the social background of the modern party system and to perceive the connection between liberal doctrine and the interests of mobile capital. But at this date, when he came to Berlin, the fruitful socio-political ideas which were subsequently to secure him a well-merited reputation had not yet matured. He had scant acquaintance with Prussian affairs; and he felt uncertain of his ground in the polemic against liberalism if only for the reason that he personally desired the regular summoning of a Reichstag based upon representation of estates. A man of awkward address, he had little success in the professorial chair at Berlin. He was equally unfortunate with his periodical *Janus*, which was liberally supported with funds by the king, a fact to which the ministers were not at first privy. Though Leo, Gerlach, and Stahl, contributed to the journal, its circulation remained small. In Königsberg, F. W. Schubert, a learned

[1] Thile's Report to the king, April 6, 1843.

statistician inclining towards moderate liberal views, edited a conservative paper. In the west, Professor Bercht, a well-meaning patriot who in earlier days had been prosecuted as a demagogue, could, it was thought, influence public opinion through the *Rheinische Beobachter*. But neither of these governmental organs could thrive, for the high officials had a profound contempt for newspaper work, and were equally unwilling to supply articles and funds.

The upshot was that this government, which believed itself to stand so high above the people and which desired to turn the minds of Prussians towards new ideals, remained almost completely devoid of an effective literary mouthpiece, and it was at this awkward moment that a heavy-witted adulator did the monarchy a bad turn. Not long before, Hippel had published a well-written and instructive biography of the late king. Now appeared Bishop Eylert's garrulous *Contributions to the Characterisation of Frederick William III*. How could it fail to arouse nausea when the simple uprightness which was deserving of so much gratitude was thus distorted by base flattery, and when long and unctuous preachments were put into the mouth of the taciturn sovereign? Throughout five interminable volumes the reader was wearied by the reiteration of Him and He, whilst God Almighty, whose name the bishop was prone to misuse, had to rest content with the simple "he." Faithful servants of the departed were doubtless able to revive pleasant memories here and there as they traversed this vast desert of anecdote, but the book could not fail to exercise a poisonous influence upon the mind of radical youth, confirming the false impression that monarchical sentiments must perforce be associated with Byzantine servility.

At this juncture, by the folly of one of the spokesmen of liberalism, the old tribulations of the Prussian press were revived. Georg Herwegh, the young Swabian, was the hero of the hour; his fiery radical verses, *A Live Man's Poems*, being everywhere suppressed, found everywhere enthusiastic readers. In one of these poems he directly addressed the King of Prussia, pleading for the German people as Platen had formerly pleaded for the Poles, and manifesting in the following words the obscure and aimless impulsiveness of youth:

> But ask me not where foes advance;
> Where'er the wind blows gleams a lance.
> Guard us against the child of France,
> Against thy brother Nicholas.

For the nonce Herwegh's role was that of political refugee in Switzerland. In sooth no harm had ever been done him in his homeland, but undisciplined from the first he had evaded Würtemberg military service by flight. Among the liberals the hatred of the "hirelings of war" was already so fierce that no liberal could be found to censure the poet for shirking the universal duty of the citizen. Herwegh sang boastfully:

> Deserter? The name is my glory. Spurning the king's stifling colours,
> Choose I the people's own banner where none gain dross in the service.

In the autumn of 1842 he set out on a triumphal tour through Germany, being everywhere received with acclamations by the liberals—in Weimar, in Jena, in Leipzig, and in Dresden. His head turned by such homage, he made his way to Berlin, and through the instrumentality of a friend he had made in Switzerland, Schönlein, now the king's physician, he begged audience of Frederick William. The monarch subsequently wrote to General Dohna: "I thought over the matter for a week before acceding to his request, and I finally agreed to receive him because I regarded him as a genuine and enthusiastic republican; had I known him to be a deserter from a Würtemberg infantry regiment I should of course have refused to see him." In his majesty's presence the young Swabian was awkward, embarrassed, humble. The king praised his poetic talent and deplored his radicalism. Frederick William wished for Herwegh such an experience as had once befallen Paul near Damascus, "for then your influence will become extraordinarily great." The king closed the brief interview with the kindly assurance, "We will remain honourable foes." By way of thanks the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* published a garbled account of the incidents, whereupon Frederick William commanded the issue of an official rectification couched in the following terms: "We learn that upon reading the article the king remarked, 'I recognise the handiwork of those Jews of whose intrusive friendship Herwegh complained. This is what actually occurred!'" [1] The king's anger became more intense when he learned further details concerning the poet's past, and he bitterly declared: "A poem in the papers. It seems to me that Herwegh is mocking at himself for abasing himself *before me.* Grand bien lui fasse." [2]

[1] Marginal Note to Thile's Report November 28, 1842.
[2] King Frederick William to Thile, December 8, 1842.

Meanwhile the poet had gone to Königsberg, and here the entire opposition flocked round him. At a great banquet the *Marseillaise* was played, but this had now become so general a practice during the liberal festivities of the day that to the thoughtless auditors it seemed quite an ordinary affair.[1] In some verses written for the occasion the young poet Wilhelm Jordan extolled the stubborn pride of the men of East Prussia, and referred with contempt to the flaccid Berliners, who all became affected with St. Vitus' dance when the sylphlike limbs of Fanny Elsler flashed before them: "The wanton city of Corinth [Berlin] is possessed by the demons of vanity and pleasure-seeking. But here, Herwegh, you are in Lacedaemon; our heads remain level, for we are Spartans." Such phrase-making was in the air, for all inclined to vie one with another in the pathos of heroism. A young fellow who subsequently became a professor of note was asked by Jacoby, "Are you a student?" and solemnly replied, "I am, in the most daring sense of the term." Jacoby's comment was, "It would be better to say, 'I am a student in deed.'" Even Crelinger, the able lawyer, an emaciated fellow with an enormous Semitic nose, a typical man of the study, was unable to withstand the universal intoxication, and talked so loud and so long of the sword at his side that his very friends could not look at him without a smile.

The king was greatly incensed at what he called the "blood songs" of this banquet. His wrath can therefore be imagined when the poet sent him a most unseemly letter from Königsberg. Herwegh purposed to publish in Switzerland a journal intended for circulation in Germany. The importation of the newspaper into Prussia had just been forbidden in advance. Though such a step was quite within the legal competence of the authorities, it naturally seemed an offensive sequel to follow hard upon the audience we have described, and the mortified journalist now addressed to the monarch a missive entitled *A Word between you and me.* "I do not," he said, "assume the mask of a devotion which is foreign to me, nor do I feign sentiments which I never have experienced and never shall experience." He berated the prince's servants, saying that their senile outlook and their imperfect understanding of the people must inevitably and eternally conflict with Frederick William's own awareness that a new day had dawned.

[1] Bötticher's Report to Thile, December 13, 1842.

"For myself," he continued, "I am by natural necessity a republican." He passed to threats, writing, "There are still men who are afraid of nothing, and I am one of them." Silence was the best answer to this childish bombast. But at Christmas the letter, which had long before been communicated to the Königsberg liberals, was printed at Leipzig in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and its publication could not but appear as a deliberate insult to the monarch.

Great was the indignation at the court of Berlin. The communication to the press of *A Word between you and me*, an offence to which the writer was held privy, was looked upon as peculiarly infamous [1]; it was deemed essential that for a time at least the press should be placed under "a state of siege." As a preliminary, the *Literarische Zeitung* published a loud plaint, saying that in a single year the spokesmen of liberty had undermined the century-old good repute of the German press, and adding that by granting complete freedom of the press the state would recognise the existence within its own borders of a power superior to itself. Thereupon Herwegh was expelled from Prussia and the importation of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* was forbidden, on the ground that the journal had become a tissue of lies, misrepresentations, and spiteful attacks. Preeminently distressing, now, was the position of Count Arnim-Boitzenburg. He urgently desired the granting of extended freedom to the press, and it was with this end in view that he had been summoned to the king's council, but now it became his duty as minister for home affairs to take the initiative in repressive measures, and all the fury of the liberals was concentered upon his person. But the king demanded yet more stringent measures of repression.

Frederick William felt that he could no longer depend upon the protection of the law-courts, for during these very days (January, 1843) Johann Jacoby, who after a previous sentence had valiantly published two apologias in defence of his *Four Questions*, was definitively acquitted by the supreme court of appeal. The judgment was signed by the venerable President Grolman. In the extremely detailed statement of reasons the judges expressed themselves with a fearlessness conformable to the tribunal's ancient reputation, declaring that frank criticism of existing institutions was perfectly compatible

[1] Memorial concerning Herwegh's letter, December, 1842; anonymous, but probably penned by Ludwig von Gerlach.

with respect for the king, and going so far as to declare that an author must on no account be forbidden to point to the censorship as the worst enemy of the press. In accordance with the principle of the secrecy of judicial procedure, no copy of this judgment was communicated to the acquitted person, for it was certain that he would promptly have published the whole. Moreover, the king refused to have the judgment made known, despite Jacoby's pressing request, for to Frederick William the acquittal was absolutely incomprehensible.

All the more needful, therefore, did it seem to the monarch for the administration to take vigorous action. Now was effected the suppression of Ruge's *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, on the ground that the periodical wished to carry liberalism to the pitch of democracy, desired to secure liberty by the establishment of the absolute state. The suppression was ordered almost simultaneously in Saxony and in Prussia, and was subsequently reenacted by the Bundestag, whilst as far as Saxony was concerned the measure was confirmed by the diet at the close of a stormy sitting. Immediately afterwards the *Rheinische Zeitung* was ordered to cease publication on the last day of March, on the ground that its sentiments and mode of expression were undisciplined, and because it displayed a subversive attitude towards state and church. The journal complied with the order, with the bitter remark: "The mistake of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the false foundation of the newspaper, was the enthusiasm it displayed for the fresh light which after prolonged darkness began to redden the mountain peaks. Events have proved that this was a mere prophetic glimmer, and not the dawn of a new day for Germany." In February, 1843, a further measure was taken, in that the freedom from censorship which had been granted in the case of illustrations was cancelled. The year of partial freedom of the press had come to an end, and the most influential organs of North German liberalism had all been silenced. The nation received these prohibitions with marked hostility. People had ultimately become habituated to the inviolable quiet of the old regime; but the new government first encouraged people to voice their opinions candidly and loudly, and then suppressed all sentiments displeasing to the rulers. Who could fathom such measures? Revolting, too, was the domineering tone of these prohibitions, with their unctuous recapitulation of the suppressed newspaper's offences!

Worst of all was it that the king could not refrain from didactic intervention in every journalistic trifle. It was soon apparent that his irritable spirit lacked that protection of a thick skin which is essential to those who have to endure liberty. Again and again did he complain to his ministers of the atrocious Königsberg journal and its prostitute sister on the Rhine. When an East Prussian landowner named Deutsch complained of what had been done in the affair of the *Elbinger Anzeiger*, the monarch wrote a holograph letter to show the correspondent how grave were his errors: "My office is too sacred and my love of truth too keen for me to take the field against phantasmagorias which are misused by a party to stir up the unenlightened portion of the populace." [1] Yet harsher was the reproof administered to Wilibald Alexis when he took up the cudgels against the censorship on behalf of the innocent *Vossische Zeitung*. "It has pained me," wrote the king, "to find a man of your culture and literary reputation among those who make it their business to decry the administration of the country by vain criticism of its activities, by arousing unjustified suspicion in the minds of the masses who are for the most part devoid of competence in such matters, and who, like these critics, are unable to understand the spirit of the administration; I regret to find you among those who make yet more difficult the difficult task of government." The writing was soon made public, and even General Gerlach opined that it was a mistake to treat in this way so loyal a man as the poet of the Marks, who had often been chidden by the liberals.

The king looked upon all these prohibitions as mere emergency measures, and while they were being enforced he was engaged in frequent consultations with his ministers, including Radowitz and Gerlach, concerning a new censorship law drafted by Count Arnim.[2] It was his hope, he joyfully declared, to herald and prepare the freedom of the future. On this occasion, likewise, he showed no lack of brilliant ideas. For example, he proposed to make it a legal obligation that all political articles should be signed, but it soon became apparent that this excellent notion was belated by twenty years, and that the practice of journalistic anonymity had become ineradicable.[3] He wished to make some sort of public

[1] Cabinet Order to Deutsch, January, 1843.

[2] Arnim's Despatches to Eichhorn, Thile, and Bülow, September 18, 1842. Thile, Memorandum for the ministry of state, December, 1842.

announcement that he would ever be ready to receive well-grounded press communications concerning abuse of powers on the part of officials, but Thile pointed out to him that it would never do to incite the public to a struggle against the officialdom.[1] Metternich, who had long been watching the movement of the Prussian press with much alarm, transmitted advice through the embassy.[2] The Austrian remained of his old opinion that the moral power of the press could be controlled in no other way than by prohibitions. Enriching his verbal treasury by an additional metaphor, he wrote as follows: "If a swarm of venomous insects has winged its flight, the destruction of the nest comes too late. Optimists may put their trust in the swallows and the sparrows, not I."

Since no end could as yet be foreseen to the deliberations, certain provisional ordinances were now issued. On February 4, 1843, the censors, having "completely misunderstood" the monarch's commands, received a new and extremely strict instruction. "What I do not wish," declared the cabinet order, "is the degradation of science and literature into journalese, or that the latter should be placed in a position of equal dignity with the two former." After lively disputes, the ministerial council now came to an agreement regarding the temporary organisation of the boards of censorship. It was the king's personal order that in the supreme court of censorship, just as in the countries where oral procedure was in vogue, the prosecution should be conducted by a public prosecutor. The legal advisers of the crown were unanimous in demanding a guaranteed independence for the members of this court. It was Savigny's opinion that they should be appointed for life; Gerlach held, further, that their decisions must be exclusively based upon published laws, for therein, he said, "lies the essence and condition of all justice; Mühler proposed that the supreme court of censorship should consist of the supreme court of justice strengthened by the addition of two university professors, for the function of this court was to protect the press against the arbitrariness of the censors, and "what one wills one must will wholeheartedly."[3] In

[1] Thile's Report to the king, January 27, 1843.

[2] Canitz' Reports, Vienna, February, 1842, and subsequent dates; Metternich to Trauttmansdorff, February 14, 1843.

[3] Gerlach's Memorial, December 15, 1842; Mühler's Memorial, February 22, 1843; Savigny to Thile, February 23, 1843.

the end, however, the legal scruples of the jurists were outweighed by the timidities of ministers of narrower views, most of whom consoled themselves with the belief that the new institution was after all a mere experiment. By the ordinance of February 23, 1843, local and district censors were appointed under the control of the ministry for home affairs, whilst jurisdiction over the press was entrusted to a supreme court of censorship consisting of seven jurists and two university professors, appointed for three years. The court was to be guided in its decisions by the laws of the country and also by "special instructions" issued to the censors.

The best idea in the royal plan of reforms was thus abandoned. The new authority was not an independent court of justice. It was barely distinguishable from the old supreme college of censorship, and Ludwig Gerlach was not slow to declare with the candour of the Prussian judge that he felt unable to accept the offered presidency of this court of censorship.[1] The presidency was therefore conferred upon State Secretary Bornemann, a distinguished lawyer of markedly liberal views. It was his regretful opinion that it was his duty to sacrifice his reputation to interests of state, and in fact his acceptance of this detested office soon resulted in his being universally defamed as a reactionary. It was characteristic of this regime of misunderstanding that no one who served the government could remain unscathed. On June 30th some amplifications to the ordinance were published, and on the whole these served merely to reiterate the old censorship prescriptions in somewhat modified tenour. Nothing more could be effected for the present. Perplexed and rudderless, the government was tossed between liberal wishes and bureaucratic alarms.

The new court of censorship proved ineffective. Whilst the nation was day by day voicing more loudly its detestation for censorship in all its forms, the new authority threw itself into a struggle against free speech. Its decisions, which had at first been reasonable in tone, became harsher and harsher, especially after Bornemann's resignation, and at times seemed so unreasonable as to bear comparison with the doings of Uria, the Badenese censor. Voigt, the liberal bookseller of Königsberg, had for some time been publishing in detached sheets and without interference from the censorship *Materials for a History of the Reign of Frederick William IV*, a chronicle

[1] Gerlach to the king, February 21, 1843.

which is still valuable to the latter-day historian, recording as it does without comment the events of Prussian history. It is only the selection of the matter, in conjunction with the occasional use of some ironical turn of phrase, which betrays that the compiler belonged to the circle of Schön and Jacoby. In 1845 the public prosecutor applied to the supreme court of censorship for an order prohibiting the sale of this work, thus furnishing Crelinger, counsel for the defence, with a much-desired opportunity for a scornful attack upon a government which was afraid of having its doings recorded. Nevertheless the prohibition was issued, simply on account of the "markedly hostile tendency" of the book, and since it had been issued with the approval of the Prussian censorship, the state had to pay compensation to the publisher. As a punishment, however, Crelinger was transferred to a place of secondary importance, and sent in his resignation.

Yet how fruitless was all this harshness, all this exercise of arbitrary power. It is true that the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* was muzzled. It was resuscitated a few months after the suppression under the name of *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, but its new editor, Professor Bülau, already well known as a censor, sedulously avoided the publication of a word that could possibly give offence. Arnold Ruge, moreover, never regained the reputation which he had won as editor of the *Jahrbucher*, and he had to thank himself chiefly for the failure. He went to France, boasting that he would "make another nation," would create a world-conquering literature of enlightenment, a literature that would dominate the century. From the lofty heights to which his imagination soared he looked down with equal contempt upon the men of pure science, "the culture of such as Twesten, Trendelenburg, and Ranke," and upon the "reactionary idealism" of Arndt and Jahn. Essentially honest, this blusterer ever remained at heart what his friends of early days continued to call him, the Youth of Rügen. He was not positively embittered, being of too genial a disposition, but the intoxication of absolute criticism impelled him to the dialectical destruction of all that is sacred to German hearts. Not long before, in the old *Jahrbucher*, Börne had been stigmatised as "the shameless Thersites of the German nation." But now Ruge founded in Paris the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, whose invectives almost surpassed those of the aforesaid Thersites. We read there, for example: "The

German spirit, in so far as it manifests itself, is base; and I do not hesitate to maintain that if it does not manifest itself in any other semblance, the failure is solely due to the baseness of its nature." It is true that these charges appeared in the form of a pseudonymous correspondence, but so unquestionably did they embody Ruge's own views that his old friend Robert Prutz felt it his duty as a true patriot to utter a word of warning and refutation. "Who is still patriotic? The apostle of reaction. Who is no longer patriotic? The apostle of liberty. For men who seek freedom, their party is their true fatherland. Only free men have no religion. . . ." All that Ruge wrote during the next few years moved within the labyrinth of such shallow and impudent mouthings. The issue of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* did not long continue. Almost all the copies of the first number were confiscated on the Palatine frontier, whilst many of the French radicals whom Ruge had invited to collaborate, were repelled by the German philosopher's atheistic doctrines, whose political harmlessness was not apparent to them. In Germany, likewise, although political radicalism unceasingly gained adherents, people were growing weary of the scholastic formulas of the Young Hegelians. When sovereign criticism had scaled every possible and impossible height, it no longer had a message for the nation. The coming generation was searching for practical freedom, and had no use for logomachies.

The *Rheinische Zeitung*, on the other hand, was speedily replaced by the *Kölnische Zeitung*. This old-established journal, whose financial basis was well secured by advertisements owing to the advanced industrial development of the western provinces, had for a time been forced into the background by the exuberance of its youthful rival, but now experienced a speedy recuperation, for many of the staff of the suppressed *Rheinische* transferred their services to the *Kölnische*. The proprietor Joseph Dumont, a vigorous man of Old Cologne, inspired at once with imperial civic pride and with Prussian monarchical loyalty, suddenly discovered that the government had bribed Dr. Hermes, one of his leading contributors—a step quite unprecedented in Prussia, and certainly taken without foreknowledge on the part of Frederick William. Dumont promptly dismissed Hermes, and entrusted the paper to more reliable hands. Somewhat later C. H. Brüggemann became editor. The Westphalian had atoned in a Posen fortress for

his speech at the Hambach festival and for the zealotry of his student days, but, unembittered by the prolonged imprisonment, he wrote after his release the brilliant booklet *Prussia's Mission in German political Development* (1843), a programme of aspirations which greatly stirred the liberal bourgeoisie of the west. He demanded representation by estates without general elections; freedom of the press, of commerce, and of industry; local self-government; the abolition of class privileges side by side with the recognition of class distinctions: and at this early date he expressed the definite expectation that Prussia would assume the headship of the German nation. When Minister Bodelschwingh considered it necessary to admonish this moderate liberal on the ground of "subversive and communistic tendencies," the step merely served to show how utterly the government was hoodwinked by its anxieties, and it was obvious that the authorities had become completely unable to distinguish between the fundamentally diverse tendencies which were for the time being combined in the opposition. Since Brüggemann, being an experienced journalist, rarely gave the censors an opening, and since he took no part in the anti-religious activities of the Young Hegelians, the *Kölnische Zeitung* made rapid headway. Having upwards of nine thousand subscribers, it soon became a great journal, and precisely because of its more moderate tone it gave almost more trouble to the government than the *Rheinische* had done.

As a means for gratifying the reading public's love of scandal, the democratic bookselling business which sprang up thickly close to the south-west frontier of Germany, effectively replaced the *Leipziger Allgemeine*. Julius Fröbel, the Thuringian, founded in Winterthur the "Literarische Comptoir," which first acquired renown through the issue of Herwegh's poems. A number of genuine or reputed refugees lent their aid, and among these was found for a time one of the brothers Follen, the handsome Adolf, of old panegyrised by the Unconditionals as German emperor. A convinced democrat but a thoroughgoing doctrinaire, throughout the manifold transformations in his political views there was but one idea to which Fröbel remained steadfast, his hatred of Prussia, and he openly acknowledged that it was his aim to break for ever the power of the censorship through the activity of his turbulent publishing house. Wirth, one of the orators of the Hambach festival, simultaneously opened at Bellevue near Constance a printing

establishment known as the "Druckerei der deutschen Volkshalle." Similar undertakings were originated in Strasburg, Berne, and Zurich.

Thus from a safe distance a hail of radical writings rattled across the German frontier. All the publications were eagerly read, and many of them attracted great attention, notably an account of the Weidig trial in which truth and fiction were skilfully mingled, and two works by a young Swabian named Johannes Scherr, packed with foul invective and respectively entitled *The Real Prussia* and *Würtemberg in the Year* 1844. Moreover, the lesser German states adjoining Prussia had quietly to tolerate the publication of many abusive writings against their big neighbour, for they had by this time lost heart, and were happy when they could save their own skins. The Rhinelander Carl Heinzen, the coarsest of all the Prussian demagogues, had his filthy books *The Prussian Bureaucracy, The Opposition,* and so on, printed in Darmstadt or published by the radical bookseller Hoff of Mannheim. Only when preaching open mutiny and high treason, as in his *Thirty Articles of War* for the German army, did the name of some imaginary place appear on the title-page. After an adventurous youth in foreign parts, he had for a while earned his livelihood as subordinate in the Prussian civil service, experiencing there the humiliations which no man of culture can escape in such a position, but never unfairly treated. None the less he felt justified in describing the Prussian officialdom as the spawn of hell. A much relished caricature depicted the king trampling upon newspapers whilst simultaneously exclaiming, "I love a thoughtful opposition!" What could the Prussian court do against all these filibusters? It felt utterly defenceless, and even within Prussian borders the censors proved unable in the end to suppress what was in the very air. The old coercive methods had proved impracticable. In September, 1847, Minister Bodelschwingh sang their dirge, declaring: "The censorship is decrepit, has been worn out in the service." The only question was, he continued, what was to replace it.[1]

§ 5. NEW LIFE IN BERLIN.

The new time whose coming had so frequently been announced was conspicuous to all in the tasteful splendour of

[1] Bodelschwingh, Memorial concerning the Press, September, 1847.

the new court. The king took delight in driving to and fro in elegant four-in-hands or six-in-hands. The court servants had fine silver-braided collars, ornamented with black eagles, on their liveries; the pages wore once again the picturesque red attire of the days of Frederick I; the marshals of the diets bore marshal's staves; the university professors wore gorgeous gowns. In their chapters the knights of the black eagle had once again to don the red mantle of their order, and the king would not receive the judges of the Rhineland unless they were dressed in the ceremonial robes of the French magistracy. Frederick William did not look upon these things as mere formalities, for he considered it his duty to display kingship by God's grace in its full glory and to have all his servants appropriately adorned. General Thile assured him on one occasion that the simple manners of the Prussian monarchs, and in especial those of Frederick William III, had aroused universal respect, whereas these new and dazzling ways were incomprehensible to the people, and were perhaps looked upon as theatrical. The king thanked the general for his frankness, but went on to say: "None the less, I cannot allow manifest errors to affect my views. It is unquestionable that many, very, very many, of the proprieties have fallen into desuetude. This is why, far from acceding to such a course, I am reintroducing ceremonial observances and suitable indications of invested honours. It is for this reason that the university dignitaries and the judges must wear official robes; it is for this reason that the marshals must carry staves. At the opening of the diet, as when the oath of allegiance was tendered, I shall have the insignia of royalty carried before me. Suum cuique." [1]

Among the broad masses of this warrior people, the full consciousness of the change was first diffused during the years 1842 and 1843, when the army received a new uniform—a well-fitting tunic replacing the ugly swallow-tail, and a helmet being worn instead of a shako. A flood of mockery was poured forth anent the "Pickelhaube" or spiked helmet, the mediæval invention of royal romanticism. Soon, however, people began to realise that Frederick William had provided for his troops the most convenient and the handsomest attire ever worn by a modern army. With the refined taste of an artist he had achieved the happy mean between the stiffness of the Old

[1] Thile to King Frederick William, March 18, 1847, with marginal note.

Russian uniforms and the motley splendours of latter-day French uniforms. During a glorious half century the modern German military uniform had become so greatly endeared to the nation that it seemed as if our soldiers could not possibly wear any other.

In the late king's reign the palaces of Berlin and Potsdam had been thrown open only for great court functions. It was very different now, for there was a rapid succession of masked balls, concerts, tableaux vivants, and dramatic representations. Not infrequently the monarch would graciously present himself as a guest at Prince Radziwill's palace, the meeting place of the Catholic nobility; at Count Pourtalès'; at Count Redern's, where Jenny Lind and Franz Liszt were sometimes to be heard; or at the duchess of Sagan-Kurland's, a woman of remarkable beauty who even in her maturity continued to exercise such a charm over male hearts that the much-admired Prince Felix Lichnowsky followed her about like a shadow. In the diplomatic corps in Berlin were many men of notable parts such as Wheaton, the American, an authority on international law, Nothomb from Belgium, a highly cultured man, and Lord Westmoreland, an ardent admirer of German music. Even the Turkish embassy possessed a man of considerable learning in its secretary Davoud Oghlu, who could vie with the very Germans in his knowledge of the history of German jurisprudence. To mention but one more, Henriette Sontag, wife of Count Rossi, the Sardinian envoy, delighted her guests, as of old she had delighted the audience of the Königstadt theatre, with her glorious singing.

Over this lively and distinguished society Frederick William purposed to empty the cornucopia of German art and science. He did not hide his desire to outbid his Bavarian brother-in-law, and to make Berlin the metropolis of national culture, so that the Wittelsbacher soon complained bitterly that Berlin was snapping up all his men of talent. But the Prussian lacked the tenacity of purpose and the calculating caution which enabled the Bavarian ruler to carry through all his undertakings to an end; and whereas Louis rarely troubled his artists in their work by interposing any authoritative word, Frederick William looked upon himself as an artist, conceived himself competent in masterly fashion to dictate the road for free creation. The finest energies of the nation seemed to be at the king's disposal in all departments of art. "What

a splendid team," wrote Bunsen in delight, " Schinkel, Cornelius, Rauch, and Mendelssohn ! " But now came the disaster which proved decisive as regards the artistic character of the new reign. Schinkel died, and Schinkel was the only man whose universal culture, inexhaustible imagination, and essentially architectonic genius, might perhaps have enabled him to give fixity of purpose and definiteness of aim to a spirit akin to his own, but unstable and prone to extremes. Among the architects with whose services Frederick William had henceforward to content himself, there were many men of ability, but not one of truly commanding intelligence, and it was the cruel destiny of this royal Mæcenas who devoted so much energy and taste, so much self-sacrificing labour, to the cause of the beautiful, that in Potsdam alone was he to leave works which could faithfully portray for posterity his own innermost nature.

Lenné, the greatest landscape gardener of the century, had received his first training in the palace gardens of the electors of Cologne at Bonn. During the reign of the late king he had already worked at beautifying the Berlin Tiergarten and Potsdam Park, but was now at length given a free hand for his designs. Modern engineering progress made it possible to complete the magnificent ornamental waters with which Frederick the Great had vainly endeavoured to adorn Sans-Souci. In Persius of Potsdam, Frederick William secured an architect fully competent to harmonise his buildings with the forests and the meadows, with the hills and the lakes, with the quiet beauty of the Havel landscape. By the cooperation of all the arts, the king was thus enabled to complete and round off what his predecessors had fragmentarily begun. The majestic cupola of the church of St. Nicholas formed the dominant central feature of the scene. At the foot of the hill of Sans-Souci, Persius began the work dearest to the king's heart, the Friedenskirche (Church of Peace), a fine building in the style of the old Italian basilicas. The church, its colonnades, and its lofty campanile were mirrored in the quiet pool. Here was a sanctuary of peace and faith when contrasted with the careless, mundane life of the hill top. In this extensive park there was plenty of room for the many-sided imagination of the royal architect to spread its wings; it was here that he passed his best hours in the serene joys of artistic expression; and it was here, among the simple

folk of the Havel villages, that he remained popular even throughout the least fortunate years of his reign. Indefatigably, down to the close of his days of health, did he promote the completion of these plastic conceptions: hard by the shore of the blue stream, the inspiring little church of Our Saviour; on a solitary peak in the forest, the queen's Bavarian châlet; among the shrubberies and in the avenues, exedras of marble and beautiful statues, among which was naturally to be found Lenné's Hermes; on Pfingst hill, lofty belvederes forming the magnificent propylæum of a classical villa, grandly conceived like a poet's dream, but left unfinished owing to the storms of the revolution; finally, during his last years of active life, the Palladian orangery. The works were in every possible variety of style, the natural outcome of the king's eclectic preferences, and yet they did not produce an impression of tasteless multiformity owing to the way in which they were dispersed over wide areas and were framed by the trees. No onlooker could fail to realise that a richly endowed and lofty spirit had presided over their creation.

For Berlin, artistic activity of this character, light and decorative rather than creative, was inadequate. If the art of the metropolis were to experience the promised new blossoming, it was essential that mighty and monumental buildings should contrast with the works of Schlüter and Schinkel, which had hitherto given Berlin its architectural character. But the restless spirit of Frederick William was unequal to this task, and no less unequal was the delicate, tasteful, and gracious talent of Stüler, the Thuringian, who after the premature death of Persius was the monarch's chief assistant in almost all his building designs. With affectionate zeal, and as a rule with notable success, the king endeavoured to complete and to adorn the work of his predecessors. The roof and staircase of the museum were furnished with an abundance of sculptures and tracery, likewise the grand stairway of the theatre, whilst the portico of the theatre was beautified with frescos after Schinkel's drawings. Topping the pilasters of the wide Palace Bridge, fine marble groups of warriors in training and in combat were erected. The artist paid no heed to the prosaic mockery of the Berliners, who could not get used to these "naked dolls." On the new terrace facing the palace were placed the two spirited groups, the horse-tamers, sculptured by the Esthonian, Baron Clodt: a present from Czar Nicholas.

These, too, were derided by the wags of the capital, who spoke of them as "images of arrested progress and assisted retrogression," though Rauch never wearied of studying the perfect natural truth of the two steeds. When the opera house of Frederick the Great was destroyed by fire, it was restored in accordance with Knobelsdorff's original design, but in statelier guise. The mills on the roaring weir of the Spree, which had also been burned down, rose anew from the ashes in the form of a picturesque feudal castle. To conclude, a vigorous finish was given to the heavy and somewhat monotonous mass of the Royal Palace by the mighty dome, Stüler's best work.

All these decorative changes were regarded by the king as mere accessories to the great transformation he had planned for the centre of the capital. He proposed to convert the long island in the Spree behind the old museum into a shrine of the arts. Separated by colonnades from the activities of daily life, there were to be placed here a number of temples to the muses; and since Frederick William was never weary of planning, he luxuriated in relay after relay of schemes for the carrying out of this fascinating idea. No more than a fragment of his design was finally achieved, and even this fragment was unsuccessful. In Schinkel's Old Museum and in Stüler's New Museum, the respective characteristics of the reigns of the third Frederick William and his son are faithfully reflected. The former exhibits simple dignity and lofty calm. The latter is a pretentious Alexandrine edifice which the observer can never picture as a united whole. In its interior we find an interminable abundance of costly collections; but the halls, notwithstanding their manifold individual beauties are tawdry and overdecorated, whilst the whole is erudite rather than handsome, and is so arbitrarily designed that innocent visitors are apt to regard the main staircase with its mural paintings and colossal plaster caste as the central feature of the structure. The new curator, Ignaz von Olfers, a Westphalian of rigidly ultramontane views, was an expert in ecclesiastical antiquities. Under the king's direct supervision, he did his utmost to enrich the collections, but was devoid of appreciation for contemporary art. Even more disastrous was the failure of Frederick William's second great architectural undertaking. He conceived the happy thought of replacing the inconspicuous Frederician minster in the Lustgarten by a splendid cathedral church. It was to be the most gorgeous fane of continental Protestantism,

and was to form a worthy terminus for the fine vista from the Brandenburg Gate. But the years were wasted in plans and counter-plans, and in the end nothing was completed save the costly foundations for the close, laid in the river bed. Since the Berliners must have their joke, the current saying was that here grew the most expensive grass in Europe.

The disillusionment was bitter, for the cathedral was to have been the crowning edifice among three hundred churches which the pious monarch restored or rebuilt during two decades. A new Protestant church arose from the ruins of the Roman basilica at Treves; the Carolingian dome of the minster of Aix-la-Chapelle was restored to its ancient splendour; near his favourite Erdmannsdorf in the Föhrnwald half way up the Schneekoppe, the Wang church was erected. This was a wooden edifice reconstructed from the timbers of the old "stave-kirke" of Wang in Norway. The new buildings were invariably in keeping with the refined taste of the masterbuilder, and yet most of them seemed nothing more than the sketchy conceptions of a clever amateur, for they lacked strength and artistry. The insignificant looking chapels within rarely fulfilled the promise of the exterior, whereas Schinkel, being a good Protestant, had ever regarded the inside of God's house as more important than the outside. The elegant little churches of New Berlin were wellnigh lost amid the lofty dwelling houses. There was but one exception, the Catholic church of St. Michael, designed by Soller. Situate beside the broad Engel basin it had a stately appearance as it faced across the waters the warm terracotta building of St. Thomas and the sombre cloisters of the Bethanian hospital.

The failure of the cathedral scheme had a momentous influence on the development of painting in Berlin. When Peter Cornelius had broken with his Wittelsbach patron, he joyfully accepted the invitation extended to him by Frederick William. He was chosen to introduce monumental painting on the Spree, being commissioned to adorn with biblical frescos the Campo Santo, the mausoleum of the Hohenzollerns, which was to be constructed beside the cathedral. Sharing the king's enthusiasm for a universalised Protestant Christianity, he designed to bring to a glorious finish the Christian epos whose partial completion only had been possible to him in the church of St. Louis in Munich. His idea was to represent in exalted pictures which would move every Christian heart the apocalyptic

saga of the last things, the mysterious world where the mundane and the eternal come into contact. He had, however, to endure the torment which is above all terrible to a creative spirit, for year after year he could never get beyond plans, since the walls which his brush was to embellish were never raised. How could it console him that a worthy home for an artist was provided for him at the Brandenburg Gate close to the charming villa of his friend Count Athanasius Raczynski, or that the king should shower favours upon him, and should call upon his skill during these years of festivity whenever a formal gift was to be made or a medal to be struck. The septuagenarian's vigorous productive impulse yearned for that which had become the mainspring of his life. Having to spend year after year in barren expectation, he returned ever and again in renunciative mood to sketch his gigantic cartoons, no longer hopefully, but merely in obedience to the call of his own genius. Received at first by the capital with high honour, he had ere long to make acquaintance with the peculiar democratic spirit of Berlin, the nil admirari environment which may act as a spur to budding talent, but is apt to prove disheartening to lofty and mature natures. Moreover, the sapient critics were not slow to recognise that this masterful little fellow, with firm, set mouth, and dark eyes flashing from beneath his black wig, was of a different metal from their own, and they took revenge after their kind by spiteful attacks.

Among the manifold embodiments of narrowness of mind, to the genius nothing is so intolerable as the stupidity of those who conceive themselves all-wise; and since this particular form of stupidity was predominant in Berlin, the town became utterly uncongenial to the great artist. Here he could find neither the world of his beloved Rome, the world that delighted in beauty, nor yet the cheerful conviviality of the Munichers. Nauseated by the Berlinese enlightenment, he returned in his old age to the strict Catholic views which in youth he had abandoned. But now history began to march over him, for the new age was rightly demanding from its painters brilliancy of colouring and truth to nature. Cornelius himself began to doubt whether in the younger generation artists were to be found competent or even willing to carry out his designs. Thus it was his harsh destiny, whilst still full of creative fire, to outlive his reputation; and these years in Berlin, which were to have been for him the reward for his abundant

artistic achievements, proved in the end a tragical epoch of suffering.

Just as little could Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, to whom the king made brilliant proposals, feel at home once more on the Spree. Years before, failing to obtain the presidency of the Singing Academy, he had shaken from his feet the dust of his native city, and thenceforward by his brilliant conducting of the concerts in the Clothworkers' Hall he had made of Leipzig the centre of German musical life. He returned home with reluctance, and in the town of critical hyperculture could never muster the appreciative audiences which had applauded him in Saxony and at the Rhenish musical festivals. He naturally expected to have an orchestra and a choir placed at his disposal, but no definite sphere of activity was provided for him, for the king, aimless and impatient, was merely endeavouring to attract men of note to Berlin. The consequence was that this much fêted musician, this spoiled child of fortune, soon found himself engaged in vexatious disputes with the royal musical authorities. After three years, he returned, greatly out of humour, to the more peaceful atmosphere of Leipzig.

Spontini, meanwhile, had begun to experience the effects of the popular wrath which had been gathering for years against the masterful foreigner. Having published a passionate answer to attacks by Rellstab and other critics, he was prosecuted for lèse-majesté! The good-natured monarch quashed the proceedings, for he felt that the hot-blooded Italian, whose mastery of the German tongue was by no means complete, had not fully weighed the meaning of his words, but the anger of the public was no longer to be controlled. A noisy demonstration at the theatre compelled Spontini to relinquish the baton which he had so long wielded unchallenged, and his place was taken by Giacomo Meyerbeer. It was a delight to the king to receive simultaneously at his court the two great musicians who had been born in Berlin, and he failed to bethink him that these two men of essentially conflicting nature, in whom the very consciousness of their common descent could not fail to arouse mutual repulsion, would never be able to work together. For a time Meyerbeer conducted the opera with éclat, and gave an added lustre to all the court festivals with his stirring marches and dances. Since he never ceased, after his own manner, to be proud of his Prussian origin, when

the new opera house was inaugurated in 1844 Meyerbeer composed for the occasion his only national opera, *A Camp in Silesia*, a work full of fire and vitality, inspired with all the warlike enthusiasm of the Frederician age. Everyone in the capital was acquainted by sight with the cheery little fellow, whose red umbrella was to be seen every day in the Tiergarten. But he, too, failed to settle down in Berlin. Just as Mendelssohn's chaste artistic sense led him to long for the peace and quiet of a German middle-sized town, so did this man who loved noisy triumphs yearn for his natural home upon the great stage of international art. After a few years he removed to Paris, henceforward revisiting his native city for no more than a brief period every year.

Striking, indeed, was the disfavour of fortune! Of the brilliant team which Bunsen had hoped to see drawing the four-in-hand of the royal connoisseur, there was but one who proved able to develop all his strength in Berlin. Far on into old age Christian Rauch retained the full measure of his artistic powers and preserved no less his devotion to the royal house. Throughout these years he was continuously engaged upon the titanic work of the monument to Frederick the Great. The completion of such an undertaking was an engrossing affair, and it was long since the Berlinese had had anything new from the master beyond the fine tomb of the late king which was erected at the Charlottenburg mausoleum beside the sarcophagus of Queen Louise. So much had been expected from the lofty-spirited sovereign, himself an artist, and on intimate terms with the most celebrated connoisseur of the day, Baron von Rumohr. Yet it was no longer possible to deny that during these eight years fewer works of art of permanent value had been created than during a similar period under the sober-minded Frederick William III. With the characteristic censoriousness of the time it was declared that the new regime was thoroughly modern, for fulfilment never corresponded to the grandness of its intentions.

As he had summoned the two leading musicians to return to their native city, so also did the king wish to recall the most notable poets to take up their quarters in the capital. Ludwig Tieck answered the summons, and secured a most cordial reception, for Frederick William had not forgotten the pleasure conferred on him in youth by the wealth of story in *Phantasus*. By the king's munificence the poet's library, which had been

sold, was reacquired, and a house was allotted to Tieck in the park of Sans-Souci, that he might be always at hand when his patron was inclined to pass the evening listening to the reading of a play. But Tieck's creative energy was exhausted. The bustle of modernity was so repulsive to the romanticist that he would not even take the train to Potsdam, but drove thither in his carriage. Bent with age, he passed most of these last years at Berlin as a hopeless invalid. His readings at court became more and more infrequent, for the king was now unable to keep his mind from wandering. Nor was it possible, amid the restless distractions of the capital, to secure a quiet audience such as in Dresden had mustered round the old bard's reading desk. None but isolated visitors, tried family friends, or from time to time a young author, would come to enjoy his thoughtful conversation and the wonderful glance of his dark eyes.

The only claim now made upon his energies was for help in dramatic productions. He adapted the *Antigone* of Sophocles for the nineteenth century stage. Mendelssohn set the sublime choruses to music; the representation surpassed anticipations; and in his delight the king had a fine medal struck showing Antigone with the urn, and on the reverse, with a Greek metrical inscription, the portraits of the two Germans who had aroused her from her slumbers. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, adapted by the same hands, was likewise a great success. But when the king commanded the representation of *Œdipus at Colonus*, and subsequently, in opposition to Tieck's wishes, had *Puss in Boots* and *Bluebeard* staged, the unfavourable reception showed that the stage must not be abandoned to learned or fanciful experiments. Finally Racine's *Athalie*, a monotonous piece of whose unctuous pathos most Germans had already had more than enough in their school days, drove the Berliners almost crazy with rage. They were everywhere on the look out for priestly encroachments, and within sound of the court would raise unmannerly shouts, "We want no sermons." Frederick William III, reflective and sensitive, had been a great theatre-goer, but his son could not follow the example, for to versatile minds listening is ever less congenial than seeing. From time to time only was the new king charmed by the extraordinary, the rare, or the strange. He would refer enthusiastically to "the rejuvenation of the German stage," but looked coldly upon aspiring playwrights,

of whom there was no dearth, because they all belonged to the opposition party. The consequence was that to the stage, likewise, his reign failed to bring any renewal of life. Von Küstner, summoned from Munich as the new theatrical manager, fulfilled his duties with energy and zeal, and was far from unsympathetic towards youthful writers, but the excellent Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer was still mistress in the Theatre Royal.

Least of all was Friedrich Rückert the man to vitalise the plans for theatrical reform with which the king was toying. Since his call to Berlin he had with youthful zeal been engaged in writing dramas, but this medium of expression was ill suited to his lyrical genius, and he was not allotted any sphere of activity which might have brought him into closer contact with stage life. These years in Berlin were therefore the saddest and the most sterile of his life. "The Indian Brahman, sprung from the meadowland" was as much repelled by court life and the ways of fine society as by the noise of the capital and by its ugly environs. It was no consolation to him that a mere handful of persons would assemble at his modest dwelling in the Behrenstrasse to listen to his orientalist lectures. He was profoundly thankful when after a time he was able to return to the Franconian hill country, to poetise amid scenes of rural peace. The king had a special fondness for August Kopisch, the Silesian, a great swimmer and walker, discoverer of the blue grotto of Capri, sometime cicerone of the crown prince in Naples, half painter and half poet, who in roguishly graceful verses had many a time sung the mysterious doings of the kobolds and the gnomes, the amusing stupidity of German Gothamites, the joys of wine and of love. He was given an appointment by the treasury of the royal household, and spent several years in desultory artist fashion writing a book on the Potsdam palaces.

Even more distressing was the fate suffered by young Ferdinand Freiligrath at Frederick William's hands when the poet had fascinated the monarch by the brilliancy of his conversation and had been assigned a small pension. A short while before, Freiligrath had issued a warning to the writers of political verse, saying finely: "The poet stands on a loftier watchtower than that of any party." Herwegh had boldly responded: "I have made my choice and I leave the weaving of my laurels to the party." The press had already become accustomed to stigmatise as a traitor to the popular

cause anyone marked for distinction by the Prussian court. From all sides the "poet-pensioner" was assailed with rhymed and unrhymed invectives. In everyone's mouth were the mocking verses by Hoffmann of Fallersleben: "If only the king would grant me a pension!" This foolish provocation could not but render the irritable poet uneasy, for he himself, though he had little taste for politics, was a radical enthusiast by inheritance and training. After two years he felt unable to continue drawing his pension, and henceforward his verses voiced the wildest spirit of the opposition. Yet it was strange indeed to note the uncertainty and weakness of judgment into which the king was frequently led by his universal receptivity. The good Henriette Paalzow's sentimental novel *Godwie Castle* secured unstinted admiration at court; and even Wilhelm Meinhold, an orthodox pastor, enjoyed the royal favour. This declared enemy of the modern "beast philosophy" was the author of an affected pseudo-antique romance, *The Witch of Bernstein*, a wretched story describing the times of the witch burnings, not without realistic talent but in a spirit of rude fanaticism. In all that the king magnanimously attempted for the furthering of German imaginative literature, but once only did he secure unclouded pleasure, when he recognised the fine talent of Emanuel Geibel, and was able by kindly assistance to help the poet through some of the necessitous years of youth.

The monarch dreamed at times of establishing a court of the muses resembling Rheinsberg or Weimar, but this was impossible under such conditions. It was not that talent was lacking. In the Cantianstrasse near the museum, in the celebrated brown salon of Curator von Olfers, there assembled every week a crowd of artists, men of learning, connoisseurs, and charming women. Stägemann's daughter Hedwig played the hostess tactfully, diffusing among her guests a feeling of cheerful ease, for she was an adept, like her daughter and her distinguished son-in-law Privy Councillor Abeken, in allaying the friction which was bound to arise where so many notable men rubbed shoulders. The modest drawing-room of Fräulein Solmar, a woman advanced in years, was still a meeting place for the last representatives of a fast vanishing literary epoch. In fact everywhere in the capital were to be found simple hospitable homes, where a lively, at times too lively, society would assemble round the tea table. The youthful Rhinelanders

enjoyed the special favour of the ladies of Berlin, for their fresh naturalness was a pleasing contrast to the more reserved manners of the North Germans. But all this life flourished independently, and had no contact with the court.

The monarch never became really intimate with any of the noted persons he had summoned to his entourage. He would talk to one or other of them from time to time, and was always kindly and amusing, but his restless and desultory disposition made it impossible for him to carry on a sustained conversation. More congenial to him than persons of wider reputation was the well-read society chronicler Alfred von Reumont, a diplomatist of ultramontane views who, despite his ludicrous ugliness, was always dapper in his appearance, and could serve up literary delicacies with considerable skill. The times were too serious for a round table of poets and philosophers. Frederick the Great had been undisputed ruler in his own state, but this successor was menaced by grave political and religious struggles whereby his nonchalant delight in the world of ideals was gravely troubled.

He had long considered it a contradiction in German life that in this nation of poets and thinkers the position of artists and men of learning should be inferior to that occupied by them anywhere else in the world. He knew how little outward marks of distinction can favour artistic creation, but he agreed with Humboldt in considering such marks indispensable in order to convince the philistine public that intellectual labours have a true value of their own. Especially did they seem to him requisite in this frivolous century, when people, despite all their chatter of liberty, are more covetous of rank and title than those of any other epoch since the fall of the Byzantine empire. Even the radicals blushed, and Hoffmann of Fallersleben indited a mordant poem anent *Germany's Shame*, when Jacob Grimm was during these days given his first order—for this first order was the cross of the legion of honour, which Guizot sent to the man who had been overlooked by all the German princes, paying homage to German science in the name of the king of the French. It was essential to institute a change. Frederick William determined that to the Frederician war-order pour le mérite, the solitary Prussian distinction which had not been utterly depreciated by indiscriminate bestowal, a peace class should be superadded, and that this should be reserved for thirty leading artists and men

of learning as German knights with voting powers, and for thirty knights of foreign birth not entitled to vote. Henceforward, as death vacancies occurred, in order to maintain the prestige of the order it was to be granted solely in accordance with the decision of the German knights. Obviously the king's thought was to renew the symposia of Sans-Souci in an idealised form. Humboldt, who of course was appointed chancellor of the order, felt thoroughly in his element when advising the monarch in the matter of the first nominations, which were in fact well bestowed. Some trouble was given by Gottfried Schadow, the veteran sculptor, who persisted in declaring that he would not accept the order unless his son Wilhelm (director of the Düsseldorf academy) were to receive it as well. Thereupon the king, whose good nature was inexhaustible, reassured him by saying that Wilhelm should one day take his father's place, and added in an autograph message: "Where Papa Schadow is concerned, the son must be looked upon as having a hereditary right. Besides, the son may wear the decoration though without the right to vote." [1]

Among the thirty knights, one only was wholly unworthy, Metternich. Years before he had thrown open to young Leopold Ranke the closed Viennese archives, but had performed nothing else of note on behalf of German art and science, having indeed done all in his power, by the Carlsbad decrees, to injure the intellectual life of the nation. Yet the Austrian was regarded by his royal admirer as the chief ornament of the new foundation.[2] When making the investiture, in a gracious and witty letter the king wrote as if Metternich were conferring upon the other knights a great favour when accepting the distinction, and begged him, though he would be good enough to accept it, never actually to wear it, seeing that there was no place for it beside the golden fleece. This was assuredly not the tone wherein a king of Prussia should have bestowed a rare and wholly undeserved honour upon the subject of a foreign nation. Frederick William was far from dreaming that Vienna was by no means inclined to regard the Prussian state as the equal of the Austrian, and had no conception of the effect which his own cordial frankness must inevitably produce in the mind of the arrogant chancellor, who, it need hardly be said, returned a courtly answer.

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, May 26, 1842.
[2] King Frederick William to Thile, May 24, 1842.

In the following year the king celebrated the anniversary of the treaty of Verdun, "the millennary jubilee of Germany," as he termed it,[1] by the foundation of a prize for works on national history. The festivities which, by the king's orders, were to take place on this occasion, were restricted to the churches and schools, the only exception being that Massmann, with his cult of antique Teutonism, organised a noisy gymnastic festival on the Hasenheide. The populace took little part in the celebrations, for they had had enough of such things in connection with the Cologne affair. The radical youth had scant interest in the retrospect of this thousand years of German history, whilst even a mature man such as Kühne termed the festival "a truly stupid business." This mood proved disastrous likewise to the plans of the Ansbach sculptor, Ernst von Bandel. A friend of Massmann and an enthusiastic Teutonist, as far back as 1838 he had conceived the design of erecting a gigantic monument to Arminius the Cheruscan on Grotenburg in the Teutoburg forest amid the Westphalian hills. He had in mind to commemorate the age-long struggle of the Teutons against the Latin peoples, and especially against French cunning, and he failed to realise that he would afford the French a fresh pretext for describing themselves as the bringers of civilisation and for representing the Germans as barbarians. Making many sacrifices on behalf of this scheme, the inspired patriot devoted himself to it henceforward with a marvellous tenacity of purpose which was far from equalled by his artistic competence. Thus it is that whenever a nation become self-conscious, its reverent glances turn back to the remotest days of its own past. At this same epoch, incited perchance by the work of Bandel, the Italian poet Niccolini proposed to his countrymen that there should be placed on the summit of Mont Cenis a statue of Marius, his sword turned threateningly towards the north. Beneath was to be the inscription, "Back, barbarians!" To return to Bandel's scheme, the worthy Franconian secured at first considerable support, and was greatly helped forward by the king's munificence, but the hot fit was followed by a cold, for the impatience of youth demanded deeds rather than commemorative images. It was three decades before Bandel could witness the completion of his work, as a sequel to fresh German victories.

This history prize was but one item in a long series of

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, March 29, 1843.

royal gifts to science. Through the lavishness of the crown, Richard Lepsius was furnished with means for his four years' oriental journey, which was to provide a firm scientific foundation for Egyptology. Carl Ritter's expeditions were financed in like manner. The king had a special fondness for Ritter, who displayed a combination of pious simplicity and profound learning rare in the modern world. The Academy of the Sciences was commissioned to publish all the works of Frederick the Great, although religious fanatics would have preferred to withhold from publication at least the poems and the philosophical writings of the great freethinker. At this time, too, Baron von Stillfried began his collection of the archives relating to the earliest history of the royal house, this work being known as *Monumenta Zollerana*. The Meteorological Institute was founded to carry on Dove's brilliant researches, and observation stations were speedily to be found all over North Germany. Pertz, editor of the *Monumenta Germaniae*, then at the climax of his energies, became chief of the Berlin library.

The king granted a considerable increase of revenue to the universities of Berlin and Königsberg, and funds were to be more richly provided for the much neglected university of Greifswald. A great number of judicious appointments, too, were made during the opening years of the reign. Not long after the brothers Grimm, Dahlmann was also given a chair in Bonn. On his departure from Jena he was acclaimed by Robert Prutz in a poem which faithfully reflected the turbulent but aimless impulsiveness of the younger generation:

> Young life surging up and waking,
> The coming dawn of ruddy hue,
> Freedom and right, living and dying—
> 'Tis these that count with me and you.

The leader of the seven of Göttingen was joyfully welcomed to the Rhine, and he delivered his inaugural lecture in sanguine mood, saying that the criticism levelled by the nation against Prussia's independent policy would be silenced at last, "in the fullness of time, in view of the achievement of the great future towards which Germany is marching under Prussia's leadership." Stahl was summoned to the Berlin legal faculty, and hither came likewise Stahl's fellowcountryman Puchta, Savigny's natural successor, a man of thoughtful mind, and both as writer and lecturer a distinguished teacher of Roman

law. He was a moderate conservative, but being a friend of Schelling, a strict Protestant, and an adherent of the historical school of law, it was not long before he, like Stahl, became the object of venomous attacks in the press. After his premature death, Keller from Switzerland was summoned to the vacant chair. An able jurist, Keller was less successful as teacher. In Zurich he had at one time been a leader of the radicals, but had been so disheartened by the "sovereign unreason" that in Prussia he attached himself to the extreme conservatives. Since Dorner, the theologian, a man of gentle character but detested by the rationalists, was now appointed at Königsberg, and since Hävernick was also summoned to the eastern university, it became the general view that the king would show favour to none but reactionary professors. Nor were any thanks given to Frederick William for permitting Massmann, the book-burner of the Wartburg, to found a great gymnastic institute in Berlin and to deliver Teutonistic lectures at the university, for the liberals of the new time regarded as obscurantists the Burschenschafters and the Christo-Germanists of the previous generation. Even Gelzer, a Protestant of Basle, who as historian of literature, though deeply religious, was by no means narrow-minded, acquired the reputation of being a masked Jesuit soon after his arrival in Berlin.

Among all the new appointments, that of Schelling especially attracted public attention. He was expressly chosen in order to display to the learned world the idealist sentiments and aims of the new government. At Berlin university, Vatke, Hotho, Benary, and Michelet were still expounding the Hegelian philosophy in a topically diluted form. At court they were considered to be corrupters of youth, and Schelling was to annihilate these popularisers by teaching a philosophy simultaneously religious and strictly scientific. His appointment promptly aroused party passion. Even Humboldt, who ten years earlier had declared Schelling to be Hegel's only possible successor, adopted a cool and almost hostile attitude. It was amid an adverse clamour from the entire liberal world that the philosopher, now sixty-seven years old, made his entry into Berlin, where he was never to become really at home. For a generation he had published nothing beyond a few academic addresses and certain high-flown animadversions upon younger philosophers who were supposed to have plagiarised his ideas, though he had repeatedly assevered that he was

seriously engaged upon his long promised great theosophical work. Munich seemed his natural home, and he quitted the Bavarian capital with a heavy heart, but considered himself to be obeying God's call in becoming a teacher of his contemporaries in the acropolis of the Hegelian school. He ventured to hope that he would be able, not to abolish philosophy, but to supplement it, by establishing a science hitherto regarded as impossible, founding by means of the philosophy of revelation a citadel wherein that science could henceforward dwell secure. Who, indeed, could deny that he had collaborated in creating the new historic outlook of the Germans, that he had greatly enriched that outlook, that Stahl and Puchta had Schelling mainly to thank for their superiority in matters of science to such as Gans, Rotteck, and Welcker?

When he opened his course upon the philosophy of revelation, the whole of learned Berlin thronged the great lecture-hall of the university. Most of the audience came as enemies; many were merely inquisitive; some cherished the simple hope that for them the great riddle of humanity was at length to be solved. The nobility of Schelling's language, his assured confidence rising at times to the prophetic level, and many brilliant flashes, showed the working of a master mind; and yet before long it became plain that the sceptics had been perfectly right in contending that this "new science" was impossible. In the philosopher's own words: "Revelation must contain something which transcends reason, but must also contain something which cannot exist apart from reason." But from this profound proposition he failed to draw the logical conclusion that the philosopher must be content to define the limits of the understanding and to establish by his criticism where the mysterious world of subjective inwardly experienced affective truths begins—a world never wholly accessible to reason. But Schelling undertook to apprehend revelation itself by means of reason, thereby destroying the very essence of revelation, and involving himself in mystical fantasies which seemed all the more enigmatic because it was manifest that the philosopher had not yet completed the intellectual foundation of his system. The good Steffens, who down to the day of his death retained the faculty of apprehending whatever he wished to apprehend, vainly essayed to expound the master's words to the younger members of the audience. The new race of the learned was already animated by the fine courage

requisite for the avowal of ignorance, a courage that is indispensable to the foundations of a science that shall know nothing of prepossessions. The enthusiasm of the nature philosopher was countered by W. Wattenbach with the straightforward answer: "I could not understand a word."

Meanwhile Schelling's deadly enemy Paulus of Heidelberg was preparing a crushing blow. He had the lectures secretly reported, and suddenly gave them to the world in a thick volume, described as "the positive philosophy of revelation, at length made accessible to the public" (1843). In a torrent of polemic comments, the old rationalist poured forth the vials of his scorn, and displayed his own garrulous dulness. It was a schoolboy trick, unexampled even in Germany, where the quarrels of learned men had never been gently waged. Shortly before, Hävernick's appointment had aroused intense indignation among the liberals because Hävernick in his student days had communicated to the *Kirchenzeitung* a few sentences from the lectures of the Halle rationalists. Now a professor of wide experience, a man eighty-two years of age, stole a colleague's entire course, and his aim was the most malicious conceivable, since he wished to undermine his opponent's moral credit. But the spirit of faction had risen so high that the entire liberal press espoused the thief's cause, Varnhagen exulted, and Heine wrote a poem in honour of the distinguished robber Reverend Councillor Prometheus. Schelling lodged a complaint on the ground of literary piracy, contending that the hardened old sinner could only be made to feel the error of his ways by the infliction of a fine. The Berlin court acquitted the accused, on the ground that the wording of the law was somewhat ambiguous, and because it could not be proved that Paulus had hoped to make money out of the transaction. It cannot be doubted that a subconscious partisanship was instrumental in determining this remarkable judgment. Hitherto the Prussian courts had stood far above the currents of public opinion, but they were beginning to be influenced by the stream of liberal thought, and in political trials unexpected, nay, inexplicable, acquittals became increasingly frequent. Utterly astounded, Schelling now declared that since the government would not protect him he could no longer teach, and he resigned his professorship. Sterile too, therefore, was this appointment, upon which the king had based such high hopes.

§ 6. THE EICHHORN MINISTRY.

This great academic scandal revealed for the first time how intense was the detestation which had of late accumulated in the professorial world against the minister for public worship and education. The importance of Eichhorn was soon plain to friend and foe alike. The king went so far as to say, "To retain him is, for me, a matter of self-preservation"; [1] and it became customary in the opposition to speak of the new system as "the Eichhorn ministry," for people of education had long been wont to judge the spirit of a government by its educational administration. Among all the gifted men whom the king made use of in false positions, none had so tragical a fate as Eichhorn. In his sixty-second year he was cut off from the affairs of the customs union which had been in great part his own achievement and for which his able leadership was at this time especially requisite, and was thrust into an utterly different sphere of activity. From the ministry which represented the dynamic of the state and therefore had to insist upon unconditional obedience throughout all its field of operation, he was suddenly transferred to the leadership of the intellectual life of the nation, a life which follows its own laws, and can receive no more than indirect and chary assistance from the state. Like his predecessor, Altenstein, he had to learn that the world invariably judges men of action by their latest deeds. Through Altenstein's good fortune, the grave political errors of his earlier days were completely forgotten owing to his great services on behalf of Prussian education. It was Eichhorn's destiny that his very contemporaries should already have forgotten his splendid work on behalf of our economic unity, and should think only of the comparatively barren years of his old age, years full of struggle, marred by blunders and mishaps. He thus became one of the most maligned men of the century.

When he was first appointed the only objection came from the Hofburg, to which the customs union demagogue was ever a persona ingrata. Prussian men of learning were at the outset delighted, for this cultured, brilliant, and thoroughly honest man had in former days been syndic of the university of

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, January 24, 1846.

Berlin, gaining in that capacity an intimate acquaintance with academic life, whilst subsequently he had for years been on terms of close friendship with Schleiermacher and other distinguished scholars. Yet these very associations were to prove harmful. The first essential in the leader of the German educational system is that he should have a profound respect for the freedom of science. Our universities have always been and will ever remain republics; the relentless candour of the German professor is almost inseparable from an inconvenient stubbornness, and the teacher coalesces with his teaching. Wilhelm Humboldt, being himself a great scholar, had been aware of this, and once said pithily that learned institutions could grow only by accretion at the surface, as crystals form slowly in perfect quietude. Altenstein held similar views, for he had received his training in Hardenberg's Franconian school; in the conflict of opinions, he would bide his time to see which force would prove the most vital; and only in the preference he showed for the Hegelian philosophy did he exhibit any scientific partisanship. Now Eichhorn had none of Altenstein's detachment, nor was he like Humboldt purely a man of learning; but in intercourse with his scientific friends he had formed peculiar views concerning the spirit and method of academic instruction; and just as of old in the foreign office he had issued orders to the diplomats over whom he held sway, so now he wished to impose his views as binding prescriptions upon the republic of learning. Moreover, he suffered from the universal blight of this government, amateurishness. In the affairs of the customs union, in which he was a past master, the impulsive little man had never failed to keep himself well in hand, so that many of the foolish lesser governments had been won over solely by his greater command of temper; but on this new ground he did not feel quite sure of himself, so that he became violent, irritable, and domineering. The fine relationship of mutual confidence which during Altenstein's kindly regime had so long persisted between the ministry and the universities, speedily passed away, and the professors began to look upon their official chief as a dictatorial schoolmaster.

In this domain Eichhorn lost what his predecessor had gained. In the field of religious policy, on the other hand, he succeeded to a very unfortunate inheritance, and it was through the ill-favour of circumstances rather than through

his own mistakes that matters here went awry. Reared as a strict Lutheran, but a convinced supporter of the evangelical union, where questions of ecclesiastical supremacy were concerned, his views were more liberal, more thoughtful, more broad-minded than those of Altenstein. He desired to reduce to the indispensable minimum the supervision of the state over the Catholic church. Concerning the independence of the Protestant church and concerning the reform of its congregational and synodal constitution he had for years cherished well-considered designs which were not to be fully realised for another generation. But as long as the old laws and the archiepiscopal competence of the crown continued to exist, Eichhorn, like his predecessor in office, conceived it to be his duty to supervise the inner life of the Evangelical church in an evangelical spirit. Being far more antagonistic than Altenstein to the new theological criticism, and being further (in this a thoroughgoing partisan) even more actively hostile to the Hegelian philosophy than Altenstein had been actively friendly to that philosophy, it was not long before he had entangled himself in religious and professorial prosecutions which conflicted with his primary intentions and brought universal odium upon his name.

Among the king's personal friends, both Bunsen and Radowitz regarded Eichhorn with tacit mistrust; among the ministers, the only men who shared his views were Thile and Savigny; his own department was filled almost exclusively with opponents, either avowed Hegelians or else "enlightened" officials of the old rationalist stamp. It was from the circle of these malcontent privy councillors that there subsequently issued, with the zealous collaboration of Varnhagen, many of the anonymous newspaper articles in which the minister was stigmatised as a narrow-minded pietist. This friction did not escape the monarch's eye. Frederick William again and again thought of summoning men of fresh energy to Eichhorn's assistance, were it only to save his friend "from having to work himself to death"; [1] but in the end he shrank from instituting a comprehensive change of personnel which would have mortified the pride of the old officials. Thus the statesman who was to lead back a reluctant world to living Christianity stood almost alone. There was open

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, February 23, 1844

hostility between him and Ladenberg, one of his principal subordinates. The indefatigable Johannes Schulze was relieved of part of his official duties, and it was a great loss to the professors to be deprived of the friendly services of their hot-tempered yet well wishing "Ioannes parvulus," who had so recently by the appointment of Ritschl to Bonn given renewed proof of his perspicacity, and who remained on such amicable terms with opponents that Leo gratefully dedicated to Schulze the *History of the Italian States*.

The only one of the privy councillors who was in cheerful agreement with the views of the minister, thus becoming his universal collaborator, was the newly appointed pedagogue Gerd Eilers, son of a Frisian peasant, who in boyhood had sat at Schlosser's feet, and subsequently, in an eventful life, had preserved intact the rigidly Lutheran faith of his home and a detestation for all philosophic doubt. An honest and unselfish patriot, an efficient practical educationist, and a man of wide though fragmentary knowledge, Eilers remained none the less somewhat muddle-headed—as talkative, shapeless, and confused as his chaotic autobiography, *My Wanderings Through Life*. In his judgments of men and things he was utterly arbitrary. He revered Schlosser and Dahlmann, whereas Gervinus, who may be said to have occupied a position intermediate between these, was looked upon as a dangerous corrupter of the people; he passed judgment upon South German liberalism whilst remaining a warm admirer of Wangenheim, the banner-bearer of the trias policy. He put forward these purely subjective views with Frisian bluntness; and although, since he was a declared enemy of Metternichian policy, his indignation was aroused by the persecution of the demagogues (of which some of his most intimate friends had been victims), it seemed to him perfectly natural that the state authority should simply sweep out of its path all those whom he regarded as manifest atheists or revolutionaries. It was impossible that such an adviser should acquire much influence over the minister, whose gaze ranged over wide horizons, and it was natural that Eichhorn in his isolation should pursue his chosen path all the more obstinately when the storms of public opinion began to rage around him.

The appointment of new and energetic teachers was invariably effected with the minister's ardent cooperation, and often enough upon his unaided initiative, but he received small

thanks for this great service because from the first, in opposition to all academic custom, he dictatorially interfered with university affairs down to the smallest detail. During the first hopeful months of the new reign, about one hundred and fifty Halle students, led by a young divinity student named Rudolf Haym, applied to the king, rector of the university, in a simple and respectful address, begging him to appoint D. F. Strauss to a chair at Halle. It must have been obvious to anyone acquainted with the monarch's opinions that the suggestion was marvellously naïve, and for that very reason it was unquestionably made in all innocence. These young fellows had merely given somewhat presumptuous expression to their admiration for the author of the *Life of Jesus*. No one had incited them to this step, and Gesenius the veteran rationalist had even dissuaded them in fatherly fashion.[1] But the minister looked upon the petition as a piece of atheistic impudence, and he was not satisfied until the senate of the university made yet more stringent the penalties it had already decreed against the ringleaders, the inevitable upshot being an acrimonious newspaper campaign. No less severe was his condemnation of the Königsberg students for a trick they played upon the unhappy Hävernick, and the senate of the Albertina complained of the minister to the king, of course fruitlessly.

Thenceforward the belief was universal that "the squirrel" invariably favoured pietism, and in view of the strength of partisan feeling in those days it was inevitable that the opposition should commit numerous injustices. The senate of Berlin university forbade Hengstenberg's students to found a Christian association, supporting their action with the manifestly derisive explanation that were they to agree to the proposal they would likewise have to consent to the formation of antichristian associations. On this occasion, therefore, the minister was compelled to intervene on behalf of academic freedom. Penalties and dismissals, rare under Altenstein, now became frequent, and were regarded on all hands as signs of the new tyranny over conscience. There were mutterings even when Bruno Bauer, private lecturer at Bonn university, was deprived of his authorisation to teach at the university. In his *Critique of the Synoptic Gospels* Bauer had so completely

[1] For this information I am indebted to a personal communication from Rudolf Haym.

abandoned the foundations of positive Christianity, that theology, which after all is not a pure science, could not possibly continue to regard him as one of its exponents. The minister, before taking action, had conscientiously asked for opinions from all the theological faculties of the state, opinions which he hastened to publish. But the cashiered lecturer, in conjunction with his brother Edgar and a few other champions of "sovereign criticism," promptly founded in Berlin a league "of the free," whose boundless impertinence, invectives, and obscenities aroused the disgust even of so ardent a radical as Ruge. Nevertheless, in all the newspapers, Bauer was celebrated as a martyr.

Unfortunately the king in his nervous irritability was least of all able to tolerate academic freedom, and he had arbitrarily prescribed limits beyond which freedom of speech was not to be allowed. In November, 1843, he wrote to Thile as follows: "Explain to me if you can why Nauwerck, a notorious revolutionist, has become private lecturer at the university of Berlin, and why he is permitted to use the largest lecture theatre, to speak from the chair of Schelling and Savigny!!!!!!! I am profoundly concerned at this *horrible blunder*, whereby the morale of the students, improving of late, will be once more seriously imperilled: AT LENGTH matters MUST be conducted in accordance with *my* views. Revolutionists cannot be allowed to find an alsatia in Prussia under the ægis of the government." [1] Nauwerck was a vulgar radical windbag who had laboriously compiled a mediocre book upon the history of the Bundestag. His inaugural lecture on participation in the state, printed as soon as delivered, contained little more than commonplaces, and if only this pitiful rushlight had been allowed to burn undisturbed it would speedily have flickered out. But on this occasion Eichhorn, who had frequently managed to control such ebullitions on the part of the monarch, did not venture to withstand his master's wishes. Nauwerck forfeited his appointment, thus acquiring for a time an utterly undeserved reputation.

Far more serious were the consequences of the dismissal of Hoffmann of Fallersleben from Breslau. Who did not know this gay, nomadic bard, always on hand where wine could be had for the drinking. Yet he honestly paid his reckoning, for universal was the applause when the mighty

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, November 30, 1843.

singer chanted or declaimed his cheerful and euphonious lays. A vigorous Teutonist, so thoroughly German in his convictions as to be unjust towards everything that was foreign, he had an extraordinarily wide acquaintance with German folk song, and was a master in the apparently unpremeditated art of adapting his own ditties to ancient and popular texts and melodies. Among the masses of its officials a great state is perfectly well able to tolerate a few frolicsome and somewhat riotous fellows of this calibre; and the art-loving king might have been expected to show some consideration for the convivial poet, whom the German people had to thank for things of imperishable worth in addition to his numerous light drinking songs. On the shores of Heligoland he had written to Haydn's melody the song *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt* [Germany, Germany before everything, before everything in the world], which reiterated the fundamental thought of Arndt's *Fatherland Song* in simpler, more cordial, and livelier fashion, though long years were to pass before it was to exercise its full power over the German spirit. In another fortunate hour he penned the ingenuous and beautiful lines:

Love unending, to the grave
Pledge I thee with heart and hand.
All I am and all I have
Come from the dear fatherland!

Utterly ignorant of politics, but inclined towards radicalism by his undisciplined and vagrant life, he would sometimes amuse his audience with political lays, and these improvisations evoked so much applause that his head was turned and he imagined himself to be a singer of liberty. There were many vigorous verses in his *Unpolitical Songs.* Some of them were so melodious that they continued to echo in every ear, speedily making the round of all students' drinking parties. This happened for example in the case of the jovial ditty, modelled upon an old Alpine song:

Is there not a way,
Is there not a path,
To lead us from this slavery?

Precisely because of its vigorous popularity, the booklet, which had safely passed the ordeal of the Hamburg censorship,

was considered extremely dangerous by the Prussian authorities. At the new year of 1844 Hoffmann was deprived of his professorship by a decision of the ministry of state. The king did nothing to mitigate the cruel sentence, and Hoffmann henceforward passed from one German city to another as strolling minstrel of radicalism. Wherever ardent patriots were drinking together, he would touchingly declaim :

> Professor I, could lectures give
> Before my late discharge,
> But wherewithal shall I now live,
> A gentleman at large ?

This would be followed by some impassioned political lay or entertaining street-ministrel rhyme. The warm-hearted Palatiners and Rheingauers never wearied of listening to him, and they did homage to him as victim of Prussian despotism. It was only the Holsteiners who gave him a cold reception, their newspapers saying bluntly, " We are too serious-minded here to pay attention to this everlasting fol-de-rol-diddle, and hip-hip-hooray." When the Berlin students had a torchlight procession in honour of Hoffmann's old friends the brothers Grimm, he suddenly appeared at a window as an uninvited guest, and the young fellows, whose leaders were doubtless in the secret, hailed him with stentorian acclamations. Thereupon ensued the expulsion of the wanderer, a prosecution of the youthful disturbers of the peace, and a published declaration of non-complicity on the part of the brothers Grimm, who could not risk offending their royal patron. Thenceforward the police were ever on the poet's track; he was expelled from other towns, and was unable to show himself even in his native land of Hanover. At length he found asylum under the protection of the chivalrous liberty of Old Mecklenburg. Since there did not exist a Mecklenburg citizenship, but every lord of a manor was entitled to grant right of settlement in his villages, the liberal leader of the bourgeois Ritterschaft, Dr. Schnelle, determined to grant the hunted man right of domicile upon his estate of Buchholz—it was a newspaper falsehood when the liberal journals declared that the refugee was employed as a cowherd. Thus Hoffmann was enabled to flee to this unassailable Schnellian realm whenever he was expelled from some other jurisdiction. Of such a nature was public law under the Germanic Federation.

These tragi-comic acts of charity aroused mockery even across the German frontier, and ultimately all the ill feeling recoiled upon Prussia.

To the professors, with their irritable pride, the dismissals were perhaps less galling than the perpetual exhortations and reproofs of exalted authority. When Hinrichs, professor of philosophy at Halle, a moderate liberal, gave lectures on politics, he was imperiously informed that such lectures were beyond his competence. Even Dahlmann, whose first appearance at Bonn had been cordially greeted by no less a man than Eichhorn, subsequently received an insulting reprimand because at a torchlight procession he had uttered some absolutely unimpeachable words concerning the free universities, the pride of disintegrated Germany. Whenever the zealous minister visited a university in the course of one of his frequent official peregrinations, he would seize the opportunity to deliver a didactic address. In Breslau he reminded his hearers of the "credo ut intelligam." The Münster professors were exhorted to combine religious sentiments with scientific thoroughness; those of Bonn were told to base public law upon the study of the past and thus to avert the influence of evil elemental forces. He seemed no longer to realise that nothing further devolved upon him than care for the outward ordering of the universities, and general promotion of their development; he ignored the obvious fact that the professors must have given far more reflection than himself to the task of science. The entire academic staff was justly incensed when, on the occasion of Wegschneider's jubilee in Halle, Eichhorn not merely omitted to bestow on him the customary marks of distinction, but actually treated the meritorious old rationalist like a schoolboy, sending him an admonitory letter dealing with his attitude in matters of religion.

Even those of the minister's provisions which were thoroughly well intentioned erred so greatly in point of form as to resemble vexatious attempts at tutelage on the part of some empty-headed dilettante. Eichhorn rightly recognised that lectures of the traditional authoritative kind were far too prevalent at the universities, and that many of the professors still seemed ignorant of the fact that the art of printing had been discovered. In 1843, therefore, he issued a decree, wherein Eilers' rough schoolmaster touch was plainly discernible, to the effect that university teachers were to intersperse among their lectures

recapitulations and examinations. This increase in the number of examinations, an excess of which had already long been a Prussian malady, threatened to destroy academic freedom. It was generally, though erroneously, believed that Eichhorn wished to replace the freedom of teaching by mechanical training, science by cram. The quiet Dahlmann indignantly opined that German universities must never be reduced to the pitiful status of Austrian educational institutions. Lord Lieutenant Bötticher could not remain unaffected by the sentiments of the Königsberg professors, and complained bitterly of the disastrous "over-regimentation." [1] Eichhorn's orders were nullified by the unanimous resistance of the academic world. In so far as they contained sound elements, the reform was subsequently realised from within by the natural evolution of scientific life, which was best able to cure its own ailments. In the fields of medicine and natural science, practical work had long been customary; philological nurseries were already in existence in nearly all Prussian universities; the historians were following the trail broken by Ranke; in Greifswald, G. Beseler had founded a juristic society, just as Jacoby had previously founded a mathematical society in Königsberg, and Trendelenburg a philosophical society in Berlin. From these seeds there gradually sprang during half a century an abundance of nurseries of all kinds, so that side by side with and supplementing the old ex-cathedra authoritative instruction, there came into existence a rich, almost too rich, development of controversial education.

The extent to which, his good intentions notwithstanding, the minister had become estranged from the professoriate was made plain even to the king at the jubilee festival of the Albertina. This was at one and the same time a commemoration day and a feast of fraternisation for the north-eastern march. The old fellows who had once worn the Albertus on their caps assembled in crowds, and in every mouth were the names of the two men who had stamped their influence most deeply upon the history of this land, the names of Margrave Albert and of Kant. On the eve of the festival, held under the star of Kant, Eichhorn could not refrain from issuing a censorious warning to the professors anent the aberrations of the critical spirit. Burdach, the rector, an eloquent and able physician belonging to the old school of natural

[1] Böttticher to Thile, June 2, 1842.

philosophers, was quite undismayed, and hastened to reply that the university was not conscious of any error in this respect. During the subsequent festivities, Lobeck, the veteran philologian, extolled the author of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, to whom the university owed its great reputation, whilst Burdach bestowed his praises upon the most popular educationist in the province, the pious old rationalist Dinter, whose text books the government had recently excluded from the schools. The speeches sounded like a declaration of war against the minister, and the stormy acclamations with which both utterances were greeted showed clearly enough that the orators had voiced the sentiments of their fellow provincials. When at length the foundation stone of the new university buildings was laid, the king said: "'Forward' must be for ever and ever the watchword of our university." At this precise moment the sun emerged from the clouds, and with enthusiasm Frederick William continued: "Your 'Forward' is that of the sun's light which, equally diffused, truly lightens our darkness, penetrates deep caverns, scares away the night birds, developing seeds, expanding blossoms, and ripening fruits —fruits whose enjoyment brings health to man." Then he exhorted his hearers to fear God, to perform deeds of honour under the outspread wings of the eagle, to observe "true loyalty, the loyalty of those who know that they cannot serve their prince when they lower the dignity of his exalted servants." He had seldom spoken better or with more fire, but his audience remained cold, for it could not stomach the closing words of the peroration. Great orators are ever the first to feel whether their words have lighted responsive fires, and the king was profoundly depressed, for he now knew that his beloved Old Prussians were out of tune with him. Schlosser merely expressed the general opinion of the professors when he said: "Your minister has unchained forces greater than he can control."

By wise and cautious methods it might have been possible for Eichhorn to guide the universities without provoking dissension; but where the elementary school system was concerned he had difficult problems to face, and serious struggles were inevitable. It was undeniable that Altenstein's administration had achieved great results in this field. Thirty-eight training colleges and about thirty thousand elementary schools

had been founded or remodelled during the last two decades; there had been considerable progress in educational technique; speaking generally, the teachers were much better informed than had been the superannuated non-commissioned officers whom Frederick the Great had been wont to appoint as schoolmasters. Altenstein held firmly to the tried principle that he who is to teach well must draw from a full source, must know something more than he undertakes to teach. But just as Johannes Schulze overburdened the gymnasia with a plethora of branches of instruction, so and even more were the training colleges weighed down by the well-meant educational zeal of those who had forgotten the no less firmly established truth that the schoolmaster must not know too much under pain of ceasing to take pleasure in his fine but unpretentious vocation. A profession sitting between two stools, sharing neither in the simple economic activities of the common people nor in the creative work of the university professors must inevitably, if given too much undigested knowledge, become affected with a dangerous half-culture and a spirit of pretentiousness. As early as the twenties, Harnisch, the excellent director of the training colleges of Breslau and Weissenfels, declared that the traditional sins of roughness and thievishness were becoming rare among his pupils, but were being replaced by arrogance and worldly-mindedness.

A more serious matter was that the elementary school, which must necessarily lag somewhat behind in its endeavour to follow the great transformations of ideas, had participated hardly at all in the strengthening of the religious life characteristic of the last three decades. It still remained under the sway of Pestalozzi's doctrines. There had doubtless been a fine period of awakening when the good Swiss eccentric had undertaken to remodel the petrified educational system of his day upon living observation and personal activity, when in *Lienhardt and Gertrude* and the *Mothers' Book* he had instructed teachers to immerse themselves lovingly in the mental life of their pupils. In those days he had been admired by almost all the notable men of Germany, by Stein and Arndt, the believers, no less than by Fichte, the radical, and Queen Louise had thanked him in the name of humanity. But to the deepened religious sentiments and the keener historical criticism of the new time, the idea of abstract universalised humanity which the illuminate, the honorary citizen of the

French republic, had so enthusiastically espoused, had long ceased to seem adequate. People were at length beginning to realise that all the practical humanism of modern history has consciously or unconsciously been rooted in Christianity, in the idea of God's fatherhood and man's sonship, in the royal law of love; the hardheartedness of the pagan nations, each one of which looked upon itself as the chosen people, was uncongenial to our day, even though isolated great thinkers might extol it as a theoretical ideal. Modern youth could be trained to human freedom solely by means of a Christian education. Especially was this true of the elementary schools, for the Hellenic moral ideal as conceived by a Wilhelm Humboldt was essentially aristocratic, and excluded the common herd, to whose members nothing could bring consolation and peace but the democratic ethic of Christianity. Pestalozzi had gradually come to realise this truth, and had turned back in old age towards the living Christian faith. Most of his disciples and adherents, on the other hand, continued to cherish the ancient illusion that we can cut away the Christian roots from the tree of human love and nevertheless continue to camp beneath its shade. A kindly and easy-going rationalism prevailed in the elementary schools, and there were many places in which religious instruction had failed to maintain its natural position in the centre of the educational scheme. Since the cabinet order of March 23, 1829, the establishment of undenominational schools had invariably been favoured where the religious congregations could voluntarily agree upon the step, and where the communes did not possess sufficient means for founding distinct denominational schools. The number of these mixed elementary schools was still small, but they were most frequently met with in the Polish provinces, for they contributed here to the diffusion of the German tongue; and it soon became apparent that they tended rather to accentuate than to mitigate religious hostility. Where religious indifference was manifest in the elementary schools, the fault usually lay in the disposition of the teacher, this applying above all to the Protestants.

The leading figure among the Prussian elementary school teachers was that of Adolf Diesterweg. Born at Siegen in Westphalia, he had worked successfully for a considerable period in South Germany, subsequently in Elberfeld and Mörs, and since 1832 had been in charge of the Berlin training

college for urban teachers, the pattern school of the state. He was a sincere idealist, a sturdy commoner, poor and frugal, blessed with a large family, a born schoolmaster devoted body and soul to his profession, never weary of covering the same ground. Despite his fiery disposition, he possessed the greatest of all pedagogic virtues in that he could always command his temper in class. He excelled in the capacity of making his pupils think for themselves and in the power of leading them onward from the concrete to the abstract. Strict as he was, those who had worked under him loved him passionately, and many a bungling higher school teacher might well have envied him his methods of instruction. During Altenstein's ministry he enjoyed the complete confidence of the school authorities, and he was commissioned by them to write his *Guide for German Teachers.* Higher altitudes were in truth beyond the range of his fertile and contentious pen, and when, with the conscious infallibility of the schoolmaster, he wrote *The Corruption of the German Universities,* it was easy for Leo and others to repel his onslaught. The world of classical culture remained incomprehensible to him, and he was never able to understand that academic freedom educates both teachers and pupils more nobly than does scholastic coercion.

In religious matters he lacked the power of his prototype Pestalozzi to advance with the growth of the time, remaining within the circle of the old rationalism. The explanations of miracle furnished in Dinter's *Bible for Schoolteachers* were, indeed, too trivial for him. Yet he desired that there should be undenominational instruction in rationalised Christianity. Ignoring the catechism and the hymnal, it was to be restricted to prayer, biblical history, and moral teaching, and would therefore be given solely in accordance with the subjective preferences of the individual schoolmaster. Since it was his invariable aim to leave his pupils to discover the truth for themselves, he regarded as dull pedantry the traditional practice of forcing them to learn by heart texts and hymns which were only half understood. The anti-religious press actually imagined that it was uttering words of wisdom in its continuous railings against futile memorising. The arrogant champions of this secular learning wholly forgot that even for adults religious truths are at first obscure perceptions, and are not fully grasped except as the fruit of direct personal experience; they forgot, too, that the sublime utterances of biblical wisdom,

once stored up in the receptive memory of the child, are carried unnoted for indefinite years, until at length, amid the temptations and misfortunes of life, they suddenly display a consoling and uplifting energy such as never could be expected from the multiplication table, the A B C, or the fables of the ox and the ass.

Diesterweg was too wise and too cautious to propose the positive abandonment of traditional forms in the religious instruction at his training college, but it was impossible for him to awaken in his pupils a vivid delight in the Christian revelation. Even more disastrous in its effects was the immoderately lofty conception of the teacher's dignity which his stormy pedagogic zeal had led him to form. Being himself simple, he wished to have pupils drawn from the common people and willing to work among the common people, and yet, in accordance with a misunderstood utterance of Schleiermacher, he looked upon the teacher as the most important man in the state, and insisted that pedagogics, having ceased to be a mere rule-of-thumb occupation and having become a science, must be further advanced to the level of an art. It was hardly surprising that the pupils should outbid the master, and should one and all repeat the catchword: "Education is the great liberator, and he who has the school has the future." Bolder minds were already prophesying that the school would some day completely replace the church. The teachers confused the inestimable value of the coming generation with the modest worth of the services which they themselves rendered to these young people. Because in the modern world the possession of certain elements of knowledge is as indispensable to all as of old in simpler days was a knowledge of the use of arms, they mistook the indispensable for the worthiest and the highest. The new teachers' periodicals and teachers' associations reflected with unusual strength the spirit of social unrest characteristic of the entire epoch, the spirit which impelled everyone to endeavour to rise above his class. In these circles there was apt to be a positive cult of the "Nüremberg funnel" for pouring knowledge into the dull-witted; in these circles it was customary to speak only of "Mr. Teacher," for the fine old name of "schoolmaster," which says more than "teacher" and says it better, was already regarded as derogatory.

The schoolmasters' vigorous self-conceit contrasted glaringly

with the pitifulness of their economic position, which had undergone but little improvement under the thrifty government of the late king. Salaries of from fifty to one hundred thalers a year were quite common. In certain remote localities there still persisted the beggarly old custom of boarding the master with his pupils' parents in rotation. Now that the civil code had declared the schools state institutions, the schoolmaster had ceased to be a mere subordinate of the pastor, and would already at times boldly face the clergyman as champion of secular enlightenment. From the eminence of his pedagogic profession, now elevated to the rank of a science, he thought he could look down upon the peasants, whereas these in their turn despised the schoolmaster for his poverty, whilst many of them rightly felt that the management of a considerable farm required far more strength both of will and understanding than are requisite for drumming in the first elements of knowledge. Numerous influences thus cooperated to disturb the modest and contented frame of mind of the elementary school teachers, and the opposition was not slow to turn this dissatisfaction to account. In many Silesian, Saxon, and East Prussian villages the radical schoolmaster was a rallying centre for the malcontents among the common people, being thus able to carry on a work of underground agitation whose fruits became apparent during the year of revolution. Despite the great advances in pedagogic methods, it remained dubious whether the martinet old soldiers of Frederician days, taking them all in all, had not done better work than their more instructed successors. With their aid there had grown to manhood a scantily taught but pious generation, contented and dutiful; in the reformed elementary school, disintegrating and destructive forces were at work side by side with those tending to upbuild.

Such defects are difficult to cure, for they are rooted in the entire spiritual and social condition of the nation. A number of painful scandals taught the new minister that an arrogant spirit was gaining ground among the teachers. The great training school in Breslau had to be closed because whole classes of pupils proved insubordinate. Wander, a Silesian schoolmaster, radical among radicals, actually addressed an impudently worded open letter to the minister demanding the complete reorganisation of the teaching in the training colleges, suggesting that in future the teachers of the people should be

worthily prepared for their lofty profession by attending higher modern schools and university lectures. It was Eichhorn's well-considered plan to found a supreme board of education, so that a steadfast educational tradition independent of ministerial changes might gradually come into existence. He further proposed to relieve the penury of the teachers by considerable increases in salary, to simplify the complicated curriculum of the training colleges, and to restore religious instruction to a leading position in the elementary school, a change to which the other branches of instruction would have to adapt themselves. In full conformity with the ideas of Diesterweg, he desired to remove the training colleges from the disturbing atmosphere of the great towns. The intention was excellent, but the results of the change were not all that had been hoped. In the lesser towns the training college was apt to play a part resembling that of a university; the concerts given by the pupils formed the central feature of social life, and these noisy doings were by no means appropriate training for young men of the people whose life would perhaps have to be passed in the quietude of some forest village. In 1844 Eichhorn restricted the variety of school books, which he regarded as excessive; Dinter's *Bible* and certain similar works were banned.

Many were now engaged upon new plans of instruction, and no one was more zealous in this field than D. W. Landfermann from Westphalia, Eilers' successor on the educational council at Coblenz. A vigorous Teutonist who had suffered persecution in Burschenschaft days, he was thoroughly well-informed upon educational matters and a moderate liberal in his political views, but unjustly stigmatised as a pietist owing to his religious earnestness. For a number of years the transformation of religious life in the schools remained so completely unobserved that the strictly religious Carl Ritter, Schnepfenthal's great disciple, long remained on intimate terms with his Pestalozzian teachers without becoming aware of the contrast between their views and his own. But now there came a parting of the ways, for it was apparent that the truths of Christianity could not be imparted to children in any other way than in the concrete form of a definite creed. Landfermann's suggestions were conceived in this spirit. Without proposing to subject the school to ecclesiastical supremacy, he nevertheless wished to make acceptance of the creed of their

church a test matter for schoolmasters; the Bible and the hymnal were to be restored to their rights; a thorough knowledge of a reasonable number of texts and hymns was to be impressed upon the minds of Protestant children, so that the members of the coming generation should once again possess a religion well-grounded upon the scriptures, should carry with them an enduring treasury of edification amid all the distractions of modern life.

But in the medley of religious struggles in which the minister was now involved, it proved impossible to realise these proposals, and all that happened was that measures of necessary severity were at times enforced against isolated radical teachers. These sufficed to reinforce the view that Eichhorn was a persecutor, an opinion which became universal when even Diesterweg fell victim to the new system. Being a man who aimed at establishing a non-religious system of instruction, it was impossible that under this government he should remain chief of the principal training college in the kingdom. But Diesterweg's spotless character, his conscientious performance of his duties, and his great services, demanded that he should be treated with consideration, and his transfer, which had now become inevitable, might have been effected in a manner that would not have given him a sense of personal injury. Even Eilers considered that he ought not to be punished for sentiments which had brought him thanks and honours during Altenstein's regime. Unfortunately, however, the king would not hear a word of considerate methods. He detested Diesterweg as an unbeliever, and regarded it as a personal affront that at a great meeting of Berlin teachers the head of the training college had been acclaimed almost as if he had been a rationalistic anti-minister. When, after Pestalozzi's centenary, Diesterweg petitioned for support on behalf of a country school, the king refused the request for the time being, with the ungracious comment that at the Pestalozzi festival there had been displayed a spirit utterly alien to the pious sentiments of the hero of the occasion. Shortly afterwards, in the spring of 1847, Diesterweg was transferred to an institution for the blind. Finding it impossible to accept this appointment, he retired for the nonce into private life, and, profoundly mortified, devoted himself henceforward with all the concentrated tenacity of his nature to the cause of radicalism. The inconsiderate harshness of the government

was terribly avenged, for in every possible journal the enraged elementary school teachers now entered upon an anonymous paper warfare whereby the name of Eichhorn was utterly discredited.

The teachers of the gymnasia likewise looked askance at the new regime, for the *Literarische Zeitung* was wont to publish foolish articles attacking the "pagan spirit" of humanist instruction. The alarm was groundless. It was impossible for the king and his minister to underestimate the liberating power of classical education. They disregarded equally the aforesaid Christian zealotry and the banality of those utilitarians who at this juncture were again loudly voicing in the liberal press their view that the young men of Germany ought no longer to be trained as independent thinkers, but ought to be prepared for practical life by filling their minds with masses of disconnected items.

No attempt was made to interfere with the well-tried curriculum of gymnasial instruction, with two exceptions. The course was enlarged by the reintroduction of gymnastics, a most valuable measure. Religious instruction was fundamentally transformed. Since the beginning of the century, in most of the Protestant gymnasia of Prussia and of neighbouring lands, this instruction had been given in accordance with the textbook of Niemeyer, chancellor of Halle university, and a celebrated educationist. Great grandson of Francke, Niemeyer had for many years been in charge of the educational foundations established by that worthy, and had been the preceptor of several leading Prussian officials, Vincke, Bassewitz, Merckel, Bodelschwingh, and other men of note. The textbook was a typical product of the old rationalism, now passing away, displaying civic uprightness, humaneness, and a dry sobriety of understanding. The power of history, which so many years before had led the Halle orphanage, the most characteristic product of ultra-orthodox pietism, into the paths of the rationalist enlightenment, was now to inaugurate a reversal of policy. Niemeyer's moralising aridity could no longer suffice the reawakened religious sentiments of the day. Eichhorn did no more than his duty, and merely marched shoulder to shoulder beside the living energies of the Protestant church, when he had Niemeyer's venerable textbook banned from the schools after the appearance of its eighteenth edition. Vainly did Hermann Agathon Niemeyer, the old chancellor's successor

in his Franconian hereditary office, endeavour to defend his father's book against the minister. Other gymnasium teachers, who simply could not imagine a sixth-form boy without his Niemeyer, looked upon the prohibition as the herald of a regime of spiritual coercion. In the irritable state of public feeling, suspicion was even aroused when indispensable disciplinary measures were undertaken by the minister. Senior Master Witt, one of Schön's literary squires, was extolled throughout the public press as a martyr because he had refused to resign his position on the staff of the *Königsberger Zeitung*, an opposition paper, and had consequently been punished. The teacher's official duty was held as nothing worth when compared with the rights of sovereign conviction.

Eichhorn, during his eight years' tenure of his new office, was never able to create anything new, but had to rest content with isolated and fragmentary measures which were to herald the coming of a new system—measures which sufficed to arouse the anger of the whole learned and scholastic world from Humboldt down to the elementary school teachers. The earlier persecutions of the demagogues seemed almost tolerable in retrospect, for proceedings had been taken solely on account of alleged offences against the state, without interference in theoretical matters. For authority to attempt to master science and to drive it in leading strings seemed almost unprecedented, and conflicted with all the life habits of the Protestant world. Since respect for the monarchy made people wish to spare the king's dignity, and since men were reluctant to regard this talented sovereign as a declared enemy of the infallible zeitgeist, an utterly false conception now came to prevail very widely. It was believed that the rout of obscurantists surrounding Frederick William had, almost without his knowledge and almost against his will, estranged him from contemporary life; and it was held that the arch-obscurantist of the circle was Eichhorn.

The learned world was confirmed in this suspicion, by the change that was taking place in the ultra-religious parties. As always, Hengstenberg took a perfectly independent line, and he made no secret of his opinion that the new minister for public worship and education was far too liberal. None the less, his *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* was universally regarded as a ministerial organ, and this newspaper showed ever more clearly that the new orthodoxy, now reconciled with its old enemy pietism, was returning to the rigid Lutheranism

of the seventeenth century, for it condemned as infidel all theological research which passed beyond the limits of that earlier day. There thus originated a wide but unnatural gulf between religious faith and modern science. For in truth not only the radical Young Hegelians, but above all the leaders in the young empirical science, who had just fought their way to the freedom of untrammelled research, were in arms against the suggestion that it was their duty to return to the ideas of the dullest days of German history. It was not, they said, to wear new theological fetters that they had burst the bonds of philosophical scholasticism. Now that orthodoxy was once again zealously attacking free science, there was becoming diffused amongst the middle classes more widely than ever before the old prejudice which is so deeply rooted in the history of modern German culture, the conviction that serious religious faith is merely the heritage of fools and hypocrites. Moreover, the modern Lutherans, like those of an earlier day, demanded for the pastorate a predominance which no longer accorded with the Protestant idea of the priesthood of the laity, and consequently, notwithstanding the profound contrast in fundamental moral ideas, their opinions became assimilated to the hierarchical views of the ultramontanes, whereas the educated bourgeoisie was already beginning to transfer the constitutional ideals of the day into the field of religious life, and was hoping to introduce some kind of representative system into the polity of the Evangelical national church. Finally the new Lutheran pietism was exhibiting, ostensibly at least, an aristocratic tinge which could not fail to stimulate the hatred secretly cherished by the middle classes against the nobility. The pietism of earlier days had been broadly founded upon the support of the common people, and there were still plenty of pious persons in all ranks of society, but the leadership of those who professed a revived religious faith was now almost everywhere assumed, as far as lay chiefs were concerned, by pious noblemen. In Mecklenburg, the Bernstorffs, the Oertzens, and the Bassewitz were conspicuous; on the lower Rhine, Count von der Recke; in Pomerania, the Belows, the Blankenburgs, and the Kleist-Retzows; in Silesia, the members of Princess Marianne's and Countess Reden's circle.

In Berlin itself, strictly religious views, now that the court favoured them, were becoming fashionable in high society,

but sanctimonious hypocrisy was often manifested side by side with honest piety. Many an ambitious worldling attended General Thile's Bible classes. Even in military circles there was far too much talk of "rebirths" and "special calls." Sunday after Sunday aspiring lieutenants and pushing barristers were to be seen in crowds, hymn book in hand, wending their way to church, whilst after their spiritual labours they would repair to Habel's drinking saloon, in Unter den Linden, to refresh themselves with a matutinal glass of beer, so that by popular humorists young fellows were nicknamed "the wet angels." These things had a cumulative effect on middle class sentiment, a genuinely Protestant detestation of any semblance of constraint upon conscience collaborating with the anti-religious radicalism of the latest literature. Every middle class liberal who had received a scientific education believed it to be his vocation to fight the spirit of darkness at court. It was not long before "pietist" became a term of abuse. Within a few years after the initiation of this Christian regime the great majority of cultured Berliners had become just as irreligious as the inhabitants of the metropolis had been before the year 1806.

The fine enterprises of Christian love wherein the religious minded manifested their zeal were regarded by the liberal world with scant sympathy, and indeed were often received with open mockery. At a time when the masses of the people were already in a ferment and when a terrible social revolution was imminent, all the work of practical Christianity was thoughtlessly left to the orthodox pietist party. Whilst in the old Trappist monastery at Düsselthal, in the centre of the Catholic world, Count von der Recke's home of refuge for children was flourishing, near by at Kaiserswerth the first house of Protestant sisters of charity was founded in 1836 by Pastor Fliedner, an unassuming little man, but one capable of displaying an appealing eloquence when he wanted to raise funds for his pious foundations. Like his old patron Stein, he had long regarded it as a grievous error that Protestantism, man-created in a virile century, should provide no suitable sphere of activity for the deeply religious sentiments of women. Inspired by serene faith, he set cheerfully to work, and the modest parent institution of Kaiserswerth gradually gave rise to the great Protestant sisterhood of deaconesses, which in the course of years summoned thousands

of pious women to undertake the care of the poor and the sick, to engage in the manifold works of Christian charity. Wichern, founder of the Rauhe Haus [a German movement analogous to the Ragged School Union] set himself yet higher tasks. He saw how pitiful was the discontent and misery of the masses, and he noted the indifference of the upper classes, befooled by the doctrine of the immutability of economic laws and therefore neglectful of their duties towards their suffering brethren. Even more important than missions to the heathen seemed to him the work of the "home mission" (this name began to be used as early as 1842), which by its activities within the fatherland was to alleviate the moral and physical poverty of the lower classes. He hoped to win on behalf of this work of love every warm Christian heart, without distinction of party, and it was no fault of his that his plans gained support only among the orthodox, first of all in Mecklenburg. Otto von Gerlach attempted to remodel in a more Christian spirit the Berlin system of poor relief, being assisted in the undertaking by the veteran Baron Kottwitz, who esteemed himself happy in that he had been spared to witness the opening of this pious reign. For some years past Dr. Julius of Hamburg, a Jew by birth but now a strict Catholic, had been engaged in attempts to secure reform of the grossly neglected prison system. The founder of prison science in Germany, one of his chief demands was for the introduction of the system of solitary confinement, a system still regarded askance by the liberal world.

Most cordial was the sympathy felt by the king for all these pious works, for, to use his own words, they made him feel "as the tree feels when the sap is rising." Before he came to the throne he had done his best to inform himself regarding the state of the prisons and reformatories of Europe.[1] He now summoned Julius as supernumerary member of his cabinet, and attempted, unfortunately without success, to induce Franz Lieber, a German American and one of the ablest defenders of the system of solitary confinement, to accept the headship of the Prussian prison system.[2] His English friend, Elizabeth Fry, the pious consoler of prisoners, was invited upon a visit. Wearing her Quaker headdress, she would sit for hours between the queen and Princess Marianne, preaching

[1] Bunsen to Crown Prince Frederick William, April 1, 1840.
[2] King Frederick William to Thile, December 8, 1844.

and instructing. Her public lectures were thronged with a fashionable audience, but the newspapers could only make fun of her. Fliedner was the first to establish deaconesses in Berlin, whilst to Wichern were sent Prussian brothers to work in the Rauhe Haus. The advice of both these reformers was asked on many points,[1] and Eichhorn was glad to promise his support on behalf of the plans for the home mission.

This did not suffice the king. Desiring to give a formal stamp to the Christian character of his reign, he hoped to combine in a great monarchically led association all the societies which "manifest Christianity in life and deed." He therefore determined to revive the long defunct order of the swan, a free religious society which his ancestor Margrave Frederick II had founded four hundred years earlier. In part, doubtless, he was influenced by romantic memories of the fine monuments to the knights of the swan in the Gumbertus church at Ansbach and of the beautiful chapel at Hassfurt. At Christmas, 1843, he announced this intention in an emotionally worded proclamation, whose pseudo-archaic phraseology he had compiled with the aid of Eichhorn and Thile. The heir presumptive was not consulted until the document had been completed, for the royal author manifestly dreaded his brother's sober criticism.[2] The king and queen were to be grand masters of the resurrected order, and hoped for the adhesion of "men and women without distinction of class or creed." How this accession was to be effected and how existing organisations were to be affiliated to the order, was not explained. The plan, though nobly conceived, was unfortunately no more than a crude sketch, so nebulous and formless that even Wichern opined that the idea of the order of the swan could not be realised until it had been translated into modern German. The design aroused a storm of indignation. It was now regarded as clearly proved that the devout Christianity of the court was wholly derived from the realm of whimsy. A mediæval order whose most exalted insignia were to be an image of the Blessed Virgin surmounting a swan, the whole hanging to a golden chain—this was more than the enlightened Berliners could endure. Scorn and detestation found universal expression, and neither Catholics nor Protestants had a good word for the

[1] Wichern, Memorial concerning the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, 1844, etc.
[2] King Frederick William to Thile, December 19; Thile to the Prince of Prussia, December 27, 1843.

strange institution. Even Bunsen now began to hesitate, though shortly before he had hailed the order with enthusiasm, acclaiming it as a Christian central authority which could not fail to annihilate Rome. The king lost courage and quietly dropped the order of the swan.

A few only of the great foundations which he had hoped to unite under the ægis of the order came into existence, this being effected in defiance of public opinion, which, as General Thile himself admitted, was utterly adverse to the "specifically Christian spirit" of these institutions.[1] In the autumn of 1847 the Bethanian hospital, lavishly equipped by the king, was opened. Fliedner's deaconesses were now able for the first time to display their capabilities on a great stage. The first superior, Marianne von Rantzau, and her successor Countess Anna Stolberg, Minister Stolberg's daughter, fulfilled their difficult duties with Christian fidelity, and after many disappointments success was in the end so brilliant that the mockers and the sceptics were compelled to hold their peace. Soon afterwards was completed the building of the new Moabite cellular prison. This was to be managed in accordance with the principles of Julius, and only after numerous ill-planned attempts and years of bitter hostility was its value universally recognised. In these days of ferment nothing more could be done, for the government did not even venture to summon Wichern to Prussia. Not until distress taught people once more how to pray, not until amid the struggles of the revolution the brutalisation of the poor became threateningly visible to the possessing classes and reminded them of long-standing sins of omission, was the splendid thought of the home mission to fructify in manifold Christian organisations and to secure adherents even from among those who had hitherto scoffed at pietism.

For the moment, it is true, the contrasts remained utterly discordant. The medley of misunderstandings and failures, of attempts and disappointments, could not fail to lead to a catastrophe No one, perhaps, recognised this earlier than Bettina von Arnim. When her royal friends had ascended the throne she had joyfully greeted "the springtime of beloved Prussia," but within a few months anxiety overwhelmed her, and with the second-sight of the woman of genius she declared

[1] Thile, Memorial concerning the Bethanian Hospital, June, 1847.

"We must save the king." She was firmly convinced that the monarch was not personally to blame for "the shame of thraldom of spirit"; Frederick William's aims were noble, but he was led astray by the men of parchment, by Eichhorn and her brother-in-law Savigny, whose intelligence she considered greatly inferior to her own. Hoping to free the monarch from his bondage, in 1843 she published the remarkable screed entitled *This Book is the King's.* It had ever been essential to her to take grandiose views of her fellow human beings, and to her every child of God would prove himself a born hero were he only given complete freedom. This optimism was the very reverse of the proud contempt for humanity which has characterised all great statesmen, and all powerful political thinkers, but it conformed with the generous ideals of the best and most unselfish men in the German liberal party. Thus did the romanticist sister of the ultra-clerical brothers Brentano develop a liberalism of the heart. Just as of old she had been an enthusiast on behalf of the wars of liberation of the Tyrolese and of the Prussians, so now did she thrill on behalf of the struggle for civic freedom, becoming in womanly fashion yet more enthusiastic when the ideas of the new generation appeared in her immediate environment incorporated in flesh and blood.

Though her locks were turning grey, her heart remained ever youthful, and her chief interest was in youth. Her moving reminiscences *Günderode* were dedicated to students in solemn dithyrambs. Young men of talent were her daily associates, and accompanied her in her moonlight rambles through the Tiergarten. Among these friends may be mentioned the amiable Moritz Carriere, idealist philosopher and writer on æsthetics, and H. B. Oppenheim, the radical publicist, a dull penman, but, like so many young Jews, enabled to shine in conversation by the display of sparkling impudence. Extremely youthful, utterly fantastical, was the ideal picture of the magnanimous democratic prince which Bettina, in her book, held up as a model to her illustrious friend. Throughout the state there was to prevail nothing but lenity, consideration, and sympathy. The executioner's axe was to be buried; the freedom of every individual was to be guaranteed by the freedom of all, for a great monarch must not like a schoolmaster thrust his nose into everything; far above all the wrangling of the creeds was to prevail "the unique, soaring religion" of the future, the

religion in whose peaceful beauty every ardent human heart would rejoice. All these things were announced in lively conversations by "the Frau Rat," Goethe's mother, the conversations being interspersed with poetic imagery and with charming anecdotes of Queen Louise and the great days of Weimar. The result was so shapeless a medley of lofty philanthropic ideas and grotesque conceits that the king, much disappointed, declared that he did not know what to make of the book. The closing pages only, those in which the social problems of the day were discussed, had a tangible meaning. The high-minded author was as profoundly concerned on account of the misery of the populace as were "the obscurantists of the home mission" for whom she could not find a good word to say. She insisted upon visiting, accompanied by her young friends, the horrible working-class barracks in the slums of Berlin, and in her book, concealing nothing, related her experiences among the unemployed weavers. Stirring was her exhortation: "Who is the king's neighbour? His ramished people!"

More downright was the attack made upon the new regime by Robert Prutz in *The Political Lying-in Room*, a comedy in the vein of Aristophanes. Modelled upon Platen's literary dramas, it went far beyond its exemplar, for literature was now closely intertwined with politics. Melancholy, indeed, was the picture of the Prussian world here unfolded. Extravagantly and presumptuously, and not without the injustices regarded as permissible to the comic muse, but none the less with unmistakable satiric talent, the poet wittily and pithily caricatured the barren birth-pangs of the philosophy of revelation, the brilliant and yet sterile appointments, the unending promises that were never fulfilled. The central thought of the play found expression in the mischievous chorus:

> Alas that the order of the swan
> Should have come to nought!

Failure had been universal, and there was but a single hope left, that a man would one day arise, Germania's true bridegroom, the deliverer of the trusting people. A charge of lèse-majesté was brought against the author, but the king's generous spirit induced him to quash the proceedings.

How faithfully the mockery of this comedy reflected the

embittered and suspicious mood of the cultured classes Frederick William was to learn to his sorrow when he attempted a reform of the marriage law, an undertaking he regarded as a sacred duty. The Prussian civil code had completely broken with the old and arbitrary theological doctrine, according to which adultery and deliberate desertion were considered, on scriptural warrant, to be the sole valid grounds for divorce. In the spirit of the new enlightenment, divorce had been facilitated, for on principle the great king favoured an increase in population. The elastic prescriptions of the law, administered for the most part by the lower courts, were moreover interpreted by these in so liberal a spirit, that pleas for divorce on the ground of invincible dislike, or incompatibility of temper, which the legislature had proposed to consider valid grounds in exceptional cases only, became increasingly common. The proceedings were apt to be extremely undignified. Otto von Bismarck, then a young barrister, was cut to the soul when he attended the hearings of the city court of Berlin, and noted the lightheartedness with which the tragical struggles of domestic life were disposed of. Public opinion found little to criticise in the convenient practice of the courts, for consciously or unconsciously people's minds were still dominated by the law of reason. Marriage was regarded as nothing more than a free civil contract, and the new poesy had brought into fashion the doctrine that the rights of the heart were unrestricted. Few recognised that marriage is the moral foundation of all the communal life of humanity, and is therefore within the domain of public law and of ecclesiastical law. Among these few had been the late king, who on several occasions, and with especial urgency during the last year of his reign, had exhorted the ineffective ministry of legislation to revise the divorce law. At this time the crown prince's attention was likewise directed to the crying evils. He made Bunsen draft for him a comprehensive opinion, whilst Ludwig von Gerlach was never weary of urging him to take the field against the civil law, which this strict Hallerian bluntly accused of "hostility to church, marriage, and law." [1]

Soon after the beginning of the new reign, this reform was seriously discussed, for Frederick William felt that a

[1] Bunsen's Memorial has been already referred to in the note on p. 299 of the present volume. See also Gerlach's Opinion thereanent, undated, but composed early in 1840.

Christian state must be upbuilded on the foundation of a Christian domestic life. Gerlach was commissioned to elaborate under Savigny's supervision the draft of a divorce law, and he extolled the undertaking as "a measure resulting from his majesty's personal initiative, the characteristic expression of the innermost and profoundest tendencies of the king's reign." [1] The historian of Roman law frankly admitted that the state authority could neither enforce morality nor prevent immorality. It would suffice if that authority, by the serious character of its laws, were to prevent the people's ideas of right and wrong, good and evil, from being confounded. Nevertheless, when Gerlach, fired with puritanic zeal, went far beyond these principles, Savigny approved his friend's proposals. Gerlach wished to cancel eleven of the grounds for divorce recognised by the civil law; to permit divorce, as a rule, only as a sequel of prolonged separation from bed and board; to punish adultery even if no plaint were lodged by the injured husband. Thus no room was to be left for Christian forgiveness and compassion, which however ought not to be excluded in such issues, seeing that they are moral rather than legal.

Hardly had Savigny, in November, 1842, circulated these proposals among the members of the ministry of state, when they were illegally published in the newspapers. One of the malcontent elder privy councillors, almost all of whom continued to support the civil law outlook, was doubtless responsible for this indiscretion. The effect was terrible. A clamour was raised by the entire liberal press, which declared that the principles of Frederick the Great were being abandoned and that the crown wished to make marriage indissoluble. The old suspicion as to Frederick William's Catholic leanings found widespread and vigorous expression. As usual, Eichhorn was abused as the instigator of the trouble, although he had played quite a secondary part in the drafting of this proposal. The *Königsberger Zeitung* glorified divorce on the ground of incompatibility of temper, writing: "We regard this provision as the finest flower of our legislation, for it is worthy of the free man." The newspaper referred to "the cry of anger voiced by the entire nation," and railed in so unbridled a manner that the king sent a copy of the journal to his cabinet minister with the indignant enquiry, "Have we still any judges

[1] Gerlach's Opinion, December 15, 1842.

prepared to enforce the law?" [1] Nor was there any lack of hardy spirits, inspired with the doctrines of Young Germany, to advocate free concubinage and to contemn the coercive marriage championed by the sanctimonious. Puchta, in a thoughtful pamphlet entitled *The Question of Divorce*, defended the basic ideas of the proposed law, ideas which were thoroughly sound. The defence was fruitless, for Puchta's quiet voice was drowned amid the storm of execration.

Gerlach implored the crown to pursue its way regardless of the uproar. "If in this matter, wherein the king is personally concerned, or if he should seem to be concerned in it, a retreat be made in face of the arrogant outpourings of the newspapers, the disaffected press would be so greatly encouraged by its brilliant victory that the consequences would be beyond prevision." Savigny spoke in an identical sense; being greatly moved, and foreseeing that his whole chance of efficient action would be endangered were his first great legislative proposal to be frustrated.[2] General Boyen, on the other hand, could not overcome the impression that the confused and passionate utterances of the opposition were after all inspired by sound Protestant sentiments. It was the curse of this regime of misunderstandings that in almost every dispute there was right on both sides, and the veteran warrior, despite his patriarchal piety, always remained in touch with the Kantians of his East Prussian home. He felt it his duty to warn his beloved king, saying: "As true as God is in Heaven, I regard as extremely serious the attitude of public opinion in this matter." In his winning paternal phraseology he went on to represent to the monarch that to impose obstacles in the way of divorce did not invariably promote morality. "Domestic peace is likewise requisite for a perfect Christian marriage. Requisite above all is the Christian upbringing of the children, and where one party to a marriage persistently counteracts such an upbringing, there the marriage bond is already broken." After a lengthy and edifying disquisition, in conclusion he urged the king to note the example set by Frederick the Great, who, upon the request of certain congregations, had withdrawn the proposal to introduce a new hymnal, "thereby acting in a truly Christian spirit." At first Frederick William was greatly affected by the warnings of "this loving

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, December 3, 1842.

[2] Gerlach to Thile, November 21; Thile's Report to the king, November 22, 1842.

and faithful man." [1] In the end, however, influenced by Savigny's representations, he decided to submit the draft, which had already been vigorously attacked in the ministry of state by Count Arnim, to renewed consideration by the council of state.[2]

For the ensuing five months, from January, 1843, the council of state discussed the measure. The deliberations soon became so stormy that General Müffling, the elderly chairman, was hardly able to keep order among the disputants, although the king attended many of the sittings and plainly displayed his fondness for the scheme.[3] The prince of Prussia, though largely agreeing with the proposals, considered that the promulgation of so unpopular a law would be extremely dangerous. The most vigorous opponent was President Scheller, a native of the Harz, who in earlier days, as judge in the western provinces, had gained an esteem for Rhenish law and public procedure. With indomitable energy he attended all the bi-weekly sittings, posting over for the purpose from Frankfort-on-the-Oder, fifty miles distant. It was a sign of the times that he and Gerlach should cross swords, for both were worthy representatives of the Old Prussian judiciary, learned, frank, and eloquent; each of them, the liberal and the romanticist alike, firmly convinced that he was fighting for true freedom; and yet the two men differing so utterly in their whole outlook. Scheller's minimum demand was that there should not be too much restriction of the grounds for divorce, for he considered that the judges must be in a position to make due allowance for the multiplicity of the relationships of life, a multiplicity peculiarly manifest in domestic disputes. He went so far as to maintain that a unified marriage law would not become possible until civil divorce had been established. The best proof of the truth of this view, which was still regarded as heretical in the old provinces, was to be found in the new law itself, for the bill proposed to grant civil divorce and yet prescribed an exceptional regime for divorced Catholics, whom the clergy of all denominations were forbidden to remarry.

The liberal newspapers, meanwhile, continued their invectives, and Gerlach considered it necessary that his orthodox

[1] Boyen's Memorial concerning the marriage law, December, 1842; King Frederick William to Thile, December 22, 1842.

[2] Savigny to Thile, December 23, 1842.

[3] Kühne's Memoirs.

associates should make themselves heard. He privately let his friends know that it would be agreeable to the king if the true believers were to take up the cudgels on behalf of a Christian marriage law, and no long time elapsed before numerous petitions had been sent in begging that the draft should be adopted, most of them from Pomeranian pastors. But when the prince of Prussia learned how the monarch's name had been used without his sanction, his wrath was aroused, and at one of the sittings of the council of state he fiercely upbraided Ritschl, though the Pomeranian bishop had not in truth been a party to these intrigues. Prince William demanded a strict enquiry, and wrote to his brother saying, "I trust that you will take strong action." [1] Gerlach's complicity was soon disclosed, and it became impossible for the hotspur of romanticism to retain his position in the ministry. After a period of hesitation, in April, 1844, amid all possible tokens of royal favour, he was transferred to Magdeburg as president of the court of appeal.

By this time, too, the legislative proposal was at length ready. Though in the council of state it had been made far less drastic, most of the members of that body accepted it with reluctance, and some solely out of respect for the king. Kühne, one of its fiercest opponents, wrathfully declared that a dense and suffocating cloud of hypocrisy and timidity encompassed the affair. Now came the most distressing question of all: Would it be expedient to lay before the provincial diets this law which had been so thoroughly reviled in advance? According to the constitution, at least the material portion of the bill must be submitted to these bodies, for it involved questions of individual rights. The king hesitated. The ministry could not come to an agreement; and Count Arnim, in especial, persisted in opposing the idea. Even Bunsen, though at the outset he had cooperated in the undertaking, now revisiting Berlin was urgent in his representations that the public mood threatened disaster. Frederick William was no longer able to stand out. On June 28, 1844, the minor and formal portion of the law, that which need not be submitted to any representative body, was suddenly published as an *Ordinance Concerning Procedure in Questions relating to Marriage.* This was indubitably the best part of

[1] Eichhorn to Lord Lieutenant Bonin in Stettin, March 2/19; the prince of Prussia to the King, April 2, 1843.

the bill, a valuable reform in itself, and further a matter for congratulation in that it foreshadowed the remodelling of the entire marriage law. The decision of pleas for divorce was transferred to the higher courts, and the whole procedure was made so elastic as to leave wider scope for the discretion of the judges, who, in view of the imminent danger of collusion, were not to be unconditionally bound to accept the testimony of the parties to the plea. After experience had been gained in the higher courts, the reform of the marriage law as a whole was to be recommenced. In the existing posture of affairs it would have been hardly possible to secure more than this partial success, but the king felt he had suffered a defeat in that he had been constrained to abandon the larger part of a favourite design in face of the uproar of a public opinion which was after all extremely confused. Moreover, Gerlach had been forced out of the council, and Savigny's prestige had been seriously shaken, seeing that after three and a half years' work he had been able to achieve so trifling a result.

The king's further attempts at the reinvigoration of Christian morality, encountered everywhere insuperable opposition. He was thoroughly justified in being displeased that the existing laws concerning Sunday observance, mild as they were, should be so neglectfully administered. The authorities showed scant regard for religious life; still less were they concerned about the troubles of the poorer classes; and little did they care for the shop assistant or the operative, when the shopkeeper or the factory owner insisted that his business could not endure the weekly interruption. The age seemed to have utterly forgotten that the sabbath was the greatest social benefit which the people of Israel had of old bestowed upon civilisation. It was doubtless upon the king's instigation that during the first year of the new reign the Evangelical pastors of Berlin issued to their congregations "a word of love," exhorting them to make a point of keeping holy the sabbath day, and reminding them of Schleiermacher's doctrine that religion became really active in community life alone. Unfortunately this cordial address was received with suspicion. The liberal press was not slow to imagine some sinister purpose, and the loudest outcries were those of the Jewish journalists, for though their co-religionists kept the Jewish sabbath strictly, they were accustomed to devote the Christian Sunday to

monetary affairs with the peasants. The report was soon current that the king and his notorious henchman Eichhorn desired to introduce the British Sunday, a harsh institution intolerable to the German temperament. It is true that Frederick William, who overvalued everything English, had a theoretical preference for this gloomy observance, but he had no thought of enforcing it upon his subjects. All he desired was to draw the reins a trifle tighter, very gently, and without infringing old customs. He merely demanded "that the existing provisions shall remain in force and that any breaches of the law shall in future receive due punishment." [1] But in view of the universal passive resistance he was unable to carry even this modest design into effect. No less completely was he misunderstood when he agreed to the proposal of some of the stricter pastors of Berlin that they should be privileged to pay private visits to the more disorderly members of their congregation, and when he subsequently conceived the plan of appointing accessory pastors whose specific work was to be this wholly neglected province of spiritual care. The rumour promptly spread that a police for the supervision of public morals was to be instituted, with a secret espionage system, and so much public excitement was aroused by the report that the prince of Prussia called upon the ministry to issue an official contradiction.[2]

Such being the popular mood, how was it possible to expect success for the new nobles' law, on whose behalf the king had been privately working without remission for the past seven years? The nobility was the only one of the old estates by birth which had persisted unchanged amid the purely occupational classes of a democratised society, and yet the nobles themselves belonged to these new occupational classes, the highest and the lowest alike. The consequence was that the modern possessing classes regarded the nobility either as a foreign hostile power, or else as an absurdity, and nothing could have been more offensive to public opinion than a favouring of the class rights of the nobility. The late king had had to learn this when on January 16, 1836, he assigned to the chiefs of the ancient Rhenish imperial Ritterschaft, and subsequently to the chiefs of certain Westphalian families, the autonomous right (a revival of an earlier

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, November 27, 1844.
[2] Prince of Prussia to Thile, April 29; Reply, May 1, 1843.

custom) of entailing their estates. This cabinet order, which the crown did not even venture to have printed among the collection of laws, was issued in response to repeated requests from the Rhenish Ritterschaft,[1] and aimed merely at maintaining the old families in possession of their lands. It did not in any way infringe the rights of members of another class, for it merely restricted the hereditary claims of the younger sons of the nobles themselves. But it conflicted with the common law, and the Rhinelanders were fiercely opposed to all social inequality and to any attempt to entail landed property.[2] "The Rhenish knightly-born autonomists," as they were mockingly termed, constituted henceforward a society of nobles, settling disputes within the order through the instrumentality of an arbitral court, and founding a knights' academy in Bedburg for the education of their sons. The leaders, Baron von Mirbach and Count Spee, were universally respected for their public services; but within the closed circle of the nobles' society there were soon manifested extremely undesirable sentiments, such as pride of caste, clericalist bigotry, and a Rhenish particularism, hostile to everything Prussian and leaning ever towards the beloved archducal house. When Mirbach made representations to the king that the nobles must not be merged in the estate of lords of the manor, seeing that the nobles had their birthright in common with the crown and consequently supported the crown—even Thile took alarm, and declared that the nobles would do well to admit the sons of other landowners to their knights' academy.[3] The upshot was that the Rhenish provincial diet henceforward declared itself strongly opposed to the privileges of persons of knightly birth, and that Baron von Mylius, himself a nobleman, one of the ablest Rhenish jurists, led the struggle on behalf of legal equality. The agitation among the Rhenish bourgeoisie persisted a full half century. So strong was it that even the veteran Arndt and H. Hälschner, a young Bonn lawyer, of equally irreproachable moderate liberal sentiments, issued polemic pamphlets against the knightly-born autonomists.

These experiences should have sufficed to convince the king that a nobles' law would raise a storm of social discontent. Besides, was the desired reform really indispensable? It is

[1] Petitions of Rhenish knights (Baron von Mirbach and others), 1833, et seq.
[2] See vol. II, p. 561.
[3] Mirbach to Thile, April 24; Reply, July 3, 1845.

true that the lesser landed families in the old provinces of Prussia were far less resplendent and far less wealthy than the magnates of the English aristocracy; but since the force of a nobility unquestionably resides in its political activity, the Prussian monarchical nobility had no occasion to fear comparison with the parliamentary nobles of England. Beside the crown they had little weight, but they had cooperated in the heroic deeds of a great age in history. They still constituted the kernel of the officers' corps; they were able by their own merits to maintain their positions in the ranks of the officialdom; in many parts of the country they discharged the most arduous duties of local self-government; and they were recruited for the most part from bourgeois families which had entered the state service, just as in the middle ages the "ministerials" had risen above the free commoners. Though a motley mixture of the ancient territorial nobility, the new nobility of service, and numerous inferior elements, such an estate could at least demand that its traditions should be left undisturbed by the crown, and among these traditions was numbered the old German legal principle that the son of a nobleman was likewise a nobleman. The Prussian nobles were as unwilling to renounce this privilege as they would have been to adopt the English practice of changing the family name in virtue of an inheritance. A government which vaunted its historic sense ought not to have ignored such facts. Prudence suggested that this class, which really no longer possessed any specific social organisation, should be left to its own devices, until time should disclose which stocks would be competent, through wealth and service, to maintain an aristocratic prestige amid the incessant class struggles of modern society. The king, however, was unable to abandon his English ideal. In the granting of titles of nobility on the occasion of the festival of allegiance he had fruitlessly endeavoured to promote the creation of a genuine territorial nobility, which should be firmly rooted in the soil. He continued to cherish the idea, and stubbornly endeavoured to fructify his sterile designs. In accordance with the principles of the traditional division into estates, he purposed to forbid to nobles the entry into the lower occupational classes, hoping thereby to elevate the morality of the order. "A matter of the utmost importance," he declared in a letter to Thile, "is that nobility must be discarded upon the adoption of certain occupations, above

all irremediably when a noble goes on the stage." Whilst in the act of writing this he began to realise the impracticability of his ideas, and, already preparing to yield, he added in a postscript, "Among the actors at the royal theatre a nobleman could hardly be accepted." [1]

After long preparation, on September 10, 1846, there was held at Sans-Souci a crown council to which only ministers of noble birth were summoned. At this meeting the prince of Prussia, supported by the great majority of those present, definitely opposed the plan of restricting the hereditability of nobility to a portion of the issue of a noble. The plan, said Prince William, was discordant with national custom, and could not fail to arouse serious divisions among the nobles themselves.[2] The king would not be overruled. Acting on his instructions, Savigny, towards the new year of 1847, drafted a nobles' law which designed to create, side by side with the old hereditary nobility, a territorial nobility with restricted right of inheritance. There was also to be a personal (non-heritable) nobility, granted for meritorious service; and finally, there was to be a semi-noble Ritterschaft or gentry [thus in the German original] for the sons of the newly ennobled.

Thus was Prussia's lesser nobility, which had already fallen in public esteem precisely because of its superfluous numerical strength, to be increased by several new classes. This romanticist statecraft actually sought a remedy in the Rhenish Confederate institution of personal nobility, which in South Germany had contributed so greatly to undermine the status of the hereditary nobility. Even Thile was no longer able to follow such leaps. Radowitz, when the draft was sent to him in Carlsruhe, replied with manly candour: "Your majesty's ordinances for the reinvigoration and reclassification of nobility would encounter in the widest circles nothing but suspicion and hostility; in such an atmosphere they would from the outset be utterly devoid of vital energy; and instead of the anticipated benefits they would bring fresh dangers and perplexities.[3] For the moment the warning proved effective. The proposals were temporarily shelved, and this was fortunate for the government, for the bourgeoisie had already been angered by the rumours that were in circulation,

[1] King Frederick William to Thile, January 4, 1847.
[2] Protocol concerning the conference before his majesty, September 10, 1846.
[3] Thile to Radowitz, May 28; Radowitz to the king, June 13, 1847.

and it was universally reported that the king desired to establish a nobles' bench in the supreme court of appeal. At this juncture the revolution broke out, forcing the nobles to attempt spontaneously, in so far as it was not too late, the work of reform which the state had failed to effect. Thenceforward those families which had continued to preserve aristocratic sentiments began endeavours to reinvigorate the relaxed and often degenerate spirit of their order by family councils and precepts, by foundations, and by family histories.

§ 7. PROVINCIAL DIETS OF 1843. CONSTITUTIONAL PROJECTS OF THE KING. ARNIM'S RESIGNATION.

High above all these differences, however, stood the leading problem of the day, the struggle concerning national representation. Since the united committees had done almost nothing, public interest was once more concentrated upon the provincial diets, a new sitting of which had been summoned for March, 1843. Many petitions were prepared, and in their incessantly growing number the development of the popular movement could be effectively measured, just as of old in the days of the reformation it had been possible to measure the growth of the corresponding movement by the number of new printing presses. The great majority of the petitions came from the towns, for the contest was in the main a struggle of bourgeois interests against the predominance of the landed interest. The beautiful little town of Hirschberg on the slopes of the Riesengebirge, a place which had ever been famous for a radical spirit of opposition, was bold enough to invite neighbouring towns to join in the signing of a petition demanding an increase in the number of burgher deputies and an extension of the urban suffrage. In this case Lord Lieutenant Merckel was able to quash the undertaking, one forbidden by the existing law; but thenceforward there went on a quiet yet busy political intercourse between the liberal towns, and the consequences of this new development were shortly to become apparent. As soon as the diets began their labours it was plain to every competent observer that the established political organisation could not possibly be sustained. Instead of the vainly expected single national assembly Prussia had eight representative bodies, and these, in rivalry one with another,

unauthoritative and for that very reason apt to be frivolous, presumptuous, and reckless, delivered opinions or gave expression to wishes concerning every conceivable topic of general legislation. This eightfold interpellation could not fail, in the end, to make the work of government impossible. The provincial diets greatly exceeded their modest competence, and yet there was no occasion, in most cases, to accuse them of unbridled arrogance or of any formal infringement of constitutional law, for all national legislation indirectly affected each specific province, and in one way or another the needs of this time of ferment had to secure expression.

At the very outset the king's gentle heart received a painful shock from the ingratitude of his beloved Poles. The Sarmatian nobles were not prepared to accept without remonstrance the address from the throne on the occasion of the last prorogation of the diet, when they had been paternally reminded of their duties towards the Prussian state. Encouraged by the laxity of the government, they drafted an address which was equally unbecoming in respect of form and content, and whose tenour was almost treasonable, coming little short of a demand for separation from Prussia. For example: "If, like the Lithuanian-speaking and the Walloon-speaking subjects of the crown, the Poles are to find their common centre in the name of Prussia, they cannot but regard this as jeopardising the aforesaid pledge, that of the year 1815. They are afraid lest they should be rendered unable to term themselves that which they are by language, customs, historical traditions, formal treaties, and express assurances—Poles!" This address was, after the Polish manner, hastily voted amid a devastating clamour, many present hardly realising what they were deciding.[1] Without vouchsafing any information to the German minority, the Polish majority spoke in the name of the entire province. Just as the former Sarmatian nobles' republic had cruelly maltreated all within its borders who were not of Polish nationality, so now did the Posen nobles, when hopes were reviving, venture to assert that the Germans in Posen (whose stock had maintained itself there for six centuries as the champions of civilisation) were simply "Poles of German origin," —though even in Breslau and Berlin there were a few Germans of Polish origin. It was impossible for the king to suffer these insults. "The address of the Posen estates," he wrote

[1] Lord Lieutenant von Beurmann's Report to Count Arnim, March 9, 1843.

fiercely, "is of such a nature that it seems expedient for me to take the exceptional step of replying to it by return of post." [1] He wrote a severe holograph rejoinder, and this, adopted almost unaltered by the ministry of state, was despatched to Posen on March 12th. It conveyed to the diet the monarch's exalted displeasure, and added the threat that the Posen estates would no longer be summoned at regular intervals if it should transpire that the sentiments expressed in the address were not those of a party merely, but were entertained by the diet at large. Czar Nicholas was delighted, and sent a message to his brother-in-law to the effect that the latter would doubtless in future take a more favourable view of Russia's Polish policy.[2]

The effect of the rejoinder in Posen was to arouse anger without alarm, for no one believed that the good-natured king would carry out his threat. Learning nothing by experience, the diet continued to voice foolish complaints, and went so far as to demand the foundation of a university in Posen. The aim was obvious, for alike in Breslau and in Berlin the number of Polish students had hitherto been almost infinitesimal. Von Beurmann, the new lord lieutenant, though showing a great respect for formalities, had a firmer hand than his predecessor Count Arnim, and frankly assured the czar, then journeying through the province, that a closer acquaintance with the Poles had convinced him they could only be kept in order by severity.[3] But von Beurmann was everywhere hampered by the king's kindliness. The Polish nobles were not slow to realise to what lengths they could go under this government; their casinos and reading clubs multiplied year by year; in the agricultural societies they endeavoured to fraternise once more with the Polish peasants; their hunting club organised riding drill and target practice in the great forests, and every member knew that he was expected to make ready for the ardently desired day of the German hunt.

Since with all its deliberations and plannings the government never came to any conclusion, it was able to lay before the provincial diets no more than one important general law, that for a criminal code, drafted during Kamptz' ministry

[1] King Frederick William to Thile (undated), March, 1843.
[2] Liebermann's Report, March 23, 1843.
[3] Liebermann's Report, October 23, 1843.

and since then several times revised. But what else than a perplexing medley of subjective views could be expected from the eightfold discussion of so comprehensive and important a law. The philanthropic sentimentality of liberal theorists found vigorous expression, for liberal doctrine was quite discordant with the warlike practices of this people in arms. The punishments proposed in the bill, which were unquestionably severe, were considered cruel, and many persons were already demanding the abolition of capital punishment. The main obstacle to an understanding, however, was the antiquated criminal procedure. The liberal world now universally advocated public oral hearings and trial by jury. Savigny approved the former of these demands at least, but whilst the minister was carefully considering the difficult reform, the provincial diets, which as purely deliberative bodies had no responsibility in the matter, were carried away by the current of public opinion. The Prussian diet bluntly declared that the detailed reform of the criminal law would be impossible unless criminal procedure were simultaneously transformed, and the same opinion was voiced in other diets.

The Rhinelanders alone adopted a quite independent line. Spoiled by the unfailing consideration of the government, they still desired to cling to their peculiar privileges of foreign origin. It was obvious that the crown, when at length it presented the criminal code, was having to atone for an old and grave sin of omission, for without a unified criminal law there cannot enduringly exist a well-ordered state nor can there develop any strong feeling of political community. Should different punishments prevail in Rhineland and in Westphalia the public would lose all proper sense of right and wrong. No reflective man in the Rhenish area could shut his eyes to the danger, and as if this were not enough the king had given several solemn assurances that whatever happened the province should retain its traditional judicial procedure. There was, therefore, no rational ground for a campaign against the new criminal code, in many respects much humaner than the harsh *code pénal*. But the legend that the freedom of Rhineland would stand or fall with the Rhenish law was now invincibly established. The Düsseldorf diet unanimously decided to petition the crown that a new criminal code based upon the *code Napoléon* should be separately drafted for Rhineland. There was no evil intention behind the request, which was

merely an involuntary outcome of the naïve particularist spirit of the province, but it sounded almost as treasonable as the address of the Posen diet, and matters became further embroiled when the estates, jubilant over their decision, held a great banquet on July 4th. With the wine flowing freely, utterance was given to audacious, almost derisive, sentiments; the festival, it was declared, represented a victory of the Rhenish law over the Prussian; and after some high words had been exchanged, Lord Lieutenant von Schaper and the other officials left the hall in a body.

The king was incensed by this "improper scene." He was profoundly vexed that the Poles and the Rhinelanders, whom in conjunction with the Old Prussians he had invariably favoured, should oppose him. In the first flush of wrath he had a cabinet order issued (July 18th) cautioning the officialdom against participation in such worthless demonstrations, which were, he said, "only competent to create a disturbance, without being able to exercise any influence upon the matter in hand, upon my decisions, or upon the course of my government." The Rhinelanders took this reproof much amiss. After their local custom they were quite unable to understand why words spoken over the wine cup should be taken so very seriously, and it was an additional grievance that the festival of rejoicing which they were proposing to give to their returning deputies was now forbidden by the authorities. Count Arnim, who had fruitlessly advised against this severity, reported some months later to the monarch, with perfect truth: "From that moment, and for the first time, ill feeling on the Rhine, which had hitherto been directed solely against the ministers, was turned against your majesty as well (I have documentary evidence of this). Not the Rhinelanders alone but many others have deplored that on such an occasion from the height of the throne your majesty should have intervened between the parties." [1] The petition of the diet met with its deserts. Savigny had drafted a severe censure upon these particularists who, instead of demanding a reformed German criminal law, demanded rather a newfangled French law,[2] and the address proroguing the diet was worded cuttingly as follows: "The proposal of the estates we reject all the more decisively inasmuch as we have made it our principal task to

[1] Count Arnim, Report to the king, May 26, 1844.
[2] Savigny, Draft of a Reply to the Rhenish diet, November, 1843.

fortify the German system and German sentiment in every direction."

The fewer the laws the crown had to lay before them, the more zealously did the diets discuss the petitions that had been sent them and the innumerable motions introduced by their own members. The relative attitudes of the provinces remained unchanged. The loudest voices were those of the Old Prussians, the Rhinelanders, and the Poseners, whilst in Silesia, too, the townsmen and the peasants were already taking a vigorous line; in Westphalia liberal sentiments were less strong, whilst they were quite weak in Pomerania, Brandenburg, and (strangely enough) in the province of Saxony, where the spirit of opposition was still concentrated upon religious differences. In two only of the provinces did the proposal that a national assembly should be established secure the prescribed majority of two-thirds. The Prussians and the Rhinelanders, however, were already bold enough to indicate to the crown the way which seemed simplest after all that had happened; they begged the king to assign to the united committees the rights of a national assembly, thus completing the constitutional structure. Petitions were also sent in on behalf of freedom of the press, oral procedure in the law courts, publicity in the provincial diets and the municipal assemblies, the abolition of the patrimonial courts, an increase in the number of the urban and the peasant deputies, an extension of the suffrage, the emancipation of the Jews—and so on in an interminable series, heartfelt wishes of the liberal bourgeoisie, often expressed in almost identical terms by four or five of the diets.

When Arnim surveyed this chaos, he could not but be extremely anxious, and he instructed the immediate committee to discuss whether the grossly misused right of petition of the diets should not be restricted, whether the printing of their protocols should not be rigidly supervised, and whether, for the instruction of the populace, it would not be expedient to publish legislative proposals at an early date before the discussions in the diets took place.[1] The committee, however, did not venture upon any innovation, seeing that manifest

[1] Count Arnim to the immediate committee, September 18, 1843, with three memorials: Concerning the Right of Petition; Concerning the Publication of the Proceedings in the Diets; Concerning the Conduct of the Administration vis-à-vis the Diets.

illegality could not be proved against the diets. At the close of the year, therefore, the eight addresses proroguing the diets appeared in the traditional form. The proposals of the diets were answered one by one, and, in so far as they concerned general territorial affairs, were almost without exception rejected in a disdainful tone of paternal reproof which could not fail to be offensive to free men. Such phrases as the following abounded: "Precipitate deliberations are ill adapted to exercise any influence upon our well-considered designs"; "We shall not submit to any restrictions in the carrying out of our well-considered resolves"; "We shall continue to pursue the direction which, after mature examination, we have recognised to be the most beneficial." To sum up, the crown bluntly rejected about one hundred proposals made by the loyal estates, and what government in the world would be strong enough to say "no" thus solemnly one hundred times every alternate year?

The only enduring outcome of this sterile session was the Rhenish communes' ordinance which, after so many fruitless attempts,[1] was now laid before the provincial diet in a new draft, and was subsequently promulgated on July 23, 1845. Therewith the Rhenish particularist spirit and the Napoleonic administrative despotism, locally styled liberty, secured a complete victory over the ideas of the crown, which had aimed at the establishment of German legal principles. In Westphalia the towns had at least been enabled to participate in the blessings of German self-government, but on the Rhine all legal distinction between town and country remained non-existent. In the towns and in the rural burgomasterships, the burgomaster appointed by the government exercised a sway almost as unrestricted as that of the "maire" of former days. The communal council, whose members were for the most part the leading property-holders of the district, had little more power than a French "conseil," for the government could cancel any of its decisions as illegal or injurious. The Rhenish communal system was far less free than that provided by the towns' ordinance elsewhere in Prussia, and even less free than the patriarchal manorial self-government had been. Nevertheless this bureaucratic regime suited the officialdom, and was conformable to the interests of the great industrials, who had factories both in the rural districts and in the towns;

[1] Vide supra, vol. VI, p. 72.

it was in harmony with the customs of the province, and above all with the locally prevailing ideas of equality, for on the Rhine the distinction between town and country was looked upon as nothing but a feudal abuse. Every distinction between landowner, townsman, and peasant was to be merged in the bald concept of state citizenship. "Let me put it to you, citizen is the word!" said one of the speakers in the Rhenish diet amid salvos of applause, and many of the audience were thinking of the "citoyen" of the French republic. Most of the Rhinelanders were highly delighted that the "Prüss" had at length yielded so much to their obstinate liberalism. They believed that in their communal system as in other things they were far ahead of the east, and they learned with a certain malicious pleasure how the monarch, when some of the other provincial diets had petitioned for a reform of rural communal institutions, had ungraciously rejoined that he did not propose to make any changes in the traditional system "of those provinces which are fortunate in that the foundations of their rural communal system have not been destroyed by revolutionary legislation."

The king was intensely distressed to feel that he was gradually losing touch with his subjects. It was a disaster that Prussia should enter upon this great crisis of her constitutional life at a time when in the rest of Germany a complete theory of general constitutional public law had already been formulated; and the longer the decision was postponed the more extensive would necessarily be the claims of the liberals. Nevertheless the king was still unable to make up his mind about the plans for a constitution which he had now been considering for four and a half years. The fundamental idea, the summoning of a great united diet, was as firmly rooted as ever, but upon questions of detail he was quite undecided, and his strangely disintegrated ministry could offer him no useful counsel. The chairman, the prince of Prussia, declared himself definitely opposed to a national assembly of estates which, by refusing supply, might endanger military efficiency and therewith the entire power of the state. Private conversations convinced the king that an agreement between himself and his brother would be extremely difficult to secure, and for a long time henceforward the heir to the throne had no precise knowledge of the monarch's further plans for a constitution.

From early days the prince had given serious attention to the need for an attitude of reserve which is essential for one in his position, and never would he have consented to lower himself to become the leader of the conservative party, for his princely pride and his loyalty to the king made such a course impossible. Yet it was inevitable that all the advocates of the old absolutist system should regard him as their natural chief. "The ministry," said Count Arnim regretfully, "is dominated by a most praiseworthy conviction, the conviction of those who regard it as their mission to defend things as they are with the utmost tenacity." [1] Enlightened Berlin, which had heretofore paid but little attention to the prince, now began to regard him with suspicion. Even his simple soldierly manner and the cordial respect paid him by the army were detrimental to his reputation, for the neofrench invectives against a standing army were gradually making an impression in Prussia. Since everyone else blamed the government, the silent loyalty of the officers was considered servile, and a number of deplorable brawls were already manifesting the growth of a hostile feeling between soldiers and civilians for which good grounds might exist in many of the Rhenish confederate states, but which was simply ridiculous in the land of universal military service. In a word, malicious tongues now wagged freely concerning the heir to the throne, who was said to be the king's evil genius in political affairs, just as Eichhorn was his evil genius in religious matters. This shameful gossip secured at last almost universal credence, for in times when political passion is already aroused, but in which as yet a coherent public life does not exist, the legends of faction ever attain the rankest growth. In truth the prince, notwithstanding his tenure of high offices, was at this time almost without political influence, and moreover the parade of piety characteristic of the new devotees was repugnant to his simple and sober intelligence.

To the king's great distress, in the spring of 1844 Count Alvensleben resigned the office of cabinet minister, which he had held for no more than a year. The ever renewed and restless hatching of sterile plans had become intolerable to his sound business understanding. His resignation was regretted, not only by those of whom Humboldt derisively spoke as the "Montmorencys of Havelland," but also by Kühne and all

[1] Count Arnim, Memorandum, May 25, 1845.

the experienced officials who now felt the lack of the late king's strict orderliness.[1] Alvensleben's place was taken by Bodelschwingh who had hardly settled down to his work in the ministry of finance. There was a perpetual coming and going. Bodelschwingh recommended that his trusty assistant Kühne, unquestionably the ablest among the experts, should now be appointed minister for finance. But the king dreaded the freethinking old bachelor's sharp tongue, and to the general astonishment gave the post to Flottwell, another distinguished man in a false position. Flottwell, after he had been driven out of Posen, had once more displayed his brilliant administrative talents in Magdeburg, but he knew little about finance, his fiery and impetuous nature was ill-suited to work of this kind, and the pupil of Schön was not likely to support the monarch's plans for a representative assembly. The prince of Prussia wrote with much concern: "Alvensleben's departure is more than a calamity, and the same must be said of Bodelschwingh's removal from the finances. The two posts have been filled, but their respective holders have not been replaced."[2]

Following immediately thereupon came the resignation of another of the late king's ministers. Mühler was at odds with his most immediate colleague, Savigny; he had voted against the marriage law; and upon the constitutional question, too, he had firmly adhered to his own peculiarly strict legalist views. The king desired his retirement to be agreeably managed, and certain servile folk were soon forthcoming to persuade the unsuspicious and easily deceived monarch that Sack, president of the supreme court, well on in years but still extremely vigorous, wished to withdraw from office after his jubilee in the ensuing July. Consequently the most distinguished judge in the monarchy, on the occasion of his jubilee, received, in addition to a well merited order of distinction, the quite unexpected information that should he feel inclined to retire on account of his age the king would be glad to accept his resignation. Profoundly mortified, he promptly did as requested, and the entire bench of judges regarded the incident as an affront.[3] The office thus vacated was conferred upon Mühler, but, like Rochow, he retained seat and vote in the ministry

[1] Kühne's Memoirs.

[2] The prince of Prussia to Thile, April 25, 1844.

[3] The case, which attracted much attention at the time, was thus explained to me by members of the president's family.

of state, which became continually larger and more motley in its composition. Cabinet Councillor Uhden was appointed minister for the administration of justice, and the king doubtless cherished the secret hope that Uhden, who was his personal friend, would be able to spur on into quicker activity the learned but dilatory minister for legislation.

Meanwhile Count Arnim had also become weary of his office. Two years earlier he had entered the ministry in sanguine mood, resolute chivalrously to devote all his energies to promoting the king's designs for a representative system, but had promptly become involved in the unhappy struggle with the press. All the odium of the various suppressions of newspapers now attached to his name, although he had never done anything but carry out the commands of his royal master. Sensible of the public feeling, he more than once asked the monarch whether he was not too unpopular to retain office, now that the time of active resistance was over and "a period of thoughtful progress" was to begin. A yet more serious trouble was that he had speedily become convinced of the impracticability of the king's plans. At first, like all his colleagues, he had had a perfectly open mind upon the constitutional question. At times the Mecklenburg constitution seemed to him altogether admirable, whilst at other times he entertained, as did Radowitz,[1] the innocent hope that the increasing activities of the provincial diets would soon put an end to all thoughts of a national assembly. But as he became more intimately acquainted with the problem, the sober conviction was forced upon him that the reconstruction of the representative system must be founded upon a firm and unassailable legal basis. In April, 1844, therefore, he proposed that from the individual voters of the estate of nobles and from elected deputies of the provincial diets there should be constituted a Reichstag of about one hundred and sixty members, which should meet at regular intervals of three years to discuss new taxes and new legislation and to vote new loans. Thus all the pledges in the laws of 1815 to 1823 would be conscientiously fulfilled and every legal liability would be discharged. But if, as the monarch designed, the competences of a national assembly were to be divided between the united committees and a united diet, the people would refuse to regard either of these bodies as a national assembly. In that event

[1] Radowitz' Report, July 22, 1843.

there would ensue "all the disadvantages of the complete fulfilment of the aforesaid laws without any of the advantages." [1] This was the language of sound sense, and before three years had elapsed Arnim's forecast was to be realised. The king, however, who had so brilliant a comprehension of everything lofty and refined, failed most conspicuously when he had to do with matters that were simple and easily understood. Arnim's proposals were rejected, and on May 17th he tendered his resignation. In two addresses he candidly described the causes of the existing confusion, saying that the king had aroused great expectations by his first speeches, but had "contemplated a very different course of development from that which the majority of his hearers had conceived as his meaning." Misunderstandings had thus originated; these had led to fierce attacks, which had been countered by repressive measures; now at length a general lack of confidence prevailed. A further trouble was the want of unanimity in the ministry, and yet another was the high feeling upon the religious question, a feeling quite unwarranted, but one that had been fostered by the government's own measures.[2]

By kindly persuasion Arnim was prevailed upon to withdraw his resignation; and now began a new series of secret parleyings, interminable and purposeless, seeing that the king was absolutely determined that his favourite design should not be meddled with by men upon whom he looked down from his exalted position. Bunsen was asked for a formal opinion during his visit to Berlin, and since the task was greatly facilitated by his entire ignorance of Prussian affairs, his creative imagination was speedily delivered of several memorials, dealing not only with the representative system, but also with the crown lands, ecclesiastical policy, the rights of the officialdom, and the renovation of the nobility after the English model. General Canitz, who was likewise summoned from his embassy to give counsel, submitted these vaporous effusions to trenchant criticism, but had no suggestions of his own to offer.[3]

A horrible experience now came to warn the king how serious were the times. During the past two years there had been numerous rumours current in the royal cabinet concerning

[1] Arnim, Memorial concerning the representative system, April, 1844.
[2] Arnim, Address to the king, May 26; Memorial, May 25, 1844.
[3] Canitz to Thile, November 24, 1844; Thile to Arnim, April 5, 1845.

plans to assassinate the monarch, rumours supported in some cases by direct testimony. These stories had all proved void of foundation, and yet they had not been without significance, for they showed how passionate was the interest, now hostile, now loving, with which this one man was regarded. But at length was to happen a thing utterly unprecedented in the history of Prussia. On July 26, 1844, when the king was entering his carriage at the portals of the palace, about to journey to Silesia, two pistol shots were fired at him at short range. Both were well aimed, but marvellously enough the injuries inflicted were trifling, for the thick folds of his cloak broke the force of the bullets. The assassin was the ex-burgomaster of Storkow, Tschech by name, son of a respected pastor. He was a hard man, obstinately self-righteous, sinister in his impeccability. For nearly half a century, he had lived in full confidence of his freedom from all offence, having been ever satisfied to follow no guide but his own conviction. His contentious and dictatorial ways had embroiled him with the municipal council and the local Landrat, so that in the end he had resigned in a tantrum. He then asked for a position in the state service, and as his utterly unwarranted request met with the refusal it merited, he imagined, not merely that his own rights had been refused, but that all justice in the state was at an end. He lodged petitions with the heir to the throne, with the queen, and with the king. Met here, too, with a refusal, he resolved, as a just man acting in God's name, to punish the monarch. He made his preparations tranquilly and with an easy conscience, and just before the deed he had his portrait taken by one of the daguerreotypists who had recently opened shops in every German town. The picture shows him in a melodramatic attitude, with one hand uplifted to invoke aid from above. While in prison he invariably maintained the coldness of the fanatic, whilst exhibiting a perfect clarity of understanding.

Tschech had never belonged to any party. Strictly speaking his was not a political crime, but unquestionably it was born of the spirit of the time. It gave expression to that audacious subjective exaltation, that contempt for all authority and for everything that imposes order on human life, which since the days of the jacobins and the unconditionals had been conspicuous amid all the transformations of modern radicalism. For this reason the public judgment of the atrocity was far

from being confident and unanimous. It is true that a very large majority of Prussians, loyal in spirit, were greatly enraged, and yet a repulsive pleasure was manifest in innumerable utterances, allusions, and artfully phrased newspaper articles. The coming revolution was already heralded; authority was losing its prestige; regicide was no longer a name of terror. A ballad widely circulated in Berlin, "Was ever man so bold as Burgomaster Tschech?" dragged down the sinister occurrence into the gutter, the spiteful jests upon the pious royal pair sounding almost as if the ballad singer deplored that "the infamous assassin" had failed. In the inflammatory writings of the refugees across the border this regret found open expression. Upon the final page of his latest pamphlet Carl Heinzen had nothing but the question, set out in large type, "Tschech?!" After his escape, which he ascribed to divine intervention, Frederick William had from Erdmannsdorf paid a visit to Wang church half way up the Schneekoppe, and there, in penitent mood, overwhelmed by the grace of God, had offered up his prayer of thanksgiving. In this melting frame of mind he would gladly have shown clemency to the criminal, for it seemed to him ignoble to play the judge in his own cause.

In this instance, however, his ministers at length proved unanimous. They were aware of the growing weakness of the crown, and they felt that the royal authority would be lowered in all men's eyes unless such treason were to be treated with the utmost rigour of the law. In a moving letter, the veteran Boyen was the first to lay these sentiments before the monarch, and though he did not give any tangible advice, he expressed himself as profoundly grieved on account of the widespread disaffection of the people and because of the errors of the government. "It is the greatest mistake," he wrote, "to imagine that we can run counter as we please to the developmental tendencies of the age, or that we can publicly dictate to public opinion after the manner of a schoolmaster." [1] Since the prince of Prussia and the ministers made common cause with Boyen, and since at Tschech's trial no extenuating circumstances whatever could be alleged, Frederick William ultimately recognised that justice must take its course. He made one more attempt in December, conveying an intimation to Tschech that clemency would be shown him

[1] Boyen to the king, August 3, 1844.

if he would acknowledge the wrongful nature of his act, but the condemned man remained stubborn. At last, in a full ministerial council, the king signed the death warrant with the tears streaming from his eyes, and he instructed his intimate, President Kleist, to inform the criminal that Frederick William would pray for Tschech as a brother in Christ.

Severity was all too needful, for in the cultured circles of Berlin there now prevailed, thanks to the poisonous gossip of these years, a disorder of sentiment which set right at defiance. Varnhagen and his friends said they could not believe that in this enlightened century such a barbarity as the proposed execution would be possible. In emotionally phrased articles, unquestionably for the most part emanating from these circles, the king was reminded of the good example set by Louis Philippe and by Victoria, who in similar cases had invariably shown clemency. Such people hardly realised that the crown of the Hohenzollerns was of a somewhat different character from the shadow monarchy of these bepraised western rulers. When the inevitable happened, the king was declared to be blood-stained, and once more the crowd laid all the blame on the prince of Prussia. A Berlin street ballad, obviously composed by a man of education, contained the following lines:

To us it was a grievous shock
That Tschech must die upon the block.
Our pious ruler, oh, so good,
For naught has shed a martyr's blood.
In the Opera House it may be seen:
But the king—you may let him go hang. Hurrah!

The criminal's daughter was left unprovided for, and the king graciously intervened on her behalf, having her boarded at his own cost in the family of a good Westphalian pastor. The girl, however, was of a rebellious spirit, having been infected with her father's ideas, and she looked upon the act of kindness as a punishment. With the connivance of a Badenese liberal named Hecker she fled to Alsace and thence to Switzerland, where Rauschenplatt and Dulk welcomed her into the secret society of the extremists among the demagogues. She then wrote a life of her father, one of the most nefarious books of these days of confusion. Regicide was here represented as the simplest and most obvious thing in

the world, whilst the true criminal was the cruel judge who passed sentence on the accused. Whilst the refugees were thus penning wild invectives against the assize of blood in Berlin, Otto von Gerlach preached a soul-stirring sermon to his congregation in the church of St. Elizabeth, taking as his text, "There is a curse upon thee, O Israel." During the condemned man's last days, Gerlach had given him ghostly counsel, so lovingly that even Tschech had been a trifle softened. With this impression still fresh in his mind, the preacher boldly painted the crime in its true colours, describing it as an act of personal vengeance and at the same time an indication of the overweening presumption of the age. Not a word overstepped the limits of truth, not a word betrayed fanaticism, but when Gerlach, urged thereto by his deeply moved hearers, wished to print the sermon, the alarmed authorities refused permission. They were afraid that the general excitement would be increased if a resolute man were to lay his finger upon the open sore—though it was beyond their power to hinder the demagogues' revilings from making their way freely across the Prussian frontier. Thus the embarrassments of the government continually increased, and concomitantly there waxed the boldness of the revolutionary party. Should further advance be made along this route, a peaceful solution would prove impossible.

Frederick William realised this, and now began in real earnest the elaboration of his plans for a constitution. On a journey through Austria he had a conversation on the subject with Metternich, to whom fuller details were subsequently sent through the envoy Canitz; but, as might have been foreseen, Metternich's only response took the form of respectful dissuasion. Frederick William did not really want advice from the Austrian; all he desired was to pour out his heart before the honoured statesman whom he regarded as Prussia's warmest friend, to demonstrate to the chancellor the indispensability of the proposed reforms. Upon his return, having at length thought out his plan, on December 24, 1844, he sent his instructions to the ministerial council. In the first place, he wished to retain the provincial diets with the right of discussing provincial affairs; secondly, the united committees were to meet at regular intervals in Berlin to discuss general legislation; thirdly and finally, he proposed, from time to time and at his own

discretion, to summon all the provincial diets to constitute a united diet, for this body, in accordance with the ancient rights of the German estates, was in time of peace to vote new loans and taxes, and perhaps to discuss general legislation. Within this great diet a species of upper house was to be constituted, deliberating jointly with the whole body of the estates, but voting separately. The king hoped that the first meeting of the united diets would take place during the year 1847, perhaps in tranquil Brandenburg. This was his long cherished design, which had been suggested to him by his tutor Ancillon in the days of his nonage. How terrible were the humiliations which the unsuspecting man was to experience before a Prussian parliament was actually to assemble in Brandenburg!

Who could fail to recognise the magnanimity of Frederick William's intentions? He spontaneously went far beyond his father's pledges, for the late ruler had never thought of granting the right of supply to the estates, which were to be purely deliberative. Yet how complicated, overladen, and clumsy was the plan, with its veiled bicameral system, its bloated Reichstag, which was not even sure of being regularly summoned, its artificial distribution of the competencies of a national assembly in part to the united committees and in part to the united diet, a device which, as Arnim had prophesied, could not fail to result in universal confusion of ideas. But the most dangerous feature of the whole scheme was its failure to accord perfectly with the pledges of the earlier laws. The innovations, though unimportant, were arbitrary, and unless they were embodied in an unassailable legislative form there threatened to arise a legal dispute with the future national assembly, a dispute which could not fail to be exacerbated by the obstinate litigiousness of the Germans.

Meanwhile the king had sent Prince Metternich a further exposition of his designs, contained in a lengthy despatch which it had taken him an entire month to compose.[1] The strange contention is here raised that Prussia was suffering from a threefold malady, brought about because the laws of 1815, 1820, and 1823, respectively, were mutually contradictory.

[1] This letter of November 8 to December 8, 1844, was published verbatim in the Kölnische Zeitung during August, 1888, but the reprint does not contain certain sentences found in the holograph draft. These may perhaps have been struck out at the last moment.

In reality the only source of the trouble was to be found in the doctrinairism of the king, who had brooded so long over the wording of these laws that he had discovered in them contradictions which an energetic and resolute statesman would hardly have noticed. He purposed, therefore, to abandon the first pledge, that of 1815, because this contained the inadmissible expression "territorial representation." The national debt law of 1820 was to be "regulated" in that the national assembly was to have the right of voting new loans in time of peace only. On the other hand, the provincial diets' law of 1823 was to be carried out in full. Following his usual custom, he was very emphatic in explaining what he did not want: "It is my definite resolve that there shall be: 1, *no national representation*; 2, *no* CHARTE; 3, NO *periodical fever, that is to say, periodical Reichstags*; 4, no Reichstag elections . . . because I wish to remain king of Prussia, because I will not overthrow Prussia's position in Europe." He hoped thereby "EXPRESSLY and WITH A LIGHT HEART to avert any further desire *for progress in accordance with the theories of the day.*" He was especially delighted that by the summoning of the united diet the united committees would be "placed upon a level surface" (this is a playful allusion to an earlier warning from Metternich), and would no longer be able to aim at an expansion of their rights: "*totally defunct* is the crafty design of making the periodical sittings of the committees gravitate by their own weight into the Reichstag's category." Unfortunately he failed to perceive that by his own act the united diet was being placed upon a steep slope, for it was inevitable that so large an assembly equipped with rights of so much importance should at least insist on being summoned at regular intervals. It was owing to the failure to summon the diets that the representative institutions of the Prussian crown lands had in earlier days perished almost without exception.

Vainly did Arnim beg the king not to send his effusion until the decision in Prussia had been taken. "Will not the Austrian chancellor," he wrote, "utilise for the advantage of Austria this open description of Prussian affairs from the pen of the Prussian sovereign; will he not avail himself of it to impair Prussia's prestige; will he not communicate its contents to other governments?"[1] The letter was despatched to Metternich; and since the king would no longer be advised,

[1] Arnim to the king, December 13, 1844.

he did not hesitate to communicate his designs to Czar Nicholas as well, and also to the king of Würtemberg, the Nestor of the German constitutionalist rulers. Metternich's reply was a mere reiteration of previous warnings, and both the monarchs answered in like sense. King William repeatedly assured the Prussian envoy that the constitutionalist dreams of his youth had been thoroughly dispelled. "These institutions," he was fond of saying, "are a foreign growth, and I can only do my utmost to make them as harmless as possible." [1] Nicholas was greatly enraged when the trusty Rauch first informed him of his brother-in-law's intentions. It seemed to him that the revolution was already knocking at the door, and to the generals who were being sent to the provinces upon recruiting work he said: "I deplore that it is necessary to lay such heavy burdens upon my people, but the course of events in the realm of my western neighbour compel me to be prepared for all eventualities." In St. Petersburg society the old germanophobia reasserted itself, Nesselrode and the whole of the aristocratic world railing against Prussian demagogy. The envoys of our minor courts assured the czar with their habitual servility that Prussia was alone responsible for keeping the German world uneasy. Nicholas was so little able to control his temper that when passing through Tilsit he confided to Nernst, a Prussian frontier official, his neighbourly anxieties concerning the Prussian innovations. When called to account for what he had said, a shamefaced denial of his words was the only way out of the difficulty.[2]

These warnings from outsiders made no impression upon the king, but he was profoundly mortified when the heir to the throne, who was not informed until December of what was in progress, candidly expressed his concern in a detailed communication, and reminded his brother that by the terms of their father's will it was necessary to consult the agnates (January, 1845). To Frederick William this communication seemed lacking in respect. Manifestly affronted, he administered to the prince a sharp and wholly undeserved reproof, and rejoined that it was his intention to carry out his plans, for the agnates had no right of veto.[3] He was actually afraid, though, as

[1] Rochow's Reports, Stuttgart, January 5 and April 30, 1845.

[2] Liebermann's Reports, February 4, March 14 and 18; Rochow to Canitz, St. Petersburg, August 19 and 24, 1845.

[3] The archives contain merely an undated draft of this despatch.

soon appeared, the dread was groundless, lest the heir to the throne should enter a formal protest, and he therefore instructed Savigny to report on the matter, and in addition asked for opinions from two notable jurists (presumably Heffter and Eichhorn the historian of law). The minister's report and the two legal opinions agreed in the view that since the late king's will had never been completed there was no legal ground on which the agnates could protest against the constitutionalist legislation. A communication to this effect was sent to the prince of Prussia, and for a long time thereafter he was completely excluded from the discussions on the constitution.

In the interim Count Arnim, too, had become ever more keenly aware that he could no longer follow the king. He had elaborated a legislative proposal in accordance with Frederick William's designs, but ventured yet another time to propound his own ideas. Since it was now settled that the united diets were to be summoned, Arnim advised the immediate introduction of a definite bicameral system, the creation of organs which would respectively represent the conservative and the progressive factors in political life; for since western ideas were indubitably making their way eastward, it was necessary to take precautions against the overthrow of the state. He desired that the second chamber should be elected upon an extended franchise, so that culture, commerce, and industry should all be represented. But above all he reiterated the demand for legal guarantees on behalf of the new institutions, and therefore urged that the united diet should be summoned at regular intervals. Failing this, he said, suspicions, doubts, and encroachments would be interminable.[1] The king, however, had a particular dislike for the regular summoning of the representative assembly, regarding this as a revolutionary idea; he feared he might forfeit his royal dignity unless this body were to be entirely subject to his will, and he said bitterly, "Arnim has produced a draft which I might have expected from Flottwell, but never from him." At an audience on May 21, 1845, matters became considerably strained, and for the second time Arnim made up his mind that he must beg leave to resign.

His name was now in the worst possible odour among the liberals. During this very May, Itzstein and Hecker, the leading Badenese parliamentarians, were expelled from Berlin

[1] Arnim's Memorials, May 13, 14, and 23, 1845.

on the ground that they contemplated a pleasure trip through the cities of Prussia. For at that epoch no one had ever heard of a South German who desired change of air proposing to visit Berlin and Königsberg. Even Welcker, by no means so advanced a radical, had aroused the suspicions of the police four years earlier when he came to Berlin for a family festival. Having outstripped the bounds of discretion in a serenade speech, he had been compelled to beat a hasty retreat. On the present occasion, official enquiries were promptly instituted to ascertain what might be these tourists' secret designs, and it soon transpired that they were making inflammatory speeches at middle-class assemblies in the towns through which they passed, and that they were endeavouring to form permanent ties. Hecker, moreover, had been the primary helper in the flight of Tschech's daughter. When Itzstein had a rencounter in Berlin with Count Reichenbach from Silesia, a fanatical radical, obviously to discuss the plan of campaign, Arnim immediately issued the order of expulsion. The proceeding was perfectly legal, for in accordance with the excellent federal law the Badenese were foreigners in Prussia—but it was extremely injudicious. Before long a cry of fury was raised by the liberal press, and this did far more harm than could have been effected by the oratory of the deportees. An *Address of German Prussians*, ostensibly printed in Cologne, thanked the two travellers, "for they have given our much admired government a splendid chance of displaying its true feelings. For the first time these feelings have secured a perfectly frank expression, for the first time they have spoken from the heart without periphrases, for they have spoken Russian" Johannes Scherr hastened to add a postscript to his vulgar book, *The Real Prussia*, writing as follows: "The harrying of Itzstein and Hecker out of Sand-Jerusalem and all Borussian lands—beyond question this brutal piece of police churlishness, commanded by exalted authority, is a magnificent prelude to the promised puppet show, A Prussian Constitution." On their return home the travellers were consoled for their misadventure at a banquet attended by the faithful, and in vigorous toasts the patriots vented their wrath at Prussian tyranny. Arnim believed himself to have done only what was necessary, but in his chivalrous devotion he desired to shield the monarch's person from the storm of indignation, and he

[1] Arnim to Thile, May 22, 1845.

therefore begged the king to reconcile himself with the liberals by expressing disapproval of the expulsion order and by dismissing the minister who had been responsible for it.[1] This offer was of course rejected, but since Arnim none the less resigned, it was generally believed that he had fallen victim to his reactionary sentiments. No one suspected how liberal had been this much-abused man's attitude in the matter of the plans for a constitution.

The king accepted Arnim's resignation ungraciously, for as an absolute sovereign he could ill tolerate independence of mind even in the chief among his servants.[2] The vacated office was conferred on Bodelschwingh, who at the same time had to report to the king as cabinet minister, thus securing the predominant position among his colleagues, though he modestly described himself as "his majesty's first reporter." As late as July a small committee of thoroughly devoted men was to meet for the elaboration of the plan for a constitution in precise accordance with the monarch's instructions. The prince of Prussia was ignored, and the minister of adverse views had been dismissed. After the lost five years, Frederick William hoped that the days of fulfilment were at length in sight, the days wherein his great representative monarchy would put to shame the constitutionalist abortions of the age. His crew seemed willing; he believed himself to be steering a true course; and he was confident that the tiller would not be wrenched from his vigorous hand.

[1] Thile to Bodelschwingh, June 11, 1845.
[2] Thile's Report to the king, July 8, 1845.

APPENDIXES

TO

VOL. VI.

XXVII.—MURDER OF THE STUDENT LESSING.

(APPENDIX TO P. 137, VOL. VI.)

THE enigmatic murder of the alleged spy Lessing took place in the year 1835. Concerning this matter I could when writing the text do no more than express a *non liquet*, for the scanty outcome of the legal enquiries (which were most carelessly conducted) seemed to me quite as untrustworthy as the polemic of the numerous partisan writings issued after the crime. Recently, however, in the privy state archives of Berlin, I have discovered a number of documents which at least throw definite light upon Lessing's personality and political conduct. I here summarise the principal contents of these papers.

The Prussian minister for police was aware of the impending Frankfort rising several months in advance. He furnished detailed communications to the foreign office, and these were transmitted to Frankfort. After the event, in a report to the king under date May 26, 1834, the ministers Kamptz, Mühler, and Rochow declared that "with careful observation" it would have been possible to discover everything. They had expected "that the Frankfort authorities would take precautionary measures. But nothing of the kind was done. Even after definite and detailed indications had been furnished to the town council in Frankfort-on-the-Main on the day of the rising, this body could not be induced to take the necessary steps." The statement confirms the opinion I expressed in vol. V, p. 364, that the storming of the watch on April 3, 1833, was not furthered by deliberate calculation on the part of the federal envoys, but arose merely through the slackness

of the Frankfort authorities. In view of the weakness displayed by the South German police, the Prussian government considered that greater watchfulness on its own part was essential. As early as April 14, 1833, a cabinet order was issued commissioning the ministers Wittgenstein, Lottum, and Brenn "to undertake continuous confidential discussions" concerning the Frankfort rising.

After various police measures had been effected, Minister Brenn reported that on November 6th the student Ludwig Lessing from Freienwalde-on-the-Oder, of the Jewish persuasion, arrested for political intrigues, had volunteered certain "disclosures" The king thereupon decreed (Cabinet Order to Brenn, November 9, 1833) that if Lessing's reports were confirmed, the young man was "to go entirely unpunished, and to be furnished with support for the continuance of his studies." A prolonged examination ensued, and on January 11, 1834, a report was sent in to the effect that Lessing had furnished the desired trustworthy indications. The king thereupon commanded (Cabinet Order, January 18, 1834, to Brenn, Kamptz, and Mühler) that two hundred thalers should be provided for Lessing's expenses during the current academic year, and approved the suggestion of the student's employment "in the manner you have proposed." On February 11th Lessing was discharged (Terminal Protocol of February 11th). Gerlach, chief superintendent of police, exhorted him to be discreetly silent about the investigation, and to keep clear of intrigues; he issued a ministerial passport to Carlsruhe, adding briefly that later Lessing would perhaps travel to Switzerland, Italy, or France. (Gerlach's Report to Brenn, March 10, 1834.)

It is thus unquestionable that Lessing was a Prussian spy, just as the notorious Conseil was a spy of Louis Philippe, and that his sole object in frequenting the Young German meetings in Switzerland was to glean information for the authorities. It may further be concluded with considerable probability, as was widely believed at the time, that the murder of Lessing was the outcome of political vengeance on the part of Young Germany. It must be remembered that the corpse had been rifled. But among the members of the Young German organisation in Zurich there were several persons who were utterly depraved, and it is therefore by no means impossible that the murderer or murderers, after slaying a political enemy,

would not miss the chance of petty larceny. Aldinger, a Jew from Würtemberg was accused of the murder. One of the most zealous members of Young Germany, a man of thoroughly bad character, he passed in Zurich by the name of "Baron von Eyb." Though there were grounds for strong suspicion, no convincing proof of his guilt could be discovered.

But among the odious details of this affair, the most astonishing is that the Prussian embassy in Switzerland knew nothing of Lessing's connection with the police. On November 2, 1834, Secretary to Legation von Olfers sent from Berne to the foreign office a list of the Germans who were implicated in the Swiss intrigues. The ninth name on this list is that of the student Ludwig Lessing, ringleader in the working men's clubs, with the naïve annotation, "some of the working men regard him as a police spy." After the murder, Rochow the envoy, reporting from Zurich under date November 6, 1835, wrote nonchalantly about the sinister affair: "Some contend that the victim is a Prussian subject, but the man never reported himself, and we have no information." It is obvious that Lessing's reports must have been sent direct to Berlin without the knowledge of the embassy. They went perhaps to the well-known privy councillor von Tzschoppe, whose name is several times mentioned in these documents, though only in connection with the discharge of ordinary official duties. Rochow's happy ignorance endured for a considerable time. When it transpired that Lessing was a Prussian, and when the Berlin government, which had good grounds for its opinion, declared the murder to be the outcome of political vengeance, the envoy was instructed to do his utmost to secure the punishment of those responsible for the crime. (Despatch from the three ministers to Ancillon, January 31, 1836.) Rochow complained bitterly at having to undertake this unsavoury and almost dishonourable investigation, and expressed the opinion that the examining magistrate was more concerned to learn who Lessing had been than to discover who had killed him. Not until the very last, when the trial had ended in the conditional acquittal of Aldinger, does Rochow (who seems in general to have been well informed concerning political movements in Switzerland and South Germany) appear to have received an official hint. He now wrote as follows: "Swiss radicals regarded the murdered man as a Prussian spy and agent provocateur, but the public will find that there exist only

grounds for suspicion of Lessing, no proofs. The unsuccessful issue of the enquiry is due to special causes—to the way in which certain influential persons are associated with political sects" (Rochow's Report, August 13, 1837.) The whole correspondence shows convincingly that the government of an honourable state is compelled to act behind the backs of its own officials when it wishes to avail itself of the two-edged weapons employed by a secret political police.

XXVIII.—MOOD OF THE WÜRTEMBERG OPPOSITION.

(APPENDIX TO PP. 164 ET SEQ., VOL. VI.)

The sentiments of Swabian liberals at the close of the thirties find eloquent expression in a letter addressed by Friedrich Römer to his constituents in Geislingen. I quote the main passages.

Gentlemen. . . . It is needless for me to give any detailed account of my actions in parliament, for you will at least have learned from the newspapers the votes I have given, and will consequently understand the spirit by which I have been guided. Nor need I trouble to assure you that my votes have invariably been dictated by my *convictions*.

Are these convictions yours also? . . . I cannot be certain, but I venture to believe that my speeches and actions have accorded with *your* wishes.

Were it otherwise, had I failed to represent *your* wishes, my votes, being the fruit of my convictions, would still have been the same.

The very obstinacy with which I cling to what I consider right makes me quite unfit for the position of popular representative in Würtemberg.

Whatever the political views of the Geislingen electors, of this much I am certain, that the majority of the people do not share *my* opinions. *My* political creed is based upon the conviction that the reestablishment, or rather the establishment, of the legal order which has been disturbed since 1819, constitutes the first and most sacred duty of the popular representative. I consider it not merely within his competence but a duty to which he is pledged, to withhold from a

government which has infringed the constitution the means by which its illegal system is sustained.

It is true that this view conflicts with the decrees of the Germanic Federation, but precisely for that reason did we resist those decrees as unconstitutional. The question, important as it is, cannot here be subjected to a fuller examination. It is, however, a fact that even those deputies who are generally regarded as liberal opposed the parliamentary discussion of the aforesaid decrees, notwithstanding the decisive and enduring influence the decrees exercise upon our constitutionalist conditions.

Assuredly these deputies acted in accordance with the wishes of their constituents, but a parliamentary representative's vote should be guided by his own convictions as well as by the wishes of his constituents. . . . Far be it from me to recommend such extreme measures as the refusal to vote supply so long as there is still hope that gentler measures may suffice.

But since it must be admitted that as far as concerns all the more important public affairs, the government did not merely fail to display any willingness to make concessions, but was inclined rather to regard the onslaughts of the opposition as so many malicious infringements of governmental *rights*, it is obvious that there was ample justification for recourse to extreme measures.

Can it be harmonised with the existing right to refuse supply that we should vote funds for a government which withholds from the public the means that are alone competent to awaken and to sustain a constitutionalist order? Can we vote funds for the payment of the censor who refuses to permit the printing of passages relating to the rights of citizens? Can we vote the salary of the policeman who suppresses a political meeting? Can we vote the livelihood of the judge who punishes resistance to such oppression?

These considerations were disregarded, and so completely did the estates approve the conduct of the administration, that the opposition secured no more than nineteen votes! . . . During my parliamentary career I frequently had occasion to observe with concern how in almost all questions of notable interest the Germanic Federation is brought before us as a bogey. Should the opposition, in view of the profound peace, suggest a reduction of military estimates, there is at once raised the cry, "the Federation!" Should the opposition, after

pointing out that the diplomatic status of the kingdom is insignificant, ask that the expenses of the foreign office should be curtailed, once more comes the cry, "the Federation!" Should we appeal to the constitution against the censorship, the answer is, "the Federation!"

Should we venture to attack the Federation itself, thrice reiterated comes the reply, "the Federation!"

Thus do all endeavours to bring about a better state of affairs miscarry through dread of the Federation. . . . I am well aware of the objections that are raised to the principles of the opposition. The view widely prevails, and it is a view shared by not a few well-disposed persons, that Würtemberg is not strong enough to withstand the influence of the absolutist great states in the Federation.

But let those who make such an excuse for our government remember that it involves the condemnation of the lesser states. For a state which, with the best will in the world, is powerless to do what in its fundamental laws it has declared to be right, has no rational claim to existence.

In my opinion, however, the above contention is invalid.

I believe that neither Austria nor Prussia would intervene should it please one of the constitutionalist governments of Germany to rule in accordance with the prescriptions of the constitution. Upon what pretext could the intervention be made? It would be an act of violence whose consequences would assuredly recoil upon its originators. Besides, there is nothing which the great states dread more to-day than they dread anything that might give rise to a disturbance of peace.

Again, a return to legalism, even should it first be undertaken by but one country, would necessarily exercise a favourable influence upon all other constitutionalist lands, for the given example would demonstrate to governments and peoples the possibility of a properly regulated and liberal legal order.

The endeavours to secure the establishment of a single *popular chamber* could not fail in the end to be crowned by success, when the aim was pursued with tenacity, no longer by a weak minority but by an imposing majority. In Würtemberg, it is true, there is no present prospect of such success, and it is this distressing certainty that has determined the opposition to refrain from the renewal of fruitless attempts.

We shall doubtless hear the reproach,

"You are abandoning the people";

we shall be told,

"If you cannot do any good you might at least avert harm"

people will assure us.

"Your words will not be lost; even if for the moment they should seem to fall on barren ground, in due course the seed will come to fruition."

Those who so long as we continued our efforts covered us with contumely and abuse, will lead the ranks of our critics. Well-meaning persons will, however, be wise to bear in mind that in default of publicity not even a moral effect can be secured. It is useless to tell me that the sittings of the chamber of deputies are open. Who attend the debates? Ten or fifteen members of the general public, and a few reporters, whose reports (in part owing to the censorship and in part owing to the writer's individual taste) are so imperfect, so distorted, and so partisan, that it would often be preferable had the public learned nothing through such channels as to the doings of the opposition.

If we attempt to draw attention to the falsification of reports, the censor intervenes whenever the reports we have to complain of have concerned prohibited matters.

The result is that to secure the boasted publicity nothing remains but the minutes.

But who reads these? Who can be expected to search for grain amid such a mass of chaff? . . .

The sentiment in favour of publicity has been so blunted that even the memory of a better past has vanished. It is no longer necessary to succumb to oppressive feelings of shame, but whoso pleases can follow undismayed the promptings of his first impulse. Stillborn, therefore is every attempt to discuss the position of the Federation, the relationships of the press, the ordinances concerning political associations and political meetings, the freedom of elections to the diet—stillborn, in a word, are attempts to discuss any of the necessary conditions of constitutionalist life. . . . Whatever the reason, we are justified in contending that *the electors* look upon the choice of a deputy not as a *privilege* but as a *burden*.

How could it be otherwise, seeing that since 1819 they have had no chance of gaining personal experience of the

blessings of the constitution? The finances of Würtemberg are flourishing, there is no reason to fear that the administration will make a bad use of national property, the government desires the welfare of its subjects; and if only these were allowed to form independent opinions in politics and to take effective action thereon, Würtembergers would have no just cause to complain.

Dissatisfaction because *this* aspiration is now unfulfilled is by no means universal. The less influential members of the public have so profound a consciousness of political insignificance that in the restricted circles wherein alone such persons are able to move there exists no demand for representation by an opposition which in the absence of spiritual freedom cannot enjoy material prosperity.

Such is my firm conviction, and by such considerations have I been led to form my present resolution.

I shall continue to do all in my power to promote my country's weal; I shall not fail to work whenever I can hope to be of use; but in existing circumstances I could not accept election as deputy even should you wish to honour me with your suffrages.

F. ROMER.

STUTTGART, *November* 1, 1838.

XXIX.—AUTOGRAPH LETTERS OF KING ERNEST AUGUSTUS.

(APPENDIX TO PP. 194 AND 203, VOL. VI.)

A despatch to Schele under date July 7, 1837, concerning the objections made by the ministry of state to the patent of July 5th begins as follows:

"After I have heard and read the objections. . . . I consider it beneath my dignity to leave any doubt open concerning my true meaning and intention, and the patent I have issued therefore remains in force."

Concerning the petition of the seven of Göttingen the king wrote to Schele under date Rotenkirchen, November 28, 1837:

"From its contents I have learned, and especially from the passage wherein the professors, after the annulment of

the state fundamental law, presume to regard it as in a sense still valid and to desire to maintain it, from their refusal to recognise a constitution which might be legally established by constitutional methods and by agreement between myself and the estates of the year 1819, and in addition from the way in which they speak of a criminal infringement of their oath—I have learned from these things, and it is obvious, that they are displaying a revolutionary and treasonable tendency for which they are personally accountable. They would seem to have brought themselves within the grasp of the criminal law. I do not doubt that the responsible authorities will do all in their power to nip this commencing criminality in the bud and to bring the guilty to punishment."

XXX.—EXTRACT FROM THE PRIVATE MEMORANDA OF KING FREDERICK WILLIAM III.

(APPENDIX TO P. 286, VOL. VI.)

In the well-regulated administration, in the council of state, in the provincial diets, in the towns' ordinance, and in the communal constitutions, my subjects possess guarantees for the undisturbed maintenance of law and order. I have freely granted them these institutions, and have maintained unimpaired the authority and power of the throne.

Upon the unrestricted character of the monarchical authority mainly reposes Prussia's position in the general system of states. Since any weakening of this fundamental prop of the monarchy would affect the monarchy itself and make it unstable, I hereby decree that no future ruler shall be entitled, without the approval of all the agnates, to make any changes or innovations in the royal house, whereby an alteration in the existing constitution of the state may be effected or initiated, above all in respect of representative institutions and the restriction of the royal authority.

In the ordinance of the year 1820 relating to the national debt I commanded that if at any time in the future the state should find it necessary for its maintenance or for the furtherance of the general welfare to proceed to the issue of a new loan, this should be done only with the approval of the future national assembly and under joint guarantees

from that body. Should, in the circumstances mentioned, and while I continue to wear the crown, the necessity arise for summoning such a national assembly, I shall construct it out of the provincial diets. . . . From each of the four estates of each provincial diet one deputy shall be elected by a majority vote of the plenum of the assembly. . . . These deputies from the provincial diets are to be reinforced by an equal number of members of the council of state, nominated by myself; the proceedings of this assembly, whose president I shall appoint, will be guided by the standing orders of the council of state. I shall never submit to such an assembly any other questions than the one here specified. . . . It is my command to my successor on the throne that his conduct shall be guided by these prescriptions. These decrees shall be regarded as a domestic law.

XXXI.—TREITSCHKE'S PREFACE TO THE FIFTH VOLUME OF THE GERMAN EDITION.

[In the English edition, the matter corresponding to this volume begins with the chapter entitled "The Happy Days of Expectation," and ends with the end of Vol. VII, the close of the work.]

The continuation of this book has been retarded owing to my having been affected by an obstinate disorder of the eyes, and I can only hope that it will not be patent to my readers how difficult work has at times been to me.

This volume owes even more than its predecessors to the assistance of friendly readers. Without their kindly help, many occurrences would have been unintelligible to me solely from the information furnished by official sources, and I therefore take this opportunity of earnestly begging for similar private information to help me in the description of the revolutionary years. My task grows increasingly difficult as the narration draws nearer to the present.

With the best will in the world, one difficulty was insuperable. In an age of reflected culture the life of the broad masses of the people ever remains mysterious, and however much light the historian may throw by his casual explanations, economic, political, and religious, in the end he can merely record the simple fact that the age was ripe for revolution.

The history of these eight years affects us like an overwhelming tragedy. It opens with high resolves, brilliant hopes, and extravagant dreams, to close almost everywhere with lamentable failures and inevitable collapse. He who has to record such events must not attempt by the assumption of a poise of distinguished equanimity to annul the tragic significance of the epoch with which he has to deal.

Much misused to-day is the saying, *sine ira et studio*—an utterance that no one was less inclined to follow than its author. The historian should be just and candid; he should disregard the susceptibilities of courts; he should remain unaffrighted by the passion, mightier to-day than that of courts, the passion of the cultured mob. But just as it is certain that man understands only what he loves, so also is it certain that none but one with strong feelings, one to whom the destinies of his fatherland seem like joys and sorrows that have been personally experienced, can furnish convincing truth to historical narration. In this emotional force, and not merely in perfection of form, do we discern the greatness of the historians of antiquity.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE.

BERLIN, *August* 10, 1894.

XXXII.—EUROPEAN POLICY OF CZAR NICHOLAS.

(APPENDIX TO P. 435, VOL. VI.)

I have to thank my friend Theodor Schiemann for a knowledge of the remarkable statement concerning Russia's foreign policy drawn up by Count Nesselrode on the occasion of Czar Nicholas' jubilee. I am informed that a Russian translation of this document has recently been published in the *Russkaja Starina*, but since in this form the memorial is practically hidden from the Germans, my readers will be glad to see the French original, which has hitherto been entirely unknown.

1825–1850.

Sire, Vingt-cinq années viennent de s'écouler depuis que V.M. a pris en main le timon de l'Empire.

Elles out été riches et fécondes en événemens politiques importans pour le monde et pour la Russie.

Ouvert au dedans sous les auspices de la fermeté et du courage personnel, Votre règne s'annonçait non moins digne au dehors.

Le premier acte politique de V.M.I. fut dicté par la religion et l'humanité.

Vos correligionnaires de Grèce allaient succomber à la ruine inévitable dont les menaçait le glaive Egyptien. Un protocole mémorable est venu les sauver d'une guerre d'extermination, leur assurer une administration indépendante, et préparer les transactions successives qui, depuis, ont appelé la Grèce au rang des nations.

La Perse qui, dès Votre avènement au trône, avait rompu sans aucun motif les nœuds du traité de Gulistan, forcée par une suite d'exploits rapides, à signer la paix de Tourkmantchay ; la Turquie châtiée également, après deux campagnes victorieuses, de ses injustes provocations, la bataille de Koulewtcha, le passage hardi des Balkans, l'entrée de nos troupes à Andrinople, suivi presque immédiatement du traité qui porte ce nom, ce sont là des faits dont l'historie ne perdra point le souvenir. Elle proclamera plus haut encore la modération avec laquelle V.M.I. voulut bien user de Ses succès. Bientôt les bouleversemens amenés en 1830 par la chûte de la branche aînée des Bourbons ont ouvert une periode nouvelle à la politique de V.M. Ils ont imprimé à Son règne le véritable charactère qui le distinguera dans l'avenir. A la suite de ces révolutions, Elle est devenue pour le monde le représentant de l'idée Monarchique, le soutien des principes d'ordre et le défenseur impartial de l'équilibre Européen. Mais de laborieux efforts, une lutte sans cesse renaissante étaint attachés à ce noble rôle. V.M.I. a su accepter avec constance les travaux qu'il Lui imposait. Entrainé par l'exemple contagieux de la France et de la Belgique, le Royaume de Pologne s'était révolté contre l'autorité légitime. Il a été réduit à l'obéissance et rattaché au corps de l'Empire par un lien désormais moins précaire et plus solide. La Hollande était sacrifiée, dans son conflict avec les Belges, à l'extrême partialité de la France et de l'Angleterre. Si notre eloignement géographique et la timidité de nos alliés n'ont malheureusement pas permis qu'elle conservât la possession intacte des provinces qui formaient jadis avec elle le Royaume des Pays-Bas, au moins l'appui de V.M.

et Son insistance énergique ont-ils servi à obtenir au Roi de meilleures conditions territoriales, allégé le pois de ses sacrifices pécuniaires, modifié ce que les clauses qu'on voulait lui imposer présentaient de trop onéreux pour ses intérêts financiers et commerciaux. Partout où chancelaient les trônes, où la société minée fléchissait sous l'effort des doctrines subversives, le bras puissant de V.M. se fait deviner ou sentir. Dans les questions révolutionnaires qui tant de fois ont agité l'Espagne, le Portugal, l'Italie, la Suisse, l'Allemagne, Elle a combattu pour la même cause, prenant tour à tour l'initiative ou l'abandonnant à ses alliés, selon les lieux et la distance, suivant le plus ou moins d'extension que comportait Son action matérielle. Neutraliser autant que possible l'alliance funeste qui s'était établie entre la France de Juillet et l'Angleterre libérale ; s'opposer à la mise en pratique de ce principe de non-intervention, que, tout en le violant elles-mêmes les premières, les deux puissances prétendaient imposer aux Cabinets conservateurs, toutes les fois qu'une insurrection éclatait dans leur voisinage : soutenir le courage vacillant des deux grandes Cours monarchiques ; arrêter de concert avec eux un système d'action commune, en y ralliant sous leur influence les Etats du second rang, telle a été la tâche constante qu'a poursuivi V.M. C'est dans ce but qu'ont été conçues les mémorables transactions de München-Graetz et de Toeplitz—transactions qui, plusieurs années de suite, ont opposé une digue aux flots de la démocratie toujours croissante, écrasé l'insurrection polonaise à Cracovie, en Galicie, à Posen, chaque fois qu'elle se réveillait, et maintenu le repos intérieur des Etats plus immédiatement placés dans le rayon d'influence morale de la triple alliance monarchique.

Mais à coté des questions sociales, s'élevaient vers le même temps de graves affaires politiques et dans ces dernières le rôle de V.M.I. n'a été ni moins actif ni moins éminent. Elle achevait l'œuvre importante de la création de la Grèce, lui donnait un gouvernement monarchique, un roi, une dynastie héréditaire, des frontières, des moyens d'existence, qu'Elle augmentait par une émission successive des diverses séries de Sa quote part de l'emprunt. Elle s'occupait des mesures à prendre pour régler l'ordre de succession au trône et pour mettre en harmonie le culte religieux du Monarque avec celui de ses sujets. Elle défendait le nouvel état contre les exigences, fondées quelquefois, plus souvent rigoureuses, du Cabinet

Britannique ; réprimait les velléités envahissantes de la Grèce et cherchait à la maintenir en bonne intelligence avec sa voisine, la Turquie. C'est à cette période également que se rattachent de pénibles et âpres discussions avec l'Angleterre, au sujet des affaires de l'Affghanistan, et les efforts heureux de V.M.I. pour reconcilier cette puissance avec la Perse, comme aussi pour empêcher celle-ci de rompre avec le Sultan. Mais de toutes les questions Orientales que cette époque a fait surgir, soit en Asie, soit en Europe, celles qui concernent l'Empire Ottoman ont nécessairement occupé, Sire, Vos plus vives sollicitudes. Evitant avec soin de se lier par une garantie territoriale vis-à-vis un Etat en décadence, pour ne point enchaîner d'avance l'avenir de la Russie, le principe de V.M. a toujours été de maintenir dans le présent l'intégrité des possessions Ottomanes—le voisinage de cet État, dans la situation d'infériorité comparative où nos conquêtes antérieures l'ont laissé, offrant, dans les circonstances actuelles, la combinaison la plus favorable à nos intérêts commerciaux et politiques. Etrange effet des reviremens amenés par la fortune dans les positions respectives. La Puissance qu'on regardait jadis comme l'ennemie naturel de la Turquie en est devenue le plus fermé soutien et l'allié le plus fidèle.

Deux fois à six ans d'intervalle, assailli par l'ambition d'un vassal révolté, l'Empire Ottoman s'est vu menacé d'une dissolution presque inévitable. Deux fois il a dû son salut à l'intervention décisive de V.M. La première de ces deux crises a donné au monde un spectacle inouï dans l'histoire : elle a montré nos guerriers Russes campant en libérateurs sur les rives du Bosphore, en face de cette même capitale, que tant de fois, et naguère encore, ils avaient fait trembler dans ses murs. La seconde, moins brillante peut-être, a produit des résultats plus solides. Elle a expulsé de la Syrie, pour la confiner désormais dans les limites restreintes de l'Égypte, cette nouvelle puissance Arabe que les ennemis de la Russie avaient un moment songé à substituer sur le Bosphore au pouvoir déchu de la Porte Ottomane, pour en faire dans l'avenir une tête de pont contre nous. Le traité d'Unkiar-Skélessi, contre lequel avaient en vain protesté la France et l'Angleterre, annulé en apparence, a été perpétué réellement sous une autre forme. En interdisant l'entrée des Dardanelles aux vaisseaux de guerre étrangers, le nouvel acte qui l'a remplacé, reconnu par toutes les Puissances, nous assure doréna-

vant contre toute attaque maritime. Enfin, un résultat des plus importants pour nous à cet époque est sorti de cette complication d'Orient. C'est la dissolution de cette Alliance Anglo-Française, si hostile à nos intérêts politiques, si fatale pour la situation des gouvernements conservateurs. Rompue sous le Whigs in 1840, renouée plus tard avec effort par le Ministère Tory, elle n'a plus trainé dès lors qu'une vie précaire et inoffensive et n'a végété quelque tempts sous le nom spécieux d'entente cordiale, que pour se briser de nouveau avec plus d'éclat encore, contre la question des mariages Espagnols.

De cette époque à 1847 un état de calme comparatif a regné sur la société Européenne, et V.M. avait puissamment à l'affermir, en supprimant, de concert avec Ses Alliés de Prusse et d'Autriche, la république de Cracovie, ce perpétuel foyer des conspirations polonaises.

Mais le feu révolutionnaire, un moment dérobé aux yeux par la question d'Orient et ses suites, n'était qu'endormi sous la cendre. Les instances de V.M. ne purent engager les Puissances à le réprimer par la force en Suisse, et en 1847, évoqué tout-à-coup en Italie par un imprudent Pontife, on l'a vu, l'année suivante, éclater avec une telle force que non seulement le trône de Juillet a disparu dans cette explosion soudaine, mais que les Monarchies les plus vieilles et en apparence les mieux assises en ont été bouleversées jusque dans leurs fondements.

Et pourtant, Sire, de cette crise dévastatrice qui menaçait notre tranquillité intérieure, qui nous laissait sans Alliés en Europe parmi les peuples et les Gouvernements, datera pour V.M.I. une position plus grande et plus forte que celle même que'Elle occupait jusqu'alors. Cette mission conservatrice, ce rôle de sauveur de l'ordre que dès l'année 1830 la Providence Vous avait assigné, les événements de 1848 n'auront servi qu'à l'agrandir. Ce resultat est dû au coup d'œil calme avec lequel V.M., sans précipitation, comme sans faiblesse, a laissé passer les premiers effets de la tempête Européenne, attendant pour entrer en scène le jour et l'heure que Sa haute sagesse Lui avait marqués. Restée seule debout sur les ruines des vieux États du continent, Elle receuillait Ses forces en silence, pour les employer, s'il le fallait, à défendre d'abord vigoureusement l'intégrité de Son territoire et les faire servir plus tard au salut des autres Gouvernements. Tandis que la Grande Bretagne, égarée par une politique égoïste, profitait du chaos

général pour y semer de nouveaux germes de désordre et ne signalait sa puissance que par l'oppression des petits États, V.M. n'employait la Sienne qu'à calmer et à tempérer, interposant Sa voix energique en faveur du droit et de la faiblesse, et quand Elle ne pouvait les soutenir par Ses armes, leur prêtant Son appui moral; proclamant le respect des traités et de l'état de possession qu'ils consacrent; évitant sagement d'ajouter, par des provocations gratuites, à l'effervescence des passions; mais aussi agissant avec promptitude du moment qu'elle pouvait agir, et frappant l'anarchie là où elle pouvait être frappée. C'est ainsi qu'en dépit de l'Angleterre, en dépit de la Porte elle-même, aveuglée sur ses propres intérêts, Elle a réprimé en Valachie par la forces des armes une insurrection qui, dirigée en apparence contre nous-même, menaçait en réalité la sécurité de l'Empire Ottoman. C'est ainsi que par la seule puissance de Sa parole, Elle a maintenu, en Italie, l'intégrité du Royaume des Deux-Siciles contre le mauvais vouloir du Gouvernement Britannique, et dans le Jutland et les Duchés celle de la monarchie Danoise, contre les prétentions arrogantes de la démocratie Allemande, et l'ambition moins ouverte du Gouvernement Prussien. C'est encore ainsi que récemment Elle plaidait hautement la cause de l'indépendance de la Grèce, comme celle de Naples, et de la Toscane, attaquées, par les procédés arbitraires du chef de la politique Anglaise, et faisait rentrer l'Angleterre en elle-même, en lui adressant à la face de l'Europe un language réprobateur. Par sa simple et seule attitude envers la France et la Grande-Bretagne, Elle mettait l'Autriche en état de reconquérir sans entraves le royaume Lombardo-Vénitien, la sauvant de sa propre faiblesse en refusant de prendre part à tout projet de médiation qui l'eût dépouillée d'une partie de ses possessions Italiennes, assurait d'abord ses derrières dans sa lutte contre l'insurrection Madjare, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin apparaissant armée sur les champs de bataille de Hongrie, Elle a relevé sur sa base l'unité de la Monarchie Autrichienne, rétabli de ce côté l'équilibre qui chancelait et rendu au cabinet de Vienne sa pleine liberté d'action pour revendiquer sa part légitime dans le travail de réorganisation qui agite en ce moment l'ancienne Conféderation Germanique.

Enfin, Sire, par les négotiations entamées sous Vos yeux à Varsovie, V.M. vient de mettre le sceau à ce caractère de modérateur que les événements Lui déférent, et que l'Europe

se sent contrainte ou empressée à Lui reconnaître. Elle y a vu les deux grandes puissances de l'Allemagne La prendre pour juge de leurs différends et pour arbitre de leur cause. Ses conseils, ses exhortations, les conditions qu'Elle a mise à Son concours ont eu presque immédiatement pour effet d'opérer un rapprochement entre des droits ou des prétentions jusque-là restés inconciliables ; et si les passions populaires ne viennent point troubler l'accord prêt à s'établir entre les Gouvernements, V.M. aura eu l'honneur d'avoir préservé tout à la fois l'Allemagne d'une nouvelle guerre de trente ans et l'Europe d'une conflagration générale.

J'ose donc ici le répéter : depuis 1814 la position de la Russie et de son Souverain n'a été ni plus belle ni plus grande.

Associé par les fonctions qu'a daigné me continuer V.M. en succédant à Son Auguste Frère à l'historie des vingt-cinq années, dont je viens d'esquisser les principaux traits : humble instrument de Ses desseins et organe de Ses pensées politiques, j'aurais désiré, Sire, en Vous soumettant ce tableau rapide et succinct, lui donner l'étendue, et tous les détails qu'il exige. Absorbé par les négociations qui en dernier lieu ont déplacé le siège ordinaire du Cabinet de V.M.I., je n'ai pu à mon grand regret y vouer l'attention et le temps nécessaires. A défaut d'un historique plus long et plus circonstancié du passé, qu'il me soit du moins permis d'appuyer ici principalement sur le résultat satisfaisant de ces mêmes négociations et d'en offrir à V.M. mes félicitations respectueuses. Elle ne pouvait clôre plus dignement le cycle des vingt-cinq ans que célèbre aujourd'hui l'Empire tout entier, s'unissant de tous les points de sa vaste étendue à la joie de l'Auguste Famille Impériale.

Dans le cours de ces vingt-cinq ans, V.M. aura acquis plus d'un tître à la reconnaissance de l'Europe. Mais, je ne crains pas de le dire, dans la carrière qu'Elle a fournie, l'année même de Son jubilé aura été la plus glorieuse, si la véritable gloire des Souverains est principalement fondée sur la bienfaisante influence qu'ils exercent dans l'intérêt du repos et de l'humanité sur les destinées du monde.

Que la Providence, qui jusqu'ici Vous a si visiblement protégé, continue, Sire, à répandre ses bénédictions sur Votre règne et daigne ajouter à Votre passé de nombreuses années encore pour le bien des peuples qu'elle Vous a confiés. C'est le vour qu'ose humblement déposer aux pieds du trône de

V.M.I. un vieux serviteur, dont la vie entière s'est usée au service de sa patrie et de Ses maîtres.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect,

Sire,

de Votre M. I.

le plus soumis et fidèle sujet,

NESSELRODE.

ST. PETERSBURG, *le 20. Novembre*, 1850.

Sending this report to his son, the czar wrote beneath it: "Here you have a record of my twenty-five years' service. God grant that I may succeed in handing Russia down to you as I have striven to maintain her: vigorous, independent, benevolent—working to advantage ourselves to harm no one." The czar was fond of this phrase "years' service," which had been used in former days by Frederick William I. His way of dismissing foreign visitors was to say "I have my work to attend to." I may point out in passing that it further transpires from this memorial that German patriots were perfectly right in regarding the days of Warsaw and Olmütz as a triumph for Russia and as a humiliation for Prussia.

Less important, but significant none the less of the Russian outlook, is a memorial sent by Brunnow to the czar in 1838. I reprint portions of it here. (It is not identical with Brunnow's Aperçu général mentioned in a note to Book V, Chap. VII).

Considérations générales sur les principes qui servent de base à notre politique 1838.

1. La politique de l'Empereur peut se résumer en trois mots: "noli me tangere!"

7. Le ministère Whig, parvenu au pouvoir, a cru que pour se maintenir il n'avait d'autre parti à prendre que de s'unir au Gouvernement Français.

C'est cette grande erreur du ministère Anglais qui a doublé le mal causé par la revolution de Juillet. Par là, tout le système politique de l'Europe s'est trouvé complètement dérangé. Les relations des états ne se règlent plus d'après leurs vrais *intérêts*, mais d'après les *sympathies* de l'opinion publique. Ainsi, l'Europe s'est divisée en deux camps.

D'après cela, l'Empereur, au lieu de fonder ses expérances sur l'Angleterre qui nous échappe a pensé qu'il fallait avant tout sauver ce qui nous reste de l'Alliance.

Il a reconnu, qu'en retirant son appui à l'Autriche et à la Prusse, il avait fait précisément ce que désirent nos adversaires. Maintenir entre nous et la France cette barrière morale, formée par des puissances amies et par des monarchies solidement fondées sur des principes analogues aux nôtres, voilà quel est l'intéret véritable, l'intéret permanent de la Russie.

11. On dirait qu'Elles nous aimeraient davantage, si elles sentaient moins vivement combien nous influons sur leur position.

Ils nous croient Toujours disposés à les précipiter dans une guerre, dont ils seraient exposés à ressentir les premiers effets et dont ils redoutent les conséquences. Cette craint s'est manifestée surtout à Berlin.

En 1833, l'attitude passive de la Prusse dans les affaires de Hollande faisait l'objet de mes entretiens avec M. Ancillon.

"Que voulez-vous, me dit-il, nous ne pouvons pas changer de conduite, nous ne pouvous pas risquer de nous mettre en guerre avec la France, à moins que cette guerre ne devienne une affaire nationale pour nous. Nous ne pouvons pas l'entreprendre tant que l'opinion publique ne la soutiendra point."

13. Les trois Cabinets alliés, dans leurs réunions successives de 1833 et 1835 ont résolu de ne pas s'ingérer dans les affaires intérieures de la France quelque regrettables qu'elles puissent être, mais de ne point tolérer non plus que celle-ci dépasse par une agression quelconque les limites qui lui sont précrites, ni qu'elle protège en dehors les doctrines subversives qu'elle renferme dans son sein.

15. S'il survient une difficulté en Italie, en Suisse, en Allemagne, notre cabinet ne se trouve pas dans l'obligation de se prononcer le premier. Il laisse aux cours de Vienne et de Berlin le soin de prendre l'initiative.

Il en est autrement des questions qui concernent directement la Russie.

Tel est nommément le cas des affaires de la Pologne et de la Turquie.

Assurément, l'attitude adoptée alors par nos alliés leur a été fortement conseillé par leur propre intérêt, car leur cause se trouvait liée à la notre et le triomphe de l'insurrection à Varsovie aurait porté un coup sensible à l'autorité de la Prusse en Posnanie comme à celle de l'Autriche dans la Galicie.

Mais cette considération quelque juste qu'elle soit ne doit pas nous faire perdre de vue les obligations réelles que nous devons à nos Alliés. Car eux, de leur côté avaient des risques à courir en nous soutenant dans notre lutte, le secours qu'ils nous prêtaient les compromettait évidemment envers nos adversaires politiques en Angleterre et en France.

La fidélité que les cours de Vienne et de Berlin nous ont prouvée à cette époque mérite d'autant plus d'être appréciée que nous possédons le secret de leur faiblesse!

16. Premièrement; "ne comptons-nous pas la force de nos Alliés pour moins qu'elle ne pèse réellement dans la balance de nos intérêts?"

En effet, pour être complètement dans le vrai convenons que depuis huit ans la Russie, au milieu de circonstances très-difficiles, n'est parvenu à maintenir la paix générale que parce qu'elle a réussi à opposer le systeme conservateur de la triple alliance aux efforts réunis des deux cours maritimes. Tant que l'Autriche et la Prusse seront *pour nous*, ce simple fait arrêtera les projets ambitieux de la France et déconcertera les dessins malveillants de l'Angleterre.

Toutes les deux, il faut le dire, croient l'union des pussances continentales plus forte qu'elle ne l'est en réalité, et ce prestige a sauvé l'Europe d'une commotion générale.

La Prusse, de son côté renferme en elle des dangers de discorde et d'agitation intérieure. Les questions religieuses qui se rattachent à la destitution récente de l'archevêque de Cologne contribuent à donner à ces germes de désunion civile et morale un fâcheux développement.

Le triomphe des idées revolutionnaires sur les bords du Danube et de l'Oder nous regarderait de bien plus près que le bill de réforme et les barricades de Juillet. Voilà pourquoi nous devons considérer la cause de la royauté en Prusse et en Autriche comme une cause qui ne nous est pas étrangère, mais comme une question qui concerne directement la Russie. C'est là ce qui explique le *prix* réel que nous devons attacher à nos Alliances, parceque leur intérêt el *le nôtre* ne font moralement qu'un.

Secondement: *Ne demandons pas à nos Alliés plus que leur amitié n'est en état de tenir.*

Il y a deux choses surtout que nous ne devons pas attendre de nos Alliés. I. Nous ne devons pas leur demander, dans leurs relations directes avec la France un degré de *courage*

moral qui est toujours l'effet de la force et qui conséquemment ne saurait résider ni à Berlin, ni à Vienne.

II. Une autre règle de conduite que nous devons observer dans nos relations avec nos Alliés pour ne pas nous exposer à un mécompte regrettable, c'est qu'il ne faut attendre d'eux aucune coopération *active* s'il survenait quelque complication entre nous et les puissances maritimes à l'égard des affaires d'Orient.

Sous ce rapport les intentions de la Cour de Berlin nous sont connues. Aussi l'Empereur ne lui demande rien au delà de ce qu'il est équitable d'en attendre.

INDEX

A

Abd-el-Kader, 369, 431
Abdul-Medjid, Sultan of Turkey, 374, 375, 377, 381, 384, 386, 387, 392, 393, 394, 431, 433, 434, 435
Abeken, 442, 566
Abel, 178, 182, 183, 280, 282
Abendzeitung, see *Mannheimer Abendzeitung*
Aberdeen, 369, 444, 452
Achterfeldt, 246, 247
Adam Smith, see Smith
Adolphus, Hereditary Prince of Nassau (later Duke of Nassau), 246
Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge (governor-general, subsequently viceroy, of Hanover), 189, 192, 224, 230, 446
Albert I, Margrave of East Prussia, 583
Albert, Prince Consort, 185, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 454
Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, 450
Albrecht, E., 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 356
Albrecht, Prince of Prussia, 96
Aldinger, 635
Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, 441, 442, 443
Alexander I, Czar of Russia, 175
Alexander, Czarevitch (later Alexander II, Czar of Russia), 20, 467, 499, 650
Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia, 21, 49, 500
Alexis, 548
Allgemeine Zeitung (of Augsburg), 195, 276, 419, 434, 441, 486, 529, 531, 539. See also *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*
Alten, 194
Altenstein, 58, 81, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 239, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 269, 271, 309, 323, 356, 497, 574, 575, 576, 578, 584, 585, 587, 591
Alvensleben, 59, 60, 61, 96, 100, 101, 102, 119, 307, 467, 484, 485, 489, 518, 523, 619, 620
Amelia, Empress of Brazil, 49
Amelia, Princess of Saxony (termed Princess Joanna), 34
Ammon, 68, 69, 123
Ancillon, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 42, 43, 44, 109, 135, 152, 153, 157, 159, 178, 250, 367, 522, 627, 635
Anhalt-Dessau, Prince of, see Leopold I
Apponyi, 14, 392, 402, 425
Arago, 115
Argenteau, 173
Aristophanes, 600
Armansperg, 177, 178, 179, 181
Arminius, 569
Arndt, 64, 139, 286, 320, 327, 328, 509, 551, 585, 608
Arnim, Adolf Heinrich (Arnim of Boitzenburg), 474, 475, 476, 496, 497, 502, 515, 516, 517, 519, 521, 523, 526, 540, 546, 548, 604, 605, 612, 613, 615, 616, 619, 621, 622, 627, 628, 630, 631, 632
Arnim, Bettina, 210, 598, 599, 600
Arnim, Heinrich Alexander, Baron, 152, 153, 161.
Arnim, Heinrich Friedrich, Count, 379, 381, 390, 391, 405, 431, 439, 444, 479
Arnstedt, 64
Arnswald, 203
Aschaffenburger Kirchenzeitung, 246
Ashley, 441
Aster, 120, 126, 415, 417
Attwood, 426
Auersperg, see Grün, Anastasius
Auerswald, Alfred, 343, 346
Auerswald, Hans Jacob, 343
Auerswald, Rudolf, 343, 520
Augusta, Electress of Hesse-Cassel, 154, 314
Augustine, Saint, 299
Augustus II, the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, 22
Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, 224
Aulicke, 337
Austria, Archduchess of, see Sophia, Theresa
Austria, Archduke of, see Charles, Ferdinand, Francis Charles, Francis Joseph, Frederick, John, Joseph, Louis

Austria, Emperor of, see Ferdinand I, Francis I
Austria, Empress of, see Caroline Augusta, Maria

B.

Baadbr, Franz, 108, 129
Baader, Joseph, 108
Baba Jannis, see Capodistrias
Babbage, 113
Baden, Grand Duke of, see Leopold
Bailly, 461
Bandel, 569
Bardeleben, 83, 339, 343
Bärensprung, 117
Bartels, 512
Bassewitz, 592
Bauer, Bruno, 539, 578, 579
Bauer, Edgar, 539, 579
Bauer (police superintendent), 260
Bausch, 246, 247
Bavaria, Crown Prince of, see Maximilian (later Maximilian II, King of Bavaria)
Bavaria, Elector of, see Maximilian I
Bavaria, King of, see Louis, Maximilian I Joseph, Maximilian II
Bavaria, Prince of, see Charles, Otho
Bavaria, Princess of, see Amelia Princess of Saxony, Caroline Augusta Empress of Austria, Elizabeth Crown Princess of Prussia, Maria Queen of Saxony, Sophia Archduchess of Austria
Bavaria, Queen of, see Caroline, Theresa
Bazaine, 10
Beauharnais, see Charles Augustus, etc., Max Eugene, etc.
Beck, 127
Becker, 132, 397, 398, 420, 521
Behr, 147
Belgians, King of the, see Leopold I
Bellinghausen, see Münch-Bellinghausen
Below, 465, 486, 487, 488
Benary, 571
Benckendorff, 47
Benzenberg, 73
Beobachter (of Reutlingen), 165, see also *Oesterreichische Beobachter, Rheinische Beobachter*
Bercht, 543
Berdollet, 502
Berger, 20, 45, 69, 96, 101, 102, 123, 209, 261, 355, 400, 407, 408, 413, 464
Bergmann, 204, 205, 206
Berliner Wochenblatt, 45, 155, 195, 220, 315, 354
Berly, 419, 535
Bernadotte, see Charles XIV John
Bernard, Prince of Solms-Braunfels, 209, 220
Bernetti, 236
Bernstorff, 5
Beseler, 208, 209, 583
Bessel, 488
Bethmann-Holweg, 502
Beurmann, 612, 613
Beuth, 46, 102, 120
Biedermann, 533
Biester, 311
Birch-Pfeiffer, 181, 565
Bismarck, Friedrich Wilhelm, 225, 406
Bismarck, Otto, 101, 321, 601
Blacas, 19
Blittersdorff, 49, 55, 93, 97, 137, 138, 143, 144, 168, 169, 196, 226, 283, 408
Bockelberg, 37
Bodelschwingh, 68, 71, 244, 253, 262, 485, 516, 518, 519, 520, 521, 523, 553, 554, 592, 620, 632
Bodenhausen, 194, 200
Böhmer, 275
Boisserée, 502, 504, 505, 506
Boitzenburg, see Arnim, Adolf Heinrich
Bolivar, 10
Bombelles, 135
Bonaparte, see Napoleon
Bonin, 605
Borgo, see Pozzo
Börne, 130, 139, 551
Bornemann, 550
Borsig, 127, 128
Bothmer, 197
Bötticher, 492, 494, 496, 545, 583
Bowring, 98
Boyen, 62, 313, 327, 333, 480, 481, 487, 492, 500, 515, 523, 603, 604, 624
Brandenburg, Elector of, see Frederick William
Brandenburg, Margrave of, see Frederick II
Brandes, 542
Brauchitsch, 50
Braun, 246, 247
Braunfels, see Solms-Braunfels
Brause, 64
Brazil, Emperor of, see Pedro I
Brazil, Empress of, see Amelia
Brederlow, 339, 346
Breidenstein, 134, 136
Brenn, 58, 62, 77, 81, 634
Brentano, Christian, 599
Brentano, Clemens, 174, 319, 599
Breslauer Zeitung, 91, 532, 538
Bresson, 26, 28, 394, 396, 426, 453
Bretschneider, 507
Breza, 477
Brockhaus, 531
Brockhausen, 8, 14, 15, 18, 29, 31, 32, 135, 136
Brodziszewski, 265, 267, 478
Broglie, 391
Brougham, 453
Brüggemann, 552, 553

Bruhn, 139
Brünneck, 343, 468, 486
Brunnow, 377, 378, 379, 382, 384, 386, 389, 392, 393, 428, 429, 436, 437, 650
Brunswick, Duke of, see Charles, William
Brust, 520
Buch, 256, 258, 269, see also Voss-Buch
Büchner, 130, 148
Buhl, 531, 535, 536
Bülau, 211, 551
Bülow, 381, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 396, 409, 412, 413, 417, 427, 428, 429, 431, 432, 433, 436, 444, 447, 451, 452, 454, 455, 497, 500, 523, 530, 540, 548
Bülow-Cummerow, 535, 536
Bulwer, 393
Bunsen, Christian Carl Josias, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 244, 250, 251, 252, 253, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262, 268, 270, 273, 276, 283, 299, 302, 309, 319, 324, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 451, 452, 455, 456, 557, 563, 576, 596, 598, 601, 605, 622
Bunsen, Gustav, 142
Burdach, 583, 584
Bürgess, 538

C.

Cabet, 140
Cabrera, 16
Cæsar, Caius Julius, 333
Cagliostro, 315
Cambridge, Duke of, see Adolphus Frederick, George
Campe, 513
Cancrin, 46, 108, 190
Canitz, Carl Ernst Wilhelm, 153, 154, 156, 159, 195, 197, 198, 207, 209, 218, 221, 222, 223, 224, 227, 228, 273, 278, 319, 320, 321, 334, 419, 549, 622, 626, 629
Canitz (secretary to legation in Munich), 407
Canning, 13
Capaccini, 252, 259, 285
Capodistrias, 175
Cappellari, see Gregory XVI
Carignano, Prince of, see Charles Albert
Carlos, Don, de Bourbon, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 493
Carlyle, 103
Carmer, 483
Carolina Augusta, Empress of Austria, 34, 35, 36, 49, 174, 257, 284
Caroline, Queen of Bavaria, 49, 283
Carové, 278
Carriere, 599
Casimir III, the Great, King of Poland, 477
Casimir Périer, see Périer
Cassel, see Hesse-Cassel
Catharine II, Empress of Russia, 48, 392
Catholic, Isabella the, see Isabella I
Cazalès, 275
Chambrier, 28, 514
Chamisso, 58
Charivari, 537
Charlemagne, 109
Charles, Archduke of Austria, 25, 37, 354, 430
Charles, Duke of Brunswick, 153, 223
Charles, Duke of Mecklenburg, 27, 58, 64
Charles X, King of France, 9, 236
Charles V, King of Spain, see Carlos, Don
Charles, Prince of Bavaria, 413
Charles, Prince of Prussia, 20
Charles Albert, King of Piedmont and Sardinia, 20, 136
Charles Augustus Eugene Napoleon, Duke of Leuchtenberg, 8
Charles Egon, Prince of Fürstenberg, 166
Charles XIV John, King of Sweden (Bernadotte), 50
Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, see Napoleon III
Charlotte, Princess of Prussia, see Alexandra Feodorovna
Chevalier, 294
Chlapowski, 82
Christian VIII, King of Denmark, 413
Christiani, 232
Christina, see Maria Christina
Clam-Martinitz, 33, 35, 37, 372
Clarendon, 382
Clausewitz, 65, 66
Clodt-Jürgensburg, 558
Clodwig, Prince of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, 160
Cobden, 371
Coburg, see Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-Kohary
Coburg, Prince of, see Leopold I
Condorcet, 461
Conrad of Hochstaden, 505
Consalvi, 236
Conseil, 634
Constantine, Grand Duke of Russia, 53
Constitutionnel, 425
Corberon, 220
Coremans, 146
Cormenin, 380
Cornelius, Peter, 214, 310, 454, 557, 560, 561
Cornelius, Wilhelm, 146, 399
Cotta, 93, 276, 529
Courier, 380
Cramer, 128
Crelinger, 538, 545, 551
Cromwell, 313

Cumberland, Duchess of, see Frederica
Cumberland, Duke of, see Ernest Augustus
Cummerow, see Bülow-Cummerow
Cuny, 72, 253, 280, 312, 364
Curier, see *Deutsche Curier*
Curtmann, 140

D.

d' (names beginning thus are indexed without prefix)
Dahlmann, 93, 154, 201, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 216, 219, 220, 222, 335, 399, 541, 570, 577, 582, 583
Dambach, 145
Darmstadt, see Hesse-Darmstadt
de (names beginning thus are indexed without prefix)
Débats, see *Journal des Débats*
Delitzsch, see Schulze-Delitzsch
Demiani, 117
Denis, 109
Denmark, King of, see Christian VIII
Dennewitz, 10
Dessau, see Anhalt-Dessau
Dessauer, see Leopold I, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau
Detmold, 219
Deutsch, 548
Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 551
Deutsche Curier, 219, 530
Deutsche Jahrbücher, 359, 532, 533, 540, 547, 551
Deutsche Monatsschrift, 533
Deutsche Staatsarchiv, 219
Dewitz, 204
Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, 551, 552
Dickert, 340
Diebitsch, 319
Diestel, 83
Diesterweg, 586, 587, 588, 590, 591
Dietrichstein, 37, 283
Dingelstedt, 364
Dinter, 340, 584, 587, 590
Ditfurth, 413
Dixon, 83
Dohna, 426, 492, 494, 495, 544
Dohna Schlobitten, 347
Don Carlos, see Carlos
Dönhoff, 42, 50, 90, 94, 99, 108, 109, 123, 134, 136, 137, 146, 147, 168, 172, 173, 176, 178, 182, 225, 281, 282, 283, 396, 406, 407, 412, 413, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 424, 444, 457, 458, 529, 530
Dörnberg 320
Dorner, 571
Dove, 570
Drake, 289
Dreyse, 63
Droste-Vischering, Caspar Max, 244
Droste-Vischering, Clemens August, 234, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 271, 273, 276, 280, 284, 336, 468
Duesberg, 272
Dufour-Feronce, 112, 208
Dulk, 625
Dumont, 534, 552
Duncker (superintendent of police), 145
Duncker, Max (historian), 145, 146
Dunin, Martin, 81, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 271, 273, 275, 336, 337, 338, 339, 363, 471, 474, 478, 480
Dunin, Scholastica, 266
Dusch, 136
Du Thil, see Thil
Duttlinger, 196
Dzialynski, 479

E.

East Prussia, Margrave of, see Albert I
Ebel, 82, 83
Effinger, 136
Egell, 127
Egypt, Viceroy of, see Mehemet Ali, Ibrahim
Eichendorff, 495
Eichhorn, Carl Friedrich, 270, 630
Eichhorn, Johann Albert Friedrich, 100, 210, 306, 356, 402, 442, 478, 501, 523, 529, 537, 541, 548, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 582, 583, 584, 590, 591, 592, 593, 597, 599, 602, 605, 607, 619
Eichmann, 144
Eichoff, 372
Eilers, 577, 582, 590, 591
Eisenbahnjournal, 117
Eisenmann, 147
Elbinger Anzeiger, 548
Eldon, 187
Eleonore, Landgravine of Hesse-Rotenburg, 159
Elizabeth, Crown Princess of Prussia (later Queen of Prussia), 34, 310, 311, 320, 325, 446, 485, 558, 597, 623
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 448
Elliot, 110
Elsler, 545
Elvenich, 247
Emilius, Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, 418
Emminghaus, 95
Enfantin, 130
Engelhardt, 98
England, King of, see George III, William III, William IV
England, Queen of, see Elizabeth, Victoria
Ense, see Varnhagen, Rahel

Eos, 175
Erbach, 151
Ernest III (I), Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, 94, 451, 456
Ernest IV (II), Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, 457
Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (later King of Hanover), 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 216, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 234, 244, 273, 274, 295, 319, 396, 407, 408, 411, 640
Espartero, 10, 492
Esterhazy, 431
Eulenburg, 534
Eulenspiegel, 131
Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, 276, 441, 501, 593
Ewald, 203, 205, 207, 212, 214
Eyb, 635
Eylert, 87, 543

F.

FAHNE, 71
Fahrenheid, 495, 496
Falcke, 229, 230
Falkson, 340
Fallersleben, see Hoffmann
Fecht, 531
Fein, 132, 490
Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, 413
Ferdinand I, Emperor of Austria, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 258, 370
Ferdinand V, King of Hungary, see Ferdinand I, Emperor of Austria
Ferdinand, Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-Kohary, Consort of Maria II, da Gloria, Queen of Portugal, and later titular King of Portugal, 8
Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, 5, 10
Ferdinand Philippe Joseph Louis Charles Henri, Duke of Orleans, 24, 25, 26, 44
Feronce, see Dufour-Feronce
Ferraris, Zichy-, see Metternich, Melanie
Firebrand, Lord, see Palmerston
Fichte, 585
Ficquelmont, 404
Fieschi, 23, 24
Fleidl, 89
Fliedner, 312, 595, 597, 598
Fliegende Blätter, 537
Florencourt, 279
Flottwell, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 265, 270, 338 339, 349, 362, 363, 364, 470, 473, 474, 475, 478, 480, 494, 513, 620, 630
Follen, Adolf, 553
Follen, Carl, 132
Follen, Paul, 142
Fonk, 67, 245, 246
Fourier, 140
Fox, 197
France, King of, see Charles X, Louis XVIII
Francfort, see *Journal de Francfort*
Francis I, Emperor of Austria, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 146, 159, 245, 426
Francis Charles, Archduke of Austria, 30, 39
Francis Joseph, Archduke of Austria, 30
Francke, August Hermann, 592
Francke (burgomaster of Magdeburg), 117, 351
Frankenberg (envoy), 46, 50, 53, 69, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 112, 118, 119, 120, 124, 137, 138, 144, 191, 194, 210, 222, 226
Frankenberg-Ludwigsdorf, 265, 475
Frankfurter Journal, 535
Frankfurter Oberpostamtszeitung, 419, 535
Fränkische Kurier, 528
Fränzel, see Francis I
Frauenburg, 173, 241
Fraunhofer, 114
Frederica, Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (later Duchess of Cumberland and Queen of Hanover), 189, 210
Frederick, Archduke of Austria, 430
Frederick I, King of Prussia, 288, 555
Frederick II, the Great, King of Prussia, 104, 188, 274, 289, 296, 299, 305, 324, 326, 347, 359, 373, 455, 476, 537, 557, 559, 563, 567, 570, 585, 602, 603, 620
Frederick V, Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, 409
Frederick II, Margrave of Brandenburg, 597
Frederick, Prince of Prussia, 503
Frederick Augustus II, King of Saxony, 112, 211, 226
Frederick Augustus Emilius, Prince of Noer, 209
Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia (later Frederick William IV., King of Prussia), 17, 25, 27, 51, 59, 60, 61, 71, 72, 85, 87, 89, 101, 102, 119, 120, 152, 153, 167, 210, 239, 243, 253, 260, 261, 264, 276, 283, 289, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348,

349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 366, 368, 384, 387, 388, 395, 396, 397, 398, 401, 402, 404, 405, 406, 410, 411, 414, 415, 418, 419, 420, 421, 426, 428, 429, 437, 438, 439, 440, 442, 443, 444, 446, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 529, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 552, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 563, 564, 565, 567, 568, 569, 571, 574, 576, 579, 580, 581, 583, 584, 592, 593, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 609, 610, 612, 613, 618, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632

Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg (Great Elector), 104, 289, 344

Frederick William, Electoral Prince of Hesse-Cassel (later Frederick William I, Elector of Hesse-Cassel), 153, 154, 158, 159, 160, 161, 223, 225, 227, 319, 420

Frederick William I, King of Prussia, 274, 650

Frederick William III, King of Prussia, 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 35, 39, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 57, 59, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 76, 80, 81, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 101, 102, 107, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 158, 159, 161, 167, 168, 187, 189, 199, 210, 223, 224, 226, 229, 231, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246, 250, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 278, 281, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 293, 296, 298, 299, 301, 302, 307, 309, 310, 315, 326, 327, 329, 331, 332, 333, 335, 340, 342, 344, 345, 350, 352, 353, 355, 359, 361, 366, 367, 372, 374, 375, 384, 388, 400, 410, 413, 415, 416, 451, 459, 460, 464, 468, 469, 471, 474, 477, 481, 500, 522, 523, 543, 555, 556, 559, 563, 564, 601, 607, 620, 627, 630, 633, 634, 641

Frederick William, Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, 457

Frederick (William), Prince of Prussia (subsequently King of Prussia and German emperor), 311

Frederick William, Prince of Solms-Braunfels, 189

Freiligrath, 503, 565, 566

French, Emperor of the, see Napoleon I, Napoleon III

French, King of the, see Louis Philippe

Freytag, 535

Friedenburg, 195

Friese, 119

Fröbel, 553

Frommann, 209

Fry, 453, 596, 597

Fuchs, 507

Fürstenberg, 503

Fürstenberg, Prince of, see Charles Egon

G.

Gagen, Friedrich, 285, 355

Gagern, Hans, 279, 295

Gagern, Heinrich, 152, 153

Galen, 94, 124, 264

Galitzin, 47

Gall, 140

Gans, 58, 195, 208, 357, 358, 483, 572

Gauss, 114, 215

Gavarni, 537

Geibel, 566

Gellert, 304

Gelzer, 571

Gentz, 300, 377, 526

George, Crown Prince of Hanover (later George V, King of Hanover), 189, 190, 210, 224, 232

George, Duke of Cambridge, 446

George III, King of England, 187

Georgi, 149, 150

Gerhardt, 88

Gerlach (chief superintendent of police), 634

Gerlach, Leopold, 261, 309, 315, 320, 321, 322, 331, 333, 334, 336, 357, 441, 484, 485, 548

Gerlach, Ludwig Friedrich Leopold, 320

Gerlach, Ernst Ludwig, 320, 321, 322, 323, 483, 484, 501, 526, 542, 546, 548, 549, 550, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606

Gerlach, Otto, 320, 321, 484, 596, 626

German Emperor, see Frederick (William), William

Germanicus Vindex, see Wurm

Gersdorff, 102, 195, 196

Gerstner, 108

Gervinus, 203, 204, 206, 207, 211, 214, 577

Gesenius, 501, 578

Gieseler, 206

Gise, 409, 528

Giusti, 38
Glassbrenner, 131, 537
Glaubrech, 225
Gloria, da, see Maria II
Gneisenau, 65, 76, 312, 320, 480
Gobat, 443
Goeben, 11, 64
Goethe, 103, 133, 214, 298, 316, 600
Goldmann, 55, 56
Görres, Guido, 277
Görres, Jacob Joseph, 175, 274, 275, 277, 281, 320, 503, 508
Göschel, 271
Gotha, see Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-Kohary
Gottschall, 348
Götze, 323
Grabowski, 267
Gramenz, see Senfft-Pilsach
Grandauer, 143
Grandpierre, 30
Great Elector, see Frederick William
Greece, King of, see Otho
Gregory XVI, Pope, 173, 175, 235, 237, 238, 240, 246, 247, 251, 254, 256, 259, 260, 264, 267, 268, 269, 336
Grenzboten, 532, 533
Grimm, 74, 154, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 356, 358, 567, 570, 581
Gröben, 261, 315, 320
Grolman, 76, 81, 349, 363, 364, 404, 546
Grün, Anastasius, 208
Grün, Carl, 530
Guericke, 87
Guizot, 381, 383, 389, 390, 426, 431, 432, 433, 436, 437, 567
Gutenberg, 153
Gutzkow, 150, 279

H.

HABEL, 595
Haber, 11
Hacke, 266
Hafiz, 372, 373
Hahn, 87
Hahn-Hahn, 531
Hake (general and minister for war), 61
Hake (Landrat), 488, 489
Haller, 295, 300, 316
Hallische Jahrbücher (later *Deutsche Jahrbücher*), 279, 532, 533, 540, 551
Halscher, 608
Hammer, 461
Hannoverschen Landesblätter, 195
Hannoversche Portfolio, 219, 230
Hannoversche Zeitung, 206, 541
Hanover, Crown Prince of, see George
Hanover, Governor General of, see Adolphus Frederick
Hanover, King of, see Ernest Augustus, George
Hanover, Queen of, see Frederica
Hanover, Viceroy of, see Adolphus Frederick
Hansemann, 72, 73, 121
Hardenberg, 90, 535, 575
Häring, see Alexis
Harkort, Friedrich, 105, 107, 112, 126, 336
Harkort, Gustav, 112, 208
Harnisch, 585
Harring, 133, 134
Hartmann (privy councillor), 212
Hartmann, Julius (Prussian general), 221
Hartmann, Moritz, 532
Hartungsche Zeitung, 493, 538
Hase, 278
Hassenpflug, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 357
Hatten, 267
Hatzfeld, 477
Hävernick, 501, 571, 573, 578
Haxthausen, 74, 264
Haydn, 580
Haym, 578
Hebbel, 511
Hechingen, see Hohenzollern-Hechingen
Hecker, 625, 630, 631
Heeren, 206
Heffter, 630
Hegel, 300, 313, 357, 571
Heideck, 177, 178
Heine, Heinrich, 130, 234, 399, 508, 512, 539
Heine, Salomon, 512
Heinrich, 343, 344
Heinse, 130
Heinzen, 534, 554, 624
Helena, Princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (subsequently Duchess of Orleans), 26, 27
Heller, 532
Helmholtz, 324
Hengstenberg, 87, 276, 441, 501, 578, 593
Herbart, 215
Herlosssohn, 532
Hermann, 525
Hermes, Georg, 245, 246, 248
Hermes (journalist), 552
Herwegh, 398, 543, 544, 545, 546, 553, 565
Hess, Heinrich Hermann Josef, 406, 409
Hess, Peter, 177
Hesse, see Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Homburg, Hesse-Rotenburg
Hesse, Landgrave of, see Philip I the Magnanimous
Hesse-Cassel, Elector of, see William II
Hesse-Cassel, Electoral Prince of, see Frederick William
Hesse-Cassel, Electress of, see Augusta
Hesse-Cassel, Prince Regent of, see

Frederick William, Electoral Prince
Hesse-Darmstadt, Grand Duke of, see Louis II
Hesse-Darmstadt, Prince of, see Emilius
Hesse-Homburg, Landgrave of, see Frederick V, Philip Augustus Frederick
Hesse-Rotenburg, Landgrave of, see Victor Amadeus
Hesse-Rotenburg, Landgravine of, see Eleonore
Hessenburg, 231
Hessenfluch, see Hassenpflug
Hildesheimer Zeitung, 221
Hinrichs, 582
Hinüber, 205
Hippel, 543
Hirschfeld, 87
Hirzel, 208
Historisch-politische Blätter für das Katholische Deutschland, 277
Hochstaden, 505
Hochwächter, 165
Hoff, 460, 461, 554
Hoffmann and Campe, 513
Hoffmann, August Heinrich (of Fallersleben), 97, 207, 513, 566, 567, 568, 579, 580, 581
Höfken, 11
Hofmann (minister, Hesse Darmstadt), 152
Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, Prince of, see Clodwig, Victor
Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Prince of, see Frederick William
Holland, 382
Hollweg, see Bethmann-Hollweg
Homberg, see Hesse-Homburg
Hommer, 240, 251
Hoppenstedt, 216
Hormayr, 173, 221
Hossauer, 114
Hotho, 571
Huber, 209, 542
Hügel, 15, 197
Hugo (Göttingen professor), 215
Hugo, Victor, 398
Humann, 433
Humboldt, Alexander, 25, 28, 201, 205, 323, 324, 325, 326, 346, 453, 454, 493, 567, 571, 593
Humboldt, Wilhelm, 575, 586
Hundeshagen, 137, 442
Hungary, King of, see Ferdinand I, Emperor of Austria
Hurter, 234, 275
Hüsgen, 254, 255

I.

IBRAHIM, Governor of Syria (later viceroy of Egypt), 372, 373, 375, 378, 430
Ingersleben, 71
Isabella I, of Castille, Queen of Spain, 5, 453
Isabella II, Queen of Spain, 5, 6, 13, 14, 17, 18
Itzstein, 196, 630, 631

J.

JACHMANN, 538
Jacobi, Joel, 279
Jacobi (president of Hanoverian diet), 197, 218
Jacoby, Johann, 84, 209, 213, 461, 462, 463, 465, 488, 494, 501, 538, 545, 546, 547, 551
Jahn, 328, 551
Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik, 541, see also *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, *Hallische Jahrbücher*, *Konstitutionellen Jahrbücher*
Jahr, Das 479
Jänkendorf, see Nostitz-Jänkendorf
Jannis, Baba, see Capodistrias
Janus, 542
Jarcke, 174, 200, 246, 276, 277, 529, 541
Jerome, King of Westphalia, 192
Joanna, Princess of Saxony, see Amelia
John, Archduke of Austria, 508, 509
John, Prince of Saxony (later king of Saxony), 299
Jordan, Johann Ludwig, 228, 396
Jordan, Sylvester, 150, 151, 155, 156, 158, 161
Jordan, Wilhelm, 545
Joseph, Archduke of Austria, 31
Journal de Francfort, 535
Journal de Liége, 244
Journal des Débats, 7
Julius, 596, 598
Jung, 539
Jürgensburg, see Clodt-Jürgensburg

K.

KAMPTZ, 26, 27, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 144, 145, 264, 482, 483, 484, 613, 633, 634
Kant, 75, 245, 461, 468, 480, 494, 496, 583
Katholische Deutschland, Historisch-politische Blätter für das, see *Historisch-politische Blätter, etc.*
Kaufmann, Jacob, 533
Kaufmann, (professor at Bonn), 73
Keller, 571
Kessler, 60, 61
Ketteler, 264
Kirchenpauer, 512
Kirchenzeitung, see *Aschaffenburger Kirchenzeitung*, *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*

Klee, 249
Kleist, 144, 323, 625
Klenze, 108
Klett, 128
Knapp, 125, 152
Knesebeck, 415
Knobelsdorff, 559
Kohary, see Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-Kohary
Kolb, 181, 529
Kollig, 146
Kölnische Zeitung, 533, 534, 552, 553, 627
Kolowrat, 30, 33, 36, 37, 38, 372, 403
Kombst, 55, 132*n*
Königsberger Zeitung, 91, 349, 500, 593, 602
Konstitutionellen Jahrbücher, 530
Kopisch, 565
Koppe, 104, 105
Köppen, 296
Körner, 142
Kosmopolitische Nachtwächter, 540
Kospoth, 117
Kottwitz, 596
Kotzebue, 51
Kraus, 75
Krauseneck, 63, 408, 415
Krausnick, 350
Keufstein, 226
Kuhlmeyer, 59, 101, 484
Kühne, 58, 59, 60, 93, 96, 101, 102, 120, 307, 340, 351, 484, 485, 486, 519, 536, 569, 604, 605, 619, 620
Küpfer, 81
Kuranda, 532, 533
Kurier, see *Fränkische Kurier*
Kurland, see Sagan-Kurland
Küstner, 565
Kutusov, 45
Kwilecki, 266

L.

Ladenberg, 60, 61, 336, 337, 338, 497, 577
Lafayette, 144
Lalande, 374
Lamartine, 390, 398
Lamb, 222
Lambruschini, 236, 244, 250, 251, 256, 258, 259, 269, 284
Lampe, 112
Lancizolle, 323
Landbote, 528
Landbötin, 528
Landesblätter, see *Hannoverschen Landesblätter*
Landfermann, 590
Lang, 218
Langenbeck, 205
Langer, 153
Lansquenet, The, see Schwarzenberg
Lassalle, 139
Latour, 411
Laube, 145, 532
Lehmann, see Schaumburg
Leiningen, 424
Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung, 278, 281, 486, 531, 532, 540, 544, 545, 551, 553
Leipziger Zeitung, 532
Leist, 202, 203, 205, 218, 222, 226, 227
Lengerke, 347, 495, 501
Lenne, 557, 558
Leo, 234, 277, 278, 281, 542, 577, 587
Leonhardi, 230, 408, 409
Leopold, Grand Duke of Baden, 166, 167, 168, 169, 273, 502
Leopold I, King of the Belgians, 8, 16, 18, 24, 123, 175, 185, 280, 427, 428, 433, 446, 447, 451, 452, 453, 458
Leopold I, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau (Old Dessauer), 312
Lepel, 148, 150, 227
Lepsius, 570
Lerchenfeld, 172, 528
Lessing, Ludwig, 137, 633, 634, 635, 636
Leuchtenberg, Duke of, see Charles Augustus, etc., Max Eugene Joseph Napoleon
Libelt, 479
Lich, see Solms-Lich
Lichnowsky, 11, 556
Lichtenberg, 197
Lieber, 274, 599
Liebermann, 249, 346, 378, 388, 400, 404, 425, 428, 429, 436, 439, 452, 467, 473, 500, 613, 629
Liége, see *Journal de Liége*
Lieven, 384
Lind, 556
Lindenau, 211
Lindheim, 481
Lindley, 511
Lipski, 337
List, 110, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117
Liszt, 556
Literarische Zeitung, 542, 546, 592
Lobeck, 584
Lottum, 19, 26, 48, 58, 59, 69, 72, 76, 81, 261, 310, 312, 520, 634
Louis, Archduke of Austria, 33, 37, 38, 39, 43, 372
Louis II, Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, 124, 149, 152, 421, 457
Louis, King of Bavaria, 49, 50, 94, 99, 108, 109, 111, 119, 123, 146, 147, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 181, 182, 221, 225, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 297, 309, 356, 396, 398, 406, 407, 409, 412, 413, 417, 507, 560
Louis XVIII, King of France, 426
Louis Charles Philippe Raphael of Orleans, Duke of Nemours, 25, 380, 458

Louis Frederick Charles, Prince of Prussia, 189
Louis Napoleon, see Napoleon Charles Louis
Louis Philippe, King of the French, 6, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 35, 39, 41, 44, 99, 138, 197, 237, 354, 366, 367, 368, 379, 380, 390, 391, 392, 402, 405, 416, 426, 427, 428, 432, 436, 437, 458, 530, 567, 625, 634
Louis Philippe Albert of Orleans, Count of Paris, 367
Louise, Queen of Prussia, 189, 288, 326, 563, 585, 600
Lubiniski, 267
Ludwigsdorf, see Frankenberg-Ludwigsdorf
Lüntzel, 221
Luther, 86, 247, 254, 266, 277, 279
Lützow (Austrian envoy in Rome), 246, 247, 284
Lützow (minister in Schwerin), 204
Luxburg, 282

M.

Maassen, 57, 59, 60, 73
Macaulay, 455
Machiavelli, 193
Magdeburg, 125
Mahmud II, Sultan of Turkey, 287, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 394
Malortie, 216, 221
Maltzahn (Baron, envoy in Vienna), 32
Maltzan (Count, envoy in Hanover and later envoy in Vienna), 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 49, 53, 55, 197, 199, 200, 222, 257, 258, 283, 284, 285, 293, 294, 354, 372, 374, 380, 381, 383, 385, 386, 388, 389, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 410, 411, 413, 419, 427, 444, 454, 466, 478, 497
Mannheimer Abendzeitung, 530
Mannheimer Journal, 530, 531
Mannheimer Morgenzeitung, 531
Manz, 275
Marchand, 67
Marheineke, 278, 281
Maria, Empress of Austria, 31, 257
Maria II, da Gloria, Queen of Portugal, 4, 5, 6, 8
Maria, Queen of Saxony, 34
Maria Anna, Princess of Prussia (wife of Prince William the Elder, daughter of Landgrave Frederick Louis of Hesse-Homburg), 90, 243
Maria Christina, Queen of Spain, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 17
Marianne, Princess of the Netherlands (wife of Albrecht, Prince of Prussia), 96, 594, 596 (see also Maria Anna)
Mariano, 260
Marius, 569
Martens, 44
Martinitz, see Clam-Martinitz
Marx, 540
Mary, Princess of Prussia (later Queen of Bavaria), 499
Massmann, 569, 571
Mathis, 144
Mathy, 134, 136, 530, 531
Maurer, 177, 178
Max Eugene Joseph Napoleon, Duke of Leuchtenberg, 50
Maximilian I Joseph, King of Bavaria (Max Joseph), 34, 281
Maximilian, Crown Prince of Bavaria (later Maximilian II, King of Bavaria), 50, 282, 283, 499
Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria, 281, 282
Mazzini, 131, 132, 140, 146
Mebold, 529
Mecklenburg, Duke of, see Charles
Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Grand Duke of, see Paul Frederick
Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Princess of, see Helena
Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Princess of, see Frederica
Medem, 380
Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, 287, 370, 371, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 381, 383, 384, 385, 386, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 402, 425, 429, 430, 431, 433, 434, 435, 439
Meinhold, 566
Meissner, 532
Meisterlin, 157
Melbourne, 185, 197, 382, 385
Mendelssohn, 557, 562, 563, 564
Mendizabal, 12, 13
Menzel, 164
Merckel, 270, 592, 611
Merkur, see *Rheinische Merkur*, *Schwäbische Merkur*
Methuen, 4
Metternich, 4, 7, 8, 16, 19, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 53, 137, 138, 151, 169, 182, 197, 198, 199, 200, 226, 246, 247, 257, 258, 259, 263, 283, 284, 285, 293, 301, 326, 330, 334, 354, 371, 372, 374, 377, 379, 383, 384, 386, 388, 390, 392, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 418, 419, 421, 425, 427, 429, 431, 438, 439, 441, 452, 457, 466, 506, 509, 516, 529, 532, 549, 565, 626, 627, 628, 629
Metternich, Princess Melanie, 25, 34, 36, 37, 257, 284, 293

Mevissen, 538, 539
Meyendorff, 393, 429, 433, 439, 466
Meyerbeer, 562, 563
Michael, Grand Duke of Russia, 43, 48, 49
Michelet, 571
Michelis, 244, 248, 262, 271
Mieg, 416, 417, 421
Mieroslawski, 478
Miguel, Dom Maria Evaristo, King of Portugal, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Milde, 355
Milosh Obrenovitch, Hereditary Prince of Serbia, 368
Milton, 442
Miltitz, 18
Mina, 10
Miraflores, 6
Mirbach, 264, 608
Moens, 280
Mohl, 158
Möhler, 241
Moltke, 64, 287, 372, 373, 397, 434, 439
Monatsschrift, see *Deutsche Monatsschrift*
Monheim, 468
Montalembert, 275
Montefiore, 186
Moore, 188
Morgenzeitung, see *Mannheimer Morgenzeitung*
Mörl, 173
Morning Chronicle, 382, 397
"Möser Junior, Dr," see List
Möser, Justus, 111
Motz, Friedrich Christian, 57, 59, 60, 107, 153, 231
Motz, Gerhard, 157
Moy, 174
Müffling, 58, 62, 121, 224, 523, 604
Mühlenbruch, 216
Mühler, 66, 69, 83, 89, 119, 139, 264, 498, 523, 549, 620, 633, 634
Müller (cabinet councillor), 284, 500
Müller, Carl Otfried (professor), 206
Münch, Friedrich, 142
Münch-Bellinghausen, 143, 168, 200, 229, 293, 402, 409, 414, 415, 419, 424, 457
München, 239, 254
Münchhausen, 15, 20, 27, 96, 99, 119, 123, 196, 198
Mundt, 279, 531
Münster, 193, 232
Murhard, 528
Muskau, see Pückler-Muskau
Musset, 398
Mylius, 608

N.

Nachtwächter, see *Kosmopolitsche Nachtwächter*
Nagler, 55, 118, 120, 121, 124, 478, 488, 497, 530
Nandl, see Ferdinand I, Emperor of Austria
Napier, 5, 427, 430, 431
Napoleon I, 27, 45, 65, 234, 260, 278, 333, 393, 419, 432
Napoleon, Charles Louis (afterwards Napoleon III), 138, 392, 432
Nassau, Duke of, see Adolphus William
Nassau, Hereditary Prince of, see Adolphus
Natzmer, 45, 62, 84, 339, 448, 454
Naumann (chief burgomaster of Posen), 472
Nauwerck, 579
Neander, 85
Nebenius, 169, 283, 395, 519, 524
Neckarzeitung, 143
Nemours, Duchess of, see Victoria Augusta Antoinette
Nemours, Duke of, see Louis Charles Philippe Raphael
Nernst, 629
Nesselrode, 35, 47, 56, 367, 378, 380, 388, 393, 408, 429, 432, 433, 435, 439, 473, 629, 643, 650
Netherlands, King of, see William I, William II
Netherlands, Princess of, see Marianne
Neue Würzburger Zeitung, 201, 281, 282, 283, 284, 528
Neumann, 383, 384, 386, 389, 403, 425, 432, 441
Newman, 441
Niccolini, 569
Nicholas I, Czar of Russia, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56, 99, 223, 284, 301, 302, 304, 326, 330, 346, 367, 368, 371, 376, 377, 378, 379, 387, 388, 392, 393, 400, 401, 429, 435, 436, 452, 466, 467, 473, 498, 499, 500, 543, 558, 613, 629, 643, 650
Nicolai, 357
Nicolaysen, 441
Nicolovius, 242, 243, 309
Niebuhr, 214, 341, 446
Niegolewski, 470
Niemeyer, August Hermann, 592, 593
Niemeyer, Hermann Agathon, 592, 593
Nieritz, 130
Noer, Prince of, see Frederick Augustus Emilius
Norway, King of, see Christian VIII
Nostitz, 22
Nostitz-Jänkendorf, 419
Nothomb, 556

O.

Oberpostamtszeitung, see *Frankfurter Oberpostamtszeitung*

Ochse-Stern, 534
O'Connell, 166
Oertzen, 27
Oesterreichische Beobachter, 399
Oettingen-Wallerstein, 171, 173, 175, 182
Offelsmeier, 59
Oghlu, 556
Oken, 147
Old Dessauer, see Leopold I, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau
Olfers, 136, 559, 566, 635
Olshausen, 87
Ompteda, 195, 196
Oppenheim, 538, 599
Orange, Prince of, see William III
Orleans, Duchess of, see Helena
Orleans, Duke of, see Ferdinand Philippe Joseph Louis Charles Henri, Louis Philippe Albert
Orloff, 367, 439
Osten, Prokesch von, see Prokesch-Osten
O'Sullivan, 257
Otho, Prince of Bavaria (later King of Greece), 176, 177, 179, 180, 181
Otterstedt, 125, 144, 166, 167, 168, 273, 282, 283, 406, 408

P.

PAALZOW, 566
Pabst, 247
Palmerston, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 24, 41, 42, 52, 97, 135, 179, 185, 196, 197, 368, 370, 371, 375, 376, 377, 378, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390, 391, 393, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 436, 437, 440, 451, 452, 477, 497
Paris, Count of, see Louis Philippe Albert
Patow, 468, 518
Patriot, 536
Paul Frederick, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 26, 209
Paulus, 573
Pechlin, 223
Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil, 4, 5
Peel, 201, 452, 455
Pellico, 146
Père Enfantin, see Enfantin
Périer, junior, 393
Périer, senior, 393
Perrone, 246
Persius, 557, 558
Pertz, 541, 570
Pestalozzi, 585, 586, 587, 591
Pestel, 71
Peucker, 119
Pfeiffer, Charlotte, see Birch-Pfeiffer
Pfizer, 93, 111, 162, 163, 164, 318, 533
Pfuel, 64, 253
Philip I, the Magnanimous, Landgrave of Hesse, 156, 422
Philip II, King of Spain, 7
Philip Augustus Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, 414, 415
Phillips, 174, 277
Piedmont, King of, see Charles Albert
Pientka, 124
Pieritz, 441
Pilat, 529
Pilsach, see Senfft-Pilsach
Pius VIII, Pope, 260
Pius IX, Pope, 311, 509
Platen, 23, 51, 337, 543, 600
Plattner, 109
Poland, King of, see Augustus II the Strong, Casimir III the Great
Politische Wochenblatt, 276, 541, 542
Poninski, 347, 348, 362, 363, 471
Pönitz, 65
Ponsonby, 370, 383, 393, 394, 427, 430, 432
Popes, see Gregory XVI, Pius VIII, Pius IX
Portfolio (Urquhart's), 53, 54, 55, 56, 163, 376
Portfolio, see *Hannoversche Portfolio*
Portugal, King of, see Miguel
Portugal, Queen of, see Maria II
Potocky, 41
Pourtalès, 556
Pozzo di Borgo, 53
Preussische Staatszeitung, 21, 51, 536, 541
Prittwitz, 108, 417
Prokesch-Osten, 178
Prussia, see also East Prussia
Prussia, Crown Prince of, see Frederick William (IV)
Prussia, Crown Princess of, see Elizabeth
Prussia, King of, see Frederick I, Frederick II, Frederick William I, Frederick William III, Frederick William IV
Prussia, Prince of, see Albrecht, Charles, Frederick, Frederick William (afterwards King of Prussia and German emperor), Louis Frederick Charles, William (the Elder), William (the Younger)
Prussia, Princess of, see Charlotte (Alexandra Feodorovna), Frederica, Maria Anna, Mary
Prussia, Queen of, see Elizabeth, Louise
Prutz, 506, 552, 570, 600
Puchta, 570, 571, 572, 603
Pückler-Muskau, 370
Pusey, 441

Q.

QUETELET, 447

R.

RACINE, 564

Raczynski, Athanasius, 561
Raczynski, Eduard, 82, 267, 337, 348, 362, 364, 455, 471, 477, 478, 519
Radetzky, 33, 372, 404
Radowitz, 17, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 321, 334, 357, 400, 401, 402, 404, 406, 407, 408, 410, 415, 416, 417, 439, 457, 502, 516, 517, 526, 542, 548, 576, 610, 621
Radziwill, 75, 337, 473, 479, 556
Rahden, 11
Ramorino, 134
Ranke, 61, 101, 214, 304, 541, 551, 568, 583
Rantzau, 598
Raspail, 130
Räss, 476
Rauch (military attaché in St. Petersburg), 21, 27, 367, 368, 500, 629
Rauch, Christian, 214, 557, 559, 563
Rauch, Gustav Johann Georg (Prussian minister for war), 61, 310, 402, 415
Rauschenplatt, 132, 134, 136, 140, 206, 466, 625
Reaube, 62
Recke, 312, 594, 595
Reden, 90, 594
Redern, 556
Réformateur, 130
Rehberg, 97
Rehfues, 246, 247, 248, 278, 281
Reichenbach, 631
Reichensperger, 504
Reimer, Carl, 208, 541
Reimer, Georg Andreas, 541
Reisach, 174, 246, 272
Reizenstein, 168
Rellstab, 562
Reshid, 375
Reumont, 567
Reuter, 145
Reyscher, 219
Rheinische Beobachter, 543
Rheinische Merkur, 503
Rheinische Zeitung, 538, 539, 547, 552, 553
Ribeaupierre, 47
Ricardo, 129
Richter, 263
Riego, 10
Riesen, 210
Rietschel, 506
Ringseis, 174
Rintel, 279
Ritschl, 577, 605
Ritter, 373, 570, 590
Rochow, 11, 20, 58, 69, 83, 119, 144, 210, 211, 245, 252, 255, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 269, 271, 272, 280, 330, 334, 338, 339, 340, 345, 346, 349, 350, 351, 358, 359, 362, 363, 401, 406, 408, 411, 417, 464, 478, 479, 480, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 496, 500, 510, 523, 620, 629, 633, 635, 636
Rochow-Stülpe, 519
Röder, 323, 532
Rollhausen, 74
Römer, 162, 164, 636, 640
Roothaan, 236
Rose, 192, 216, 230
Rosen, 532
Rossi, 556
Rotenburg, see Hesse-Rotenburg
Rother, 19, 60, 83, 100, 117, 118, 119, 123, 124, 467, 498, 523, 524
Rothschild, 109, 124, 125, 416, 417
Rotteck, 43, 165, 166, 167, 196, 203, 208, 215, 276, 285, 331, 399, 528, 572
Rousseau, 331
Rudhart, 181
Ruge, 279, 359, 532, 533, 540, 547, 551, 552, 579
Rumann, 192, 193, 219
Rumohr, 563
Rumpf, 466
Ruppenthal, 69
Russkaja Starina, 643
Russell, John, 192
Russell, William, 42, 194, 430
Russia, Czar of, see Alexander I, Nicholas I
Russia, Czarevitch, see Alexander
Russia, Grand Duke of, see Constantine, Michael
Russia, Empress of, see Alexandra, Catharine II
Rüstow, 534
Rutenberg, 531

S.

Sack, 620
Sagan-Kurland, 556
Sailer, 174, 281
Saint-René Taillandier, see Taillandier
Salzmann, 157
Saphir, 131
Sarachaja, see Uria-Sarachaja
Sardinia, King of, see Charles Albert
Sartorius, 84, 339
Saucken-Tarputschen, 343
Sauerwein, 132, 133
Savigny, 111, 120, 210, 214, 319, 483, 484, 523, 549, 570, 576, 579, 599, 602, 603, 604, 606, 614, 615, 620, 621
Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Duke of, see Ernest III (I), Ernest IV (II)
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-Kohary, Prince of, see Ferdinand
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-Kohary, Princess of, see Victoria Augusta Antoinette

Index

Saxony, Elector of, see Augustus II the Strong
Saxony, King of, see Frederick Augustus II
Saxony, Prince of, see John
Saxony, Princess of, see Amelia
Saxony, Queen of, see Maria
Say, 129
Schack, Adolf Friedrich (junior), 421
Schack (senior), 411, 421
Schadow, Johann Gottfried, 568
Schadow, Wilhelm Friedrich, 568
Schäfer, 143
Schaffgotsch, 253
Schaper, 615
Schapper, 139
Scharnhorst, 65, 187, 480, 492
Scharrer, 109
Schaumburg, (Frau Lehmann), 154
Scheffer, 161
Scheibel, 86, 87
Schele von Schelenburg, Eduard Friedrich August, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 200
Schele von Schelenburg, Georg Victor Friedrich Dietrich, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207, 216, 224, 225, 231, 273, 640
Scheller, 604
Schelling, 571, 572, 573, 579
Schenk, 172
Schenkendorf, 320, 504, 512
Scherr, 554, 631
Schiemann, 643
Schillingsfürst, see Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst
Schinkel, 310, 504, 557, 558, 559, 560
Schlayer, 162, 164, 165, 272
Schlegel, 328
Schleiermacher, 85, 575, 588, 606
Schleinitz, 428, 429, 444
Schlesinger, 532
Schlesische Zeitung, 91, 538
Schlobitten, see Dohna-Schlobitten
Schlosser, 234, 577, 584
Schlüter, 288, 289, 558
Schmalz, 231
Schmedding, 240, 241, 242, 246, 247, 261, 271, 272
Schmidt, 507
Schneckenburger, 397, 398, 442
Schneider, 21
Schnelle, 581
Schnepfenthal, 590
Schöler, 29, 124, 227, 228, 229, 231, 409, 415, 416
Schomburg, 156
Schön, Heinrich Theodor, 48, 60, 75, 76, 83, 84, 100, 267, 270, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 345, 346, 349, 350, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 462, 463, 464, 465, 468, 480, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 501, 551, 593, 620
Schön, Johann, 91
Schönherr, 82
Schönlein, 544
Schott, 164
Schramm, 538
Schubert, 88, 542
Schüler, 148
Schulte, 194
Schultheiss, 147
Schulz, Wilhelm, 149
Schulze, F. G., 104
Schulze, Johannes, 577, 585
Schulze-Delitzsch, 130
Schwäbische Merkur, 165, 530
Schwarzenberg (Austrian diplomatist), 425
Schwarzenberg (lawyer), 156
Schwarzenberg (prince, "the Lansquenet"), 11
Schwerin, see Mecklenburg-Schwerin
Schwerz, 164
Sebastiani, 380
Seber, 246
Sedlag, 267
Sedlnitzky, 268, 277
Semilasso, see Pückler-Muskau
Senfft-Pilsach, 87, 322, 323
Serbia, Hereditary Prince of, see Milosh
Seyfferth, 112
Shaftesbury, see Ashley
Shee, 456
Shekib, 383, 386, 433
Siebenpfeiffer, 137
Sieveking, 97
Sieyès, 462
Simrock, 503
Simson, 347
Sinzendorf, 253
Sismondi, 143
Smith, 61, 129
Snell, 135, 137
Soemmering, 114
Soller, 560
Solmar, 566
Solms (family), 151, see also Solms-Braunfels, Solms-Lich
Solms-Braunfels, Prince of, see Bernard, Frederick William
Solms-Braunfels, Princess of, see Frederica
Solms-Lich, 295, 335, 516
Sontag, 556
Sophia, Archduchess of Austria, 34, 36, 37, 257, 284
Sophocles, 564
Soult, 379, 380
Soult, 186
Spain, King of, see Charles V, Ferdinand VII, Philip II
Spain, Queen of, see Isabella I, Isabella II, Maria Christina

Index

Spee, 264, 608
Spenersche Zeitung, 536
Spiegel, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246, 248, 250, 251
Spinelli, 255
Spontini, 562
Springer, 203
Staatsarchiv, see *Deutsche Staatsarchiv*
Staatszeitung, see *Preussische Staatszeitung*
Stägemann, Frederick August, 51, 58, 270, 309, 363, 364, 566
Stägemann, Hedwig, 566
Stahl, 357, 353, 483, 542, 570, 571, 572
Staz, 507
Steffens, 74, 89, 572
Stehely, 531
Stein, 71, 74, 94, 234, 359, 483, 496, 585, 595
Steinacker, 295
Stephenson, 107, 108
Stern, see Ochse-Stern
Stillfried, 570
Stockhausen, 47, 50, 98
Stockmar, 185, 444, 448, 451, 452, 453, 455
Stolberg, Anna, 598
Stolberg, Anton, 69, 72, 252, 253, 306, 311, 312, 313, 314, 351, 357, 364, 454, 497, 502, 523, 598
Strafford, 155
Stralenheim, 194, 201, 203, 226, 228
Strampff, 144
Strauss, Gerhard Friedrich Abraham, 90
Strauss, David Friedrich, 234, 359, 508, 578
Streckfuss, 57, 353
Strelitz, see Mecklenburg-Strelitz
Strombeck, 113
Stüler, 558, 559
Struve, 530, 531
Stülpe, see Rochow-Stülpe
Stürmer, 374
Stüve, 193, 201, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 227, 230, 232
Sulkowski, 475
Sunstenau, 411
Sussex, Duke of, see Augustus Frederick
Sweden, King of, see Charles XIV John
Sydow, 124, 150, 406, 409, 410, 411, 415, 416, 421, 423, 424, 525
Szechenyi, 31

T.

Taillandier, 296
Talleyrand, 6, 15, 370
Tarputschen, see Saucken
Tatishcheff, 393, 429
Tettenborn, 168
Thadden-Trieglaff, 323
Thaer, 104
Theologische Zeitschrift, 249
Theresa, Archduchess of Austria, 25
Theresa, Queen of Bavaria, 281
Theresa, Saint, 281
Thiers, 15, 107, 380, 381, 388, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 401, 425, 426, 427, 429, 437
Thiersch, 173, 175, 276
Thil, 124, 125, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 211, 225, 243, 396, 408, 421, 422, 423, 424
Thile, 305, 306, 312, 313, 314, 333, 335, 349, 355, 357, 360, 363, 442, 443, 463, 473, 475, 479, 481, 482, 484, 485, 486, 488, 489, 490, 492, 496, 502, 512, 516, 517, 520, 523, 526, 530, 532, 541, 542, 544, 545, 548, 549, 555, 568, 569, 574, 576, 579, 583, 595, 596, 597, 598, 603, 604, 607, 608, 609, 610, 613, 620, 622, 631, 632
Thorwaldsen, 153
Thun, 420
Tieck, 353, 563
Timon, see Cormenin
Titoff, 393
Trauttmansdorff, 43, 199, 200, 226, 383, 425, 529, 549
Treitschke, Heinrich, 642, 643
Trendelenburg, 551, 583
Trieglaff, see Thadden-Trieglaff
Trott, 157
Trzemski, 479
Tschech, 623, 624, 625, 626, 631
Tulla, 168
Türckheim, 137, 168
Turkey, Sultan of, see Abdul-Medjid, Mahmud II
Twesten, 551
Tzschoppe, 58, 75, 80, 81, 146, 328, 635

U.

Uechtritz, 211
Uhden, 500, 621
Uhland, 162, 163, 164
Uria-Sarachaja, 530, 531, 550
Urquhart, 52, 53, 54, 55, 370
Usedom, 385

V.

Vaerst, 91
Van (names beginning thus are indexed without prefix)
Varnhagen, 56, 320, 326, 573, 576, 625
Varus, 167
Vatke, 571
Velde, 236
Venedey, 57, 139, 398, 399

Victor Amadeus, Landgrave of Hesse-Rotenburg, 159
Victor, Prince of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst Duque, 160
Victoria, Duque de la, 11
Victoria, Queen of England, 185, 186, 189, 382, 385, 427, 441, 444, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 458, 625
Victoria Augusta Antoinette, Princess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-Kohary, (later Duchess of Nemours), 380
Vincke, 74, 239, 243, 502, 592
Vindex, see Wurm
Vischering, see Droste-Vischering
Voigt, 550
Vollgraff, 206
Voltaire, 296, 324, 326
von (names beginning thus are indexed without prefix)
Voss-Buch, 60, 323, 333, 357, 360, 467, 523
Voss, Countess, 315
Vossische Zeitung, 195, 536, 548

W.

WAGENER, 426
Walderndorff, 424
Wales, Prince of, see Albert Edward
Walesrode, 538
Walewski, 393
Walker, 113
Wallerstein, see Oettingen-Wallerstein
Walter, 249
Wander, 589
Wangenhein, 212, 577
Wattenbach, 573
Weber, W. (Burschenschafter), 142
Weber, Wilhelm (physicist), 114, 203
Wedel, 197
Wegschneider, 501, 582
Weidig, 148, 149, 150, 151, 157, 554
Weidmann, 208
Weil, 219, 530
Weitling, 140
Welcker, 149, 165, 167, 203, 215, 285, 331, 528, 572, 631
Wellington, 13, 187, 436, 454
Werner, 200
Werther, Carl, 374, 375, 379, 392, 425, 426, 427
Werther, Wilhelm, 16, 20, 39, 43, 44, 47, 123, 197, 199, 223, 231, 256, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 269, 282, 375, 379, 384, 387, 388, 390, 392, 394, 396, 402, 403, 404, 405, 428, 429, 430, 431, 443, 444, 452, 478, 528
Wesselhöft, 142
Westmorland, 556
Westphalen, 393
Westphalia, King of, see Jerome
Wheaton, 556
White, 397
Wichern, 596, 597, 598
Wienbarg, 130
Wigand, 460, 532
Wilhelm, 398
Wilkinson, 188
William, Duke of Brunswick, 224, 225
William, Duke of Nassau, 49
William II, Elector of Hesse-Cassel, 457
William III, King of England, 27, 447
William IV, King of England, 4, 184, 185, 188, 189, 201, 204
William I, King of the Netherlands, 96, 508
William II, King of the Netherlands, 454
William I, King of Würtemberg, 111, 112, 162, 164, 165, 201, 212, 226, 271, 272, 330, 407, 411, 417, 418, 419, 508, 510, 629
William, Prince of Prussia (the Elder), 90, 243, 312
William, Prince of Prussia (the Younger, later William I, King of Prussia and German Emperor), 7, 11, 20, 32, 62, 63, 64, 76, 322, 324, 328, 329, 332, 333, 334, 345, 355, 400, 467, 500, 515, 517, 597, 604, 605, 607, 610, 618, 619, 620, 623, 624, 625, 629, 630, 632
Willisen, 338, 339
Windhorn, 96
Windischgrätz, 38
Windischmann, 246
Winter, 134, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169
Wippermann, 156
Wirschinger, 181
Wirth, 146, 169, 553
Wisch, 194
Witt, 593
Wittgenstein, 20, 22, 27, 58, 75, 260, 286, 310, 311, 331, 634
Witzleben, 61, 62, 315
Wochenblatt, see *Berliner Wochenblatt*, *Politische Wochenblatt*
Wolicki, 81
Wolzogen, 315
Wrangel, 22, 339, 486, 491, 492
Wrede, 108, 183, 395
Wurm, 54, 163, 195, 512
Würtemberg, King of, see William I
Würzburger Zeitung, see *Neue Würzburger Zeitung*
Wysocki, 478

Y.

YORK, 312, 340

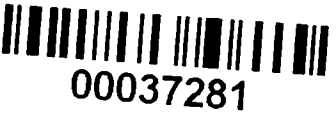
Z.

ZANDER, 274, 282, 528

Index

Zedlitz, 529
Zeitung für die elegante Welt, 532
Zeschau, 102, 228
Zichy-Ferraris, see Metternich Melanie
Zoller, 172
Zimmermann, 206, 207, 220
Zinkeisen, 541
Zwirner, 504, 505, 507

Printed by Jarrold & Sons, Ltd., Norwich, England.


00037281

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh
FOUNDATION

An Initiative by
HDFC
WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018